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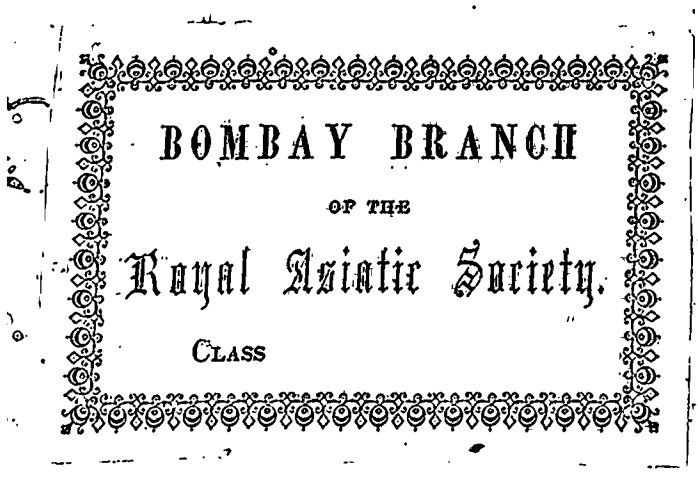

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EDWARD CAVE, PRINTER.

Born in 1691; died in 1754.

Published by J. Nichols & Son Jan.y 1.st 1812.

LITERARY ANECDOTES

OF THE

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY;

COMPRIZING

Biographical Memoirs

OF

WILLIAM BOWYER, PRINTER, F.S.A.

AND MANY OF HIS LEARNED FRIENDS;

AN INCIDENTAL VIEW

OF THE PROGRESS AND ADVANCEMENT OF LITERATURE

IN THIS KINGDOM DURING THE LAST CENTURY;

AND

BIOGRAPHICAL ANECDOTES

OF A CONSIDERABLE NUMBER OF

EMINENT WRITERS AND INGENIOUS ARTISTS;

WITH A VERY COPIOUS INDEX.

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By JOHN NICHOLS, F.S.A.

IN SIX VOLUMES.

VOLUME V.

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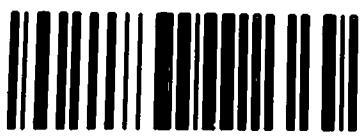
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ESSAYS

ESSAYS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

REFERRED TO IN THE

LITERARY ANECDOTES

OF THE

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

No. I.

EDWARD CAVE.

(See vol. II. p. 44; vol. IV. p. 95.)

"THE curiosity of the publick seems to demand the history of every man who has by whatever means risen to eminence; and few lives would have more readers than that of the Compiler of *The Gentleman's Magazine*, if all those who received improvement or entertainment from him should retain so much kindness for their Benefactor as to enquire after his conduct and character.

EDWARD CAVE was born at Newton in Warwickshire, Feb. 29, 1691. His father was the youngest son of Mr. Edward Cave, of Cave's in the Hole, a lone house, on the Street-road in the same county, which took its name from the occupier; but, having concurred with his elder brother in cutting off the intail of a small hereditary estate, by which act it

 was

was lost from the family, he was reduced to follow in Rugby the trade of a shoe-maker. He was a man of good reputation in his narrow circle, and remarkable for strength and rustic intrepidity. He lived to a great age, and was in his latter years supported by his son.

It was fortunate for Edward Cave, that, having a disposition to literary attainments, he was not cut off by the poverty of his parents from opportunities of cultivating his faculties. The school of Rugby, in which he had, by the rules of its foundation, a right to be instructed, was then in high reputation, under the Rev. Mr. Holyock, to whose care most of the neighbouring families, even of the highest rank, entrusted their sons. He had judgment to discover, and, for some time, generosity to encourage the genius of young Cave; and was so well pleased with his quick progress in the school, that he declared his resolution to breed him for the University, and recommend him as a servitor to some of his scholars of high rank. But prosperity which depends upon the caprice of others is of short duration. Cave's superiority in literature exalted him to an invidious familiarity with boys who were far above him in rank and expectations; and, as in unequal associations it always happens, whatever unlucky prank was played, was imputed to Cave. When any mischief, great or small, was done, though perhaps others boasted of the stratagem when it was successful, yet upon detection or miscarriage the fault was sure to fall upon poor Cave.

At last his mistress, by some invisible means, lost a favourite cock. Cave was with little examination stigmatized as the thief or murderer; not because he was more apparently criminal than others, but because he was more easily reached by vindictive justice. From that time Mr. Holyock withdrew his kindness visibly from him, and treated him with harshness, which the crime in its utmost aggravation could scarcely deserve, and which surely he would have forborne,

forborne, had he considered how hardly the habitual influence of birth and fortune is resisted; and how frequently men, not wholly without sense of virtue, are betrayed to acts more atrocious than the robbery of a hen-roost, by a desire of pleasing their superiors.

Those reflections his master never made, or made without effect; for, under pretence that Cave obstructed the discipline of the school, by selling clandestine assistance, and supplying exercises to idlers, he was oppressed with unreasonable tasks, that there might be an opportunity of quarreling with his failure; and when his diligence had surmounted them, no regard was paid to the performance. Cave bore this persecution for a while; and then left the school, and the hope of a literary education, to seek some other means of gaining a livelihood.

He was first placed with a Collector of the Excise. He used to recount with some pleasure a journey or two which he rode with him as his clerk, and relate the victories that he gained over the Excisemen in grammatical disputations But the insolence of his mistress, who employed him in servile drudgery, quickly disgusted him; and he went up to London in quest of more suitable employment.

He was recommended to a timber-merchant at the Bank side, and, while he was there on liking, is said to have given hopes of great mercantile abilities. But this place he soon left, I know not for what reason, and was bound apprentice to Mr. Collins, a printer of some reputation, and deputy alderman.

This was a trade for which men were formerly qualified by a literary education, and which was pleasing to Cave, because it furnished some employment for his scholastic attainments. Here therefore he resolved to settle, though his master and mistress lived in perpetual discord, and their house could be no comfortable habitation. From the inconveniences of these domestic tumults he was soon released, having in only two years at-

tained so much skill in his art, and gained so much the confidence of his master, that he was sent without any superintendant to conduct a printing-house at Norwich, and publish a weekly paper. In this undertaking he met with some opposition, which produced a public controversy, and procured young Cave reputation as a writer.

His master died before his apprenticeship was expired; and, as he was not able to bear the perverseness of his mistress, he quitted her house upon a stipulated allowance, and married a young widow, with whom he lived at Bow. When his apprenticeship was over, he worked as a journeyman at the printing-house of Mr. Barber *, a man much distinguished and employed by the Tories, whose principles had at that time so much prevalence with Cave, that he was for some years a writer in 'Mist's Journal,' which (though he afterwards obtained, by his wife's interest, a small place in the Post-office) he for some time continued. But, as interest is powerful, and conversation, however mean, in time persuasive, he by degrees inclined to another party †; in which, however, he was always moderate, though steady and determined.

When he was admitted into the Post-office, he still continued, at his intervals of attendance, to exercise his trade, or to employ himself with some typographical business. He corrected the "Gradus ad Parnassum," and was liberally rewarded by the Company of Stationers. He wrote an account of

* Of whom, see before, vol. I, p. 73.

† This is by no means confined to persons that move in such humble spheres. The appreciating author of the "Decline, &c." has not only told us, p. 81. c. III. n. 15, that "officers of the police or revenue easily adapt themselves to any form of government;" but, for fear lest a doctrine that adds so little to the Dignity of Human Nature (on which modern Philosophers lay so much stress) should not be readily admitted, has even condescended to furnish an instance of a person deep in the schemes of Opposition one week, and the next taking his seat at the Board of Trade and Plantations as a Lord thereof." *T. F.*

the

the Criminals, which had for some time a considerable sale; and published many little pamphlets that accident brought into his hands, of which it would be very difficult to recover the memory. By the correspondence which his place in the Post-office facilitated, he procured country news-papers, and sold their intelligence to a journalist of London for a guinea a week.

He was afterwards raised to the office of Clerk of the Franks, in which he acted with great spirit and firmness; and often stopped franks which were given by Members of Parliament to their friends, because he thought such extension of a peculiar right illegal. This raised many complaints; and having stopped, among others, a frank given to the old Duchess of Marlborough by Mr. Walter Plummer, he was cited before the House, as for breach of privilege, and accused, I suppose very unjustly, of opening letters to detect them. He was treated with great harshness and severity; but, declining their questions by pleading his oath of secrecy, was at last dismissed. And it must be recorded to his honour, that when he was ejected from his office, he did not think himself discharged from his trust, but continued to refuse to his nearest friends any information about the management of the office.

By this constancy of diligence, and diversification of employment, he in time collected a sum sufficient for the purchase of a small printing-office, and began *The Gentleman's Magazine*, a periodical pamphlet, of which the scheme is known wherever the English language is spoken. To this undertaking he owed the affluence in which he passed the last twenty years of his life, and the fortune which he left behind him, which, though large, had been yet larger, had he not rashly and wantonly impaired it by innumerable projects, of which I know not that ever one succeeded.

The Gentleman's Magazine, which has already subsisted three and twenty years, and still continues

equally

equally to enjoy the favour of the world *, is one of the most successful and lucrative pamphlets which literary history has upon record, and therefore deserves, in this narrative, particular notice.

Mr. Cave, when he formed the project, was far from expecting the success which he found; and others had so little prospect of its consequence, that, though he had for several years talked of his plan among printers and booksellers, none of them thought it worth the trial †. That they were not restrained by their virtue from the execution of another man's design, was sufficiently apparent as soon as that design began to be gainful; for in a few years a multitude of magazines arose, and perished: only *The London Magazine*, supported by a powerful association of booksellers, and circulated with all the art, and all the cunning of trade, exempted itself from the general fate of Cave's invaders,

* This was written at the beginning of 1754; and it may still with justice be said, that The Gentleman's Magazine, after a period of almost eighty years, stands foremost for literary reputation, as the respectable Correspondence it uniformly continues to enjoy abundantly evinces.

† "The invention of this new species of publication may be considered as something of an epocha in the Literary History of this Country. The periodical publications before that time were almost wholly confined to political transactions, and to foreign and domestic occurrences. But the Magazines have opened a way for every kind of enquiry and information. The intelligence and discussion contained in them are very extensive and various; *and they have been the means of diffusing* a general habit of reading through the Nation; which, in a certain degree, hath enlarged the public understanding. Many young Authors, who have afterwards risen to considerable eminence in the literary world, have here made their first attempts in composition. Here, too, are preserved a multitude of curious and useful hints, observations, and facts, which otherwise might have never appeared; or, if they had appeared in a more evanescent form, would have incurred the danger of being lost. If it were not an invidious task, the history of them would be no incurious or unentertaining subject. The Magazines that unite utility with entertainment are undoubtedly preferable to those *(if there have been any such)* which have only a view to idle and frivolous amusement." *Dr. Kippis.*

and

and obtained, though not an equal, yet a considerable sale *.

Cave now began to aspire to popularity; and, being a greater lover of poetry than any other art, he sometimes offered subjects for poems, and proposed prizes for the best performances. The first prize was fifty pounds, for which, being but newly acquainted with wealth, and thinking the influence of fifty pounds extremely great, he expected the first Authors of the kingdom to appear as competitors; and offered the allotment of the prize to the Universities. But, when the time came, no name was seen among the writers that had been ever seen before; the Universities and several private men rejected the province of assigning the prize †. At all this Mr. Cave wondered for a while; but his natural judgment, and a wider acquaintance with the world, soon cured him of his astonishment, as of many other prejudices and errors. Nor have many men been seen raised by accident or industry to sudden riches, that retained less of the meanness of their former state.

He continued to improve his Magazine, and had the satisfaction of seeing its success proportionate to his diligence, till in the year 1751 his wife died of an asthma; with which though he seemed not at first much affected, yet in a few days he lost his sleep and his appetite; and, lingering two years, fell, by drinking acid liquors, into a diarrhœa, and afterwards into a kind of lethargic insensibility, in which one of the last acts of reason he exerted, was fondly to press the hand that is now writing this little narrative. He died on January 10, 1754, æt. 63, having just concluded the twenty-third annual collection.

* This was actually the case in 1754; but The London Magazine ceased to exist in 1785. See vol. IV. p. 95.

† The determination was left to Dr. Cromwell Mortimer, and Dr. Birch; and by the latter the award was made, which may be seen in the Magazine for the year 1736, vol. VI. p. 59.

He

He was a man of large stature, not only tall but bulky; and was, when young, of remarkable strength and activity. He was generally healthful, and capable of much labour and long application; but in the latter years of his life was afflicted with the gout, which he endeavoured to cure or alleviate by a total abstinence both from strong liquors and animal food. From animal food he abstained about four years, and from strong liquors much longer; but the gout continued unconquered, perhaps unabated.

His resolution and perseverance were very uncommon; whatever he undertook, neither expence nor fatigue were able to repress him; but his constancy was calm, and, to those who did not know him, appeared faint and languid; but he always went forward, though he moved slowly.

The same chilness of mind was observable in his conversation; he was watching the minutest accent of those whom he disgusted by seeming inattention; and his visitant was surprized when he came a second time, by preparations to execute the scheme which he supposed never to have been heard.

He was, consistently with this general tranquillity of mind, a tenacious maintainer, though not a clamorous demander of his right. In his youth, having summoned his fellow-journeymen to concert measures against the oppression of their masters, he mounted a kind of rostrum, and harangued them so efficaciously, that they determined to resist all future invasions. And when the Stamp Officers demanded to stamp the last half sheet of the Magazines, Mr. Cave alone defeated their claim, to which the proprietors of the Rival Magazines would meanly have submitted.

He was a friend rather easy and constant, than zealous and active; yet many instances might be given, where both his money and his diligence were employed liberally for others. His enmity was in like manner cool and deliberate; but, though cool,

it

it was not insidious, and though deliberate, not pertinacious.

His mental faculties were slow; he saw little at a time, but that little he saw with great exactness. He was long in finding the right, but seldom failed to find it at last. His affections were not easily gained, and his opinion not quickly discovered. His reserve, as it might hide his faults, concealed his virtues; but such he was, as they who best knew him have most lamented *."

To the foregoing incomparable article I shall take the liberty of making some additions.

From the time of Mr. Cave's first connexion with the Newspaper at Norwich, he had conceived a strong idea of the utility of publishing the Parliamentary Debates; and had an opportunity, whilst engaged in a situation at the Post-office, not only, as stated by Dr. Johnson, of supplying his London friends with the Provincial Papers: but he also contrived to furnish the Country Printers with those written Minutes of the Proceedings in the Two Houses of Parliament, which within my own remembrance were regularly circulated in the Coffee-houses, before the Daily Papers were *tacitly permitted* to report the Debates.

The Orders of the House were indeed regularly repeated, and occasionally enforced; and under these, in April 1728, Mr. Cave experienced some inconvenience and expence; having been ordered into the custody of the Serjeant at Arms, for supplying his friend Mr. Robert Raikes with the Minutes of the House, for the use of the Gloucester Journal. After a confinement of several days, on stating his sorrow for the offence, and pleading that he had a wife and family who suffered much by his imprison-

* Thus far this article is given in the words of Dr. Johnson, from Gent. Mag. vol. XXV. p. 55—57; revised by its excellent Author, at my particular request, in 1781.

ment,

ment, he was discharged, with a reprimand, on paying the accustomed fees *."

In the following year Mr. Raikes again incurred the censure of the House † by repeating his offence; but Mr. Cave was at that time out of the scrape ‡.

The plan of inserting a regular series of the Parliamentary Debates in the Gentleman's Magazine, was a project which Mr. Cave had long in contemplation before he adventured to put it into practice. At length, in July 1736, he boldly dared; and his method of proceeding is thus related by Sir John Hawkins:

"Taking with him a friend or two, he found means to procure for them and himself admission into the gallery of the House of Commons, or to some concealed station in the other House; and then they privately took down notes of the several speeches, and the general tendency and substance of the arguments. Thus furnished, Cave and his associates would adjourn to a neighbouring tavern, and compare and adjust their notes; by means whereof, and the help of their memories, they became enabled to fix at least the substance of what they had so lately heard and remarked. The reducing this crude matter into form was the work of a future day and of an abler hand; Guthrie, the Historian, a writer for the booksellers, whom Cave retained for the purpose."

* Journals of the House of Commons, vol. XXI. pp. 85, 118, 119, 127.

† Ibid. pp. 227, 238.

‡ Mr. Raikes, in a Petition to the House, stated, "that, before the beginning of that Session of Parliament, he gave orders to his servant, not to insert in his Journal any of the Votes or Resolutions of the House; that the paragraph complained of was inserted without his knowledge, and was taken (as he was informed) from a News-letter, sent by Mr. Gythens, clerk of the Bristol road, or his assistant, to the King's-head Inn in Gloucester; that the Petitioner is very ill of a fever, keeps his bed, and is not able to travel; and praying that he may be excused from attending the House." His attendance was accordingly dispensed with; and Gythens directed to attend.

But

But these Debates were not given till the Session was ended; and then only with the initial and final letters of each Speaker.

Thus far all went on smoothly for two years; till on the 13th of April 1738, a complaint being made to the House, that the publishers of several written and printed News-Letters and Papers had taken upon them to give accounts therein of the Proceedings of the House; it was Resolved, "That it is a high indignity to, and a notorious breach of, the Privilege of this House, for any News-writer, in Letters, or other Papers (as Minutes, or under any other denomination), or for any Printer or Publisher of any printed News-paper of any denomination, to presume to insert in the said Letters or Papers, or to give therein, any account of the Debates, or other Proceedings, of this House, or any Committee thereof, as well during the Recess, as the Sitting of Parliament; and that this House will proceed with the utmost severity against such offenders *."

Some expedient was now become necessary; and the *caution* (not the *vanity)* of Cave suggesting to him a popular fiction; in June 1738 he prefaced the Debates by what he chose to call "An Appendix to Captain Lemuel Gulliver's Account of the famous Empire of Lilliput;" and the proceedings in Parliament were given under the title of "Debates in the Senate of Great Lilliput."

Not thinking himself, however, perfectly secure, even by this total concealment of the speakers, he did not venture to put his own name to the Title-pages of the Magazine; but published them under the name of one of his nephews, "Edward Cave, junior;" which was continued till 1752. In the following year he again used his own name; and gave the Debates, as at first, with the initial and final letters.

* Journals of the House of Commons, vol. XXIII. p. 148.

A new

A new æra in politicks, occasioned by the motion to remove the Minister, Feb. 13, 1740-1, bringing on much warmer Debates, required "the pen of a more nervous writer than he who had hitherto conducted them;" and "Cave, dismissing Guthrie, committed the care of this part of his monthly publication to Johnson;" who had already given ample specimens of his ability. But the Lilliputian disguise was still continued, even beyond the period of Johnson's Debates; which, as has been authenticated by his own Diary, began Nov. 19, 1740, and ended Feb. 23, 1742-3. And these Debates, which, every competent judge must allow, exhibit a memorable specimen of the extent and promptitude of Johnson's faculties, and which have induced learned foreigners to compare British with Roman eloquence, were hastily sketched by Johnson while he was not yet 32, while he had little acquaintance with life, while he was struggling, not for distinction, but existence.

On the 3d of April 1747, a complaint having been made in the House of Lords, against Edward Cave, and Thomas Astley, for printing in their respective Magazines (the Gentleman's and the London) an account of the Trial of Simon Lord Lovat; they were both ordered into the custody of the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod.—On the 10th of April, Mr. Cave, in custody, petitioned the House; expressing his sorrow for his offence; begging pardon for the same; promising never to offend again in the like manner; and praying to be discharged.—On the 30th of April, the Lord Raymond reported from the Committee appointed to consider of the offences of Astley and Cave; "that they had ordered Cave to be brought before them; and the book complained of being shewn to him, he owned that he printed and published it. Being asked, "how he came to publish an account of Lord Lovat's Trial, and from whom he had the account so published?" he said, "it was done inadvertently; he was very sorry for having offended; that he published

lished the said Account of the Trial from a printed Paper which was left at his House, directed to him; but he does not know from whom it came." Being asked, "how long he has been a publisher of *The Gentleman's Magazine?*" he said, "that it is about sixteen years since it was first published; that he was concerned in it at first with his nephew; and, since the death of his nephew, he has done it entirely himself." Notice being taken to him, "that the said books have contained Debates in Parliament;" he said, "he had left off the Debates; that he had not published any Debates relative to this House above these twelve months; that there was a speech or two relating to the other House, put in about the latter end of last year." Being asked, "how he came to take upon him to publish Debates in Parliament?" he said, "he was extremely sorry for it; that it was a very great presumption; but he was led into it by custom, and the practice of other people: that there was a monthly book, published before the Magazines, called *The Political State*, which contained Debates in Parliament; and that he never heard, till lately, that any persons were punished for printing those books." Being asked, "how he came by the Speeches which he printed in *The Gentleman's Magazine?*" he said, "he got into the House, and heard them, and made use of a black-lead pencil, and only took notes of some remarkable passages; and, from his memory, he put them together himself." Notice being taken to him, "that some of the Speeches were very long, consisting of several pages;" he said, "he wrote them himself, from notes which he took, assisted by his memory." Being asked, "whether he printed no Speeches but such as were so put together by himself, from his own notes?" he said, "Sometimes he has had Speeches sent him by very eminent persons; that he has had Speeches sent him by the Members themselves; and has had assistance from some Members, who have taken notes of other Members' Speeches."

Speeches." Being asked, "if he ever had any person whom he kept in pay, to make Speeches for him?" he said, "he never had."

The Report proceeds to state, that Astley had been also brought before them; and a former examination of the 8th of April having been read to him, he said, "that contained all the information he was able to give their Lordships *."

In consequence of this Report, Mr. Astley in regard of his lameness with the gout as not to be able

* At this examination, Mr. Astley owned that he had published the London Magazine, but was not apprehensive it was a breach of privilege, being compiled chiefly from Newspapers. He was then examined, as to the Debates contained in those pamphlets, and how he came by them; and said, "they were generally sent him by the penny post, or by messengers, pursuant to advertisements frequently inserted, inviting persons to furnish him with matters of that nature." But, being more strictly inquired of touching that affair, he acquainted the House, "that he was supplied with a great many Speeches by one Mr. Clarke, who he supposed was an attorney, and died in May last; but whether they were fictitious or genuine, he knew not; and, for aught he knew, they might be made by himself." Being asked, "what gratuity he made him?" said, "he had given him ten guineas at a time; and has received no Speech since Clarke's death, but by the post." The said Astley further acquainted the House, "he was the first who printed Magazines;" and acknowledged, "that of late the Debates have been inserted, under the notion of *an imaginary Club.*" Being further asked, "whether the letters, mentioned in his said examination to be sent him by the penny post, had any mark by which he could know from whom they came?" he said, "they had no such mark; that he does not know from whom they came; and he supposes, upon such an occasion, the persons would disguise their common handwriting." Being asked, whether he believes the Speeches, which he mentions in his said examination to be furnished him by Mr. Clarke, were made by the said Clarke?" he said, "he believes some of them may; but Clarke has told him he has had helps from his friends." Being asked, "whether he thinks any of the Speeches which Clarke furnished him with were the Speeches of the Members?" he said, "he did sometimes believe that some of them were the Members' Speeches; that Clarke represented them as such to him." Being asked, "whether he knows that the said Clarke used to attend the House upon Debates?" he said, "he believes Clarke sometimes got into the House, behind the Throne."

to

to walk, was discharged out of custody, paying his fees; and Mr. Cave was ordered to be brought up for the same purpose on the following day; which was accordingly done, and he was also discharged, with a reprimand, on paying his fees *.

On the morning of Dec. 7, 1784, only six days before his death, Dr. Johnson requested to see the Editor of these Anecdotes; from whom he had borrowed some of the early volumes of the Magazine, with a professed intention to point out the pieces which he had written in that collection. The books lay on the table, with many leaves doubled down, particularly those which contained his share in the Parliamentary Debates; and such was the goodness of Johnson's heart, that he solemnly declared, "that the only part of his writings which then gave him any compunction, was his account of the Debates in the Gentleman's Magazine; but that, at the time he wrote them, he did not think he was imposing on the world. The mode," he said, "was to fix upon a Speaker's name; then to make an argument for him; and to conjure up an answer. He wrote those Debates with more velocity than any other of his productions; often three columns of the Magazine within the hour. He once wrote *ten pages* in one day, and that not a long one, beginning perhaps at noon, and ending early in the evening. Of the Life of Savage he wrote forty-eight octavo pages in one day; but that day included the night, for he sat up all the night to do it."

His portion of the Parliamentary Debates was collected into two octavo volumes; to which the Editor has substituted the real for the fictitious speakers. "The illuminations of Johnson's Oratory," it is observed, "were obscured by the jargon which Cave thought it prudent to adopt, to avoid Parliamentary indignation. These Debates, like

* Journals of the House of Lords, vol. XXVII. pp. 94, 100, 101, 107, 108, 109.

the

the Orations of Cicero and Demosthenes, ought to be studied by the British youth, as specimens of splendid eloquence, nervous argument, and Parliamentary decorum. Though few can hope to rival Johnson's performances, every youth, who from his birth or fortune expects to sit in Parliament, ought to aim, by studious perusal, at Johnson's perfection in oratory and reasoning. And those Debates may be usefully inspected by every public man, for felicities of expression, for the structure of sentences, happy at once for point, dignity, and elegance.

"Few of the collections of Parliamentary Debates can be justly regarded as much more authentic than Johnson's Orations. The most antient are probably the most authentic. D'Ewes's Journals of Elizabeth's Parliaments, as they contain the oldest Parliamentary speeches, are assuredly the most curious. The first volume of the Commons' Journals contains several important Debates during the interesting period from the accession of James I. till the cessation of Parliaments under his unhappy Son. The authentic Debates of the Session 1621 were published in 1766 from a Member's manuscript. The collections of Rushworth contain many of the Parliamentary Debates during the Civil Wars. To these follow Gray's Debates, which are still more authentic. But as to those various collections, which profess to give the Parliamentary Debates during that disputatious period, from the Restoration till late times, they can be deemed of little more authority than the speeches of Johnson.

"It was the Revolution which finally unshackled the press. But it was still criminal, at least dangerous, to publish Parliamentary proceedings without Parliamentary permission. During King William's reign, the Newspapers sometimes gave a detached speech of a particular speaker, who wished, by contributing the outlines, to gratify his vanity, or secure his seat.

"It

"It was in the factious times which immediately succeeded, when Parliamentary Debates were first distributed through the land in monthly pamphlets. Then it was that Boyer's* zeal propagated the Political State. This was succeeded, on the accession of George I. by the Historical Registers, which were published by soberer men, and may be supposed therefore to contain more satisfactory information.

"The Gentleman's Magazine soon after furnished the publick with still more finished Debates, which were first compiled by Guthrie, then by Johnson, and afterwards by Hawkesworth. The success of this far-famed Miscellany prompted many competitors for public favour, who all found an interest in propagating what the people read, however contrary to Parliamentary resolves. And these resolves have at length given way to the spirit of the people, who, as they enjoy the right of instructing their Representatives, seem to have established the privilege of knowing what their Representatives say †."

The Lilliputian names were continued in the Magazine till 1745; in which year, p. 135, Mr. Cave very fully announced his plan of publishing Mr. Anchitell Grey's Debates, from 1669 to 1694; and gave the particular subject of each Debate. After which no Debate occurs till November 1749, when they were given in the form of a Letter from a Member of Parliament to his Country Friend.

In 1752 the Proceedings in Parliament were reported briefly in the Magazine, in the shape of a letter thus introduced: "The following heads of Speeches in the H—— of C——— were given me by a gentleman, who is of opinion, that Members of Parliament are accountable to their Constituents for what they say, as well as what they do, in their Legislative capacity; that no honest man, who is

* Abel Boyer, the well-known political writer.

† Preface to Johnson's Debates, 1787, pp. vi—ix.

intrusted with the liberties and purses of the people, will be ever unwilling to have his whole conduct laid before those who so intrusted him, without disguise; that if every gentleman acted upon this just, this honourable, this constitutional principle, the Electors themselves only would be to blame, if they re-elected a person guilty of a breach of so important a trust. But let the arguments speak for themselves. Thus much only may be necessary to premise, that as the state of public affairs was, in a great measure, the same both last year and this, I send you a speech, in the Committee of Supply, upon the number of Standing Forces for the year 1751, and also another in the lest Session of Parliament, for the year 1752. You may be assured they are really genuine, and not such an imposition upon the speakers and the publick, as some that have appeared in other Monthly Collections."

From the above period, the Debates were regularly given as formerly, with the initial letters of the several speakers, till the end of 1782; subsequent to which, they have been printed without the least affectation of disguise; and form, in the whole, a complete and impartial report for more than seventy years.

The tenor of this narrative, and the intimate connexion which subsisted between Mr. Cave and Dr. Johnson, seem to render it necessary that I should here reclaim the following correspondence *, which was first through my intervention communicated to the publick. It is too honourable to both the parties to be omitted in a professed Life of either of them.

1. "SIR, Nov. 25, 1734.

"As you appear no less sensible than your Readers of the defects of your Poetical Article, you

* Of these eleven letters, nine of the originals are in the possession of Miss Cave, great-niece of Edward. The other two were given by Mr. Henry to Thomas Astle, esq. and by him communicated to Mr. Boswell.

will

will not be displeased, if, in order to the improvement of it, I communicate to you the sentiments of a person, who will undertake, on reasonable terms, sometimes to fill a column.

"His opinion is, that the publick would not give you a bad reception, if, besides the current wit of the month, which a critical examination would generally reduce to a narrow compass, you admitted not only poems, inscriptions, &c. never printed before, which he will sometimes supply you with; but likewise short literary dissertations in Latin or English, critical remarks on authors antient or modern, forgotten poems that deserve revival, or loose pieces, like Floyer's*, worth preserving. By this method, your literary article, for so it might be called, will, he thinks be better recommended to the publick, than by low jests, aukward buffoonery, or the dull scurrilities of either party.

"If such a correspondence will be agreeable to you, be pleased to inform me in two posts, what the conditions are on which you shall expect it. Your late offer† gives me no reason to distrust your generosity. If you engage in any literary projects besides this paper, I have other designs to impart, if I could be secure from having others reap the advantage of what I should hint.

"Your letter, by being directed to *S. Smith*, to be left at the Castle in Birmingham, Warwickshire, will reach your humble servant‡."

* Sir John Floyer's Treatise on Cold Baths, which was printed in Gent. Mag. 1734, p. 197, was probably sent by Johnson; who, a very short time before his death, strongly pressed the Editor of these Anecdotes to give to the publick some account of the life and works of Sir John Floyer, "whose learning and piety," the Doctor said, "deserve recording." An original portrait of Floyer is preserved at Lichfield.

† A prize of Fifty Pounds for the best poem "On Life, Death, Judgment, Heaven and Hell." See Gent. Mag. vol. IV. p. 560.

‡ Mr. Cave has put a note on this letter, "Answered Dec. 2." But whether any thing was done in consequence of it we are not informed. Mr. Boswell adds, "I am pretty sure Dr. Johnson told me, that Mr. Cave was the first publisher by whom his pen was engaged in London."

2. "SIR, Greenwich, next door to the Golden Hart, Church-street, July 12, 1737.

"HAVING observed in your papers very uncommon offers of encouragement to men of letters, I have chosen, being a stranger in London, to communicate to you the following design, which, I hope, if you join in it, will be of advantage to both of us.

"The History of the Council of Trent having been lately translated into French, and published with large notes by Dr. Le Courayer, the reputation of that book is so much revived in England, that it is presumed, a new translation of it from the Italian, together with Le Courayer's Notes from the French, could not fail of a favourable reception.

"If it be answered, that the History is already in English, it must be remembered, that there was the same objection against Le Courayer's undertaking, with this disadvantage, that the French had a version by one of their best Translators; whereas you cannot read three pages of the English History * without discovering that the style is capable of great improvements; but whether those improvements are to be expected from the attempt, you must judge from the specimen, which, if you approve the proposal, I shall submit to your examination.

"Suppose the merit of the versions equal, we may hope that the addition of the Notes will turn the balance in our favour, considering the reputation of the Annotator.

"Be pleased to favour me with a speedy answer, if you are not willing to engage in this scheme; and appoint me a day to wait upon you if you are. I am,

"Sir, your humble servant, SAM. JOHNSON †."

* An old translation of Sir Nathanael Brent.

† "It should seem from this letter," says Mr. Boswell, "though subscribed with his own name, that he had not yet been introduced to Mr. Cave." What was done in consequence of the proposal which it contains, may be seen in p. 28.

John-

Johnson's first performance in the Gentleman's Magazine, which for many years was his principal source for employment and support, was a copy of Latin verses, in March 1738, addressed to the Editor in so happy a style of compliment, that Cave must have been destitute both of taste and sensibility, had he not felt himself highly gratified.

Ad URBANUM*.

URBANE, nullis fesse laboribus,
URBANE, nullis victe calumniis,
Cui fronte sertum in eruditâ
Perpetuò viret et virebit;

Quid moliatur gens imitantium,
Quid et minetur, solicitus parùm,

* A translation of this Ode, by an unknown Correspondent, appeared in the Magazine for the May following. The Latin Ode is repeated in vol. LXIV. Part I.; and the following very elegant translation of it by the late William Jackson, esq. of Canterbury, in Part II.

"URBAN, whom neither toil profound,
Fatigues, nor calumnies o'erthrow,
The wreath, thy learned brows around,
Still grows, and will for ever grow.

Of Rivals let no cares infest,
Of what they threaten or prepare;
Blest in thyself, thy projects blest,
Thy hours still let the Muses share.

The leaden shafts, which Folly throws,
In silent dignity despise;
Superior o'er opposing foes,
Thy vigorous diligence shall rise.

Exert thy strength, each vain design,
Each rival soon shalt thou disdain;
Arise, for see, thy task to join,
Approach the Muses' fav'ring train.

How grateful to each Muse the page,
Where grave with sprightly themes are join'd;
And useful levities engage,
And recreate the wearied mind!

Thus the pale violet to the rose,
Adds beauty 'midst the garland's dyes;
And thus the changeful rainbow throws
Its varied splendours o'er the skies."

Vacare

Vacare solis perge Musis,
Juxta animo studiisque felix.

Linguæ procacis plumbea spicula,
Fidens, superbo frange silentio;
Victrix per obstantes catervas
Sedulitas animosa tendet.

Intende nervos, fortis, inanibus
Risurus olim nisibus æmuli;
Intende jam nervos, habebis
Participes operæ Camœnas.

Non ulla Musis pagina gratior,
Quam quæ severis ludicra jungere
Novit, fatigatamque nugis
Utilibus recreare mentem.

Texente Nymphis serta Lycoride,
Rosæ ruborem sic viola adjuvat
Immista, sic Iris refulget
Æthereis variata fucis."

It appears that Johnson was now enlisted by Mr. Cave as a regular coadjutor in his Magazine.

3. "SIR, Castle-street, Wednesday morning, No date. [1738.]

"WHEN I took the liberty of writing to you a few days ago, I did not expect a repetition of the same pleasure so soon; for a pleasure I shall always think it, to converse in any manner with an ingenious and candid man; but, having the inclosed Poem in my hands to dispose of for the benefit of the Author (of whose abilities I shall say nothing, since I send you his performance) I believed I could not procure more advantageous terms from any person than from you, who have so much distinguished yourself by your generous encouragement of Poetry; and whose judgment of that art nothing but your commendation of my trifle * can give me any occasion to call in question. I do not doubt but you will look over this Poem with another eye, and

* His Ode *Ad Urbanum*, probably.

reward

reward it in a different manner, from a mercenary Bookseller, who counts the lines he is to purchase*, and considers nothing but the bulk. I cannot help taking notice, that, besides what the Author may hope for on account of his abilities, he has likewise another claim to your regard, as he lies at present under very disadvantageous circumstances of fortune. I beg, therefore, that you will favour me with a letter to-morrow, that I may know what you can afford to allow him, that he may either part with it to you, or find out (which I do not expect) some other way more to his satisfaction.

"I have only to add, that as I am sensible I have transcribed it very coarsely, which, after having altered it, I was obliged to do, I will, if you please to transmit the sheets from the press, correct it for you; and take the trouble of altering any stroke of satire which you may dislike.

"By exerting on this occasion your usual generosity, you will not only encourage learning, and relieve distress, but (though it be in comparison of the other motives of very small account) oblige in a very sensible manner, sir, your very humble servant,

SAM. JOHNSON †."

4. "SIR, Monday, No. 6, Castle-street.

"I AM to return you thanks for the present you were so kind as to send me; and to intreat that you will be pleased to inform me by the penny-post, whether you resolve to print the Poem. If you please to send it me by the post, with a note to Dodsley, I will go and read the lines to him, that we may have his consent to put his name in the

* Dr. Johnson once observed to me, "that Mr. Cave was a generous paymaster; but, in bargaining for Poetry, he contracted for lines by the hundred, and expected the *long hundred*."

† The poem, or satire, mentioned in this and the following letters, must doubtless have been our Author's own "London," which was published in May 1738, and is recorded in Gent. Mag. vol. VIII. p. 269, "as being remarkable for having got to the second edition in the space of a week."

title-

title-page. As to the printing, if it can be set immediately about, I will be so much the Author's friend, as not to content myself with mere solicitations in his favour. I propose, if my calculation be near the truth, to engage for the reimbursement of all that you shall lose by an impression of 500; provided, as you very generously propose, that the profit, if any, be set aside for the Author's use, excepting the present you made, which, if he be a gainer, it is fit he should repay. I beg that you will let one of your servants write an exact account of the expence of such an impression, and send it with the Poem, that I may know what I engage for. I am very sensible, from your generosity on this occasion, of your regard to learning, even in its unhappiest state; and cannot but think such a temper deserving of the gratitude of those who suffer so often from a contrary disposition. I am, Sir,

Your most humble servant, SAM. JOHNSON."

5. "SIR, [No date *.]

"I WAITED on you to take the copy to Dodsley's: as I remember the number of lines which it contains, it will be no longer than *Eugenio* †, with

* This letter must have been written in April 1738, as appears from an accidental memorandum on the back of it, and from the Epigram to Eliza, which was printed in that month's Magazine, p. 210, both in Greek and Latin. The three following letters were also written in 1738.

† "Eugenio, a Virtuous and Happy Life, inscribed to Mr. Pope," published by Dodsley in April 1737. The author of this Poem, a work by no means destitute of public spirit, and which had had the advantage of being corrected by Dean Swift, was Mr. Beach, a wine-merchant at Wrexham in Denbighshire, a man of learning, of great humanity, of an easy fortune, and much respected. He is said by some to have entertained very blameable notions in religion; but this appears rather to be a conjecture than a well-established fact. It is certain that he was at times grievously afflicted with a terrible disorder in his head, to which his friends ascribed his melancholy exit. On May 17, 1737, in less than a month after the publication of his poem, he cut his throat with such shocking resolution, that it was reported his head was almost severed from his body. This dreadful catastrophe is thus mentioned by Bp. Herring (then

the quotations, which must be subjoined at the bottom of the page; part of the beauty of the performance (if any beauty be allowed it) consisting in adapting Juvenal's sentiments to modern facts and persons. It will, with those additions, very conveniently make five sheets. And since the expence will be no more, I shall contentedly insure it, as I mentioned in my last. If it be not therefore gone to Dodsley's, I beg it may be sent me by the penny-post, that I may have it in the evening. I have composed a Greek epigram to Eliza*, and think she ought to be celebrated in as many different languages as Lewis Le Grand. Pray send me word when you will begin upon the poem, for it is a long way to walk †. I would leave my Epigram, but have not day-light to transcribe it. I am, sir,

Yours, &c. SAM. JOHNSON."

6. "SIR, [No date.]

"I AM extremely obliged by your kind letter, and will not fail to attend you to-morrow with *Irene*, who looks upon you as one of her best friends.

"I was to-day with Mr. Dodsley, who declares very warmly in favour of the paper you sent him, which he desires to have a share in, it being, as he says, a creditable thing to be concerned in. I knew not what answer to make till I had consulted you, nor what to demand on the Author's part; but am very willing that, if you please, he should have a part in it, as he will undoubtedly be more diligent

(then Bp. of Bangor) in one of his letters to Mr. Duncombe, p. 54: "The verses you sent me are very sensible and touching; and the sentiments in them, I doubt not, exhilarated the blood for some time, and suspended the black execution; but his distemper, it may be said, got the better, and carried him off at last. I would willingly put the best construction upon these melancholy accidents, and thus leave the sufferers to the Father of Mercies." And an "Epilogue to Cato, for the Scholars at Wrexham, 1735," shews how much better Mr. Beach could think than act.

* Miss Carter. See p. 24.

† He lived at that time in Castle-street, Cavendish-square.

to disperse and promote it. If you can send me word to-morrow what I shall say to him, I will settle matters, and bring the Poem with me for the press, which, as the town empties, we cannot be too quick with. I am, sir, yours, &c.

SAM. JOHNSON."

7. "SIR, Wednesday.

"I DID not care to detain your servant while I wrote an answer to your letter, in which you seem to insinuate that I had promised more than I am ready to perform. If I have raised your expectations by any thing that may have escaped my memory, I am sorry; and if you remind me of it, shall thank you for the favour. If I made fewer alterations than usual in the Debates *, it was only because there appeared, and still appears to be, less need of alteration.

"The verses to Lady Firebrace † may be had when you please, for you know that such a subject neither deserves much thought, nor requires it.

"The Chinese Stories ‡ may be had folded down when you please to send, in which I do not recollect that you desired any alterations to be made.

* Those in the Senate of Lilliput.

† They appeared in the Magazine, vol. VIII. p. 486, with this title, "Verses to Lady Firebrace at Bury Assizes."

"At length must Suffolk's Beauties shine in vain,
So long renown'd in B——n's deathless strain?
Thy charms at least, fair Firebrace, might inspire
Some zealous Bard to wake the sleeping lyre,
For such thy beauteous mind and lovely face,
Thou seem'st at once, bright Nymph, a Muse and Grace."

Lady Firebrace was Bridget, third daughter of Philip Bacon, esq. of Ipswich, and relict of Philip Evers, esq. of that town. She became the second wife of Sir Cordell Firebrace, the last baronet of that name (to whom she brought a fortune of 25,000*l.*), July 26, 1737. Being again left a widow in 1759, she was a third time married, April 7, 1762, to William Campbell, esq. brother to John third Duke of Argyle; and died July 3, 1782.

‡ Du Halde's Description of China was then publishing by Mr. Cave in weekly numbers, whence Johnson was to select pieces for the embellishment of the Magazine.

"An

"An answer to another query I am very willing to write, and had consulted with you about it last night if there had been time; for I think it the most proper way of inviting such a correspondence as may be an advantage to the paper, not a load upon it.

"As to the Prize Verses, a backwardness to determine their degrees of merit is not peculiar to me. You may, if you please, still have what I can say; but I shall engage with little spirit in an affair, which I shall hardly end to my own satisfaction, and certainly not to the satisfaction of the parties concerned *.

"As to Father Paul, I have not yet been just to my Proposal; but have met with impediments, which, I hope, are now at an end; and if you find the progress hereafter not such as you have a right to expect, you can easily stimulate a negligent translator.

"If any or all of these have contributed to your discontent, I will endeavour to remove it; and desire you to propose the question to which you wish for an answer. I am, sir, your humble servant,

SAM. JOHNSON."

I once possessed a paper, in Johnson's handwriting, which I gave to Mr. Boswell, intituled, "Account between Mr. Edward Cave and Sam. Johnson, in relation to a version of Father Paul, &c. begun Aug. 2, 1738;" by which it appears, that from that day to April 21, 1739, Johnson received for that work 49*l.* 7*s.* in sums of one, two, three, and sometimes four guineas at a time, most frequently two. And it is curious to observe the minute and scrupulous accuracy with which John-

* The premium of Forty Pounds, proposed for the best poem on the Divine Attributes, is here alluded to. A former prize of 50*l.* had been determined in 1736 by three judges (I know not whether Johnson was one) whose decisions were delivered to the publick by Mr. Birch; with whom Dr. Mortimer, Sec. R. S. was associated. See Gent. Mag. vol. V. p. 736, and vol. VI. p. 59.

son

son has pasted upon it a slip of paper, which he has intituled "Small Account," and which contains one article, "Sept. 9, Mr. Cave laid down 2*s.* 6*d.*" There is subjoined to this account a list of some subscribers to the work, partly in Johnson's handwriting, partly in that of another person; and there follows a leaf or two, on which are written a number of characters which have the appearance of a short-hand, which, perhaps, Johnson was then trying to learn.

The following Advertisement, from "The Weekly Miscellany, Oct. 21, 1738," may now be considered as a curiosity: "Just published, Proposals for printing the History of the Council of Trent, translated from the Italian of Father Paul Sarpi; with the Author's Life *, and Notes Theological, Historical, and Critical, from the French Edition of Dr. Le Courayer. To which are added, Observations on the History and Notes; and Illustrations from various Authors; both printed and manuscript. By S. Johnson. 1. The work will consist of two hundred sheets, and be two volumes in quarto, printed on good paper and letter. 2. The price will be 10*s.* each volume, to be paid half a guinea at the time of subscribing, half a guinea at the delivery of the first volume, and the rest at the delivery of the second volume in sheets. 3. Two-pence to be abated for every sheet less than two hundred. It may be had on a large paper, in three volumes, at the price of three guineas; one to be paid at the time of subscribing, another at the delivery of the first, and the rest at the delivery of the other volumes. The work is now in the press, and will be diligently prosecuted. Subscriptions are taken in by Mr. Dodsley in Pall Mall, Mr. Rivington in St. Paul's Church-yard, by E. Cave at St. John's Gate, and the Translator, at No. 6 in Castle-street, by Cavendish-square."

* Johnson's Life of Father Paul first appeared in Gent. Mag. vol. VIII. p. 581.

Another

Another translation having about the same time been announced under the patronage of Dr. (afterwards Bishop) Pearce; the design of both proved abortive *.

8. "SIR, [No date.]

"I AM pretty much of your opinion, that the Commentary cannot be prosecuted with any appearance of success, for as the names of the authors concerned are of more weight in the performance than its own intrinsic merit, the publick will be soon satisfied with it. And I think the Examen should be pushed forward with the utmost expedition. Thus, 'This day, &c. An Examen of Mr. Pope's Essay, &c. containing a succinct Account of the Philosophy of Mr. Leibnitz on the System of the Fatalists, with a Confutation of their Opinions, and an Illustration of the Doctrine of Free-will †.' [with what else you think proper.]

"It will, above all, be necessary to take notice, that it is a thing distinct from the Commentary.

"I was so far from imagining they stood still ‡, that I conceived them to have a good deal beforehand, and therefore was less anxious in providing them more. But if ever they stand still on my

* The account of Johnson's translation of Father Paul is accurately stated in Gent. Mag. vol. LIV. p. 891. There were only *six* sheets printed off; and of these the greater part of the impression was converted into waste paper. A few copies were intended to have been reserved; but they were so carefully put by, as to be lost in the mass of Mr. Cave's papers deposited in St. John's Gate.

† This Treatise (the production, as it now appears, of the learned Miss Carter), was published price 2*s.* in November 1738, under the title of "An Examination of Mr. Pope's Essay on Man; containing a succinct View of the System of the Fatalists, and a Confutation of their Opinions; with an Illustration of the Doctrine of Free-Will, and an Enquiry what View Mr. Pope might have in touching upon the Leibnitzian Philosophy and Fatalism. By Mr. Crousaz, Professor of Philosophy and Mathematicks at Lausanne, &c. Printed for A. Dodd, without Temple Bar, and sold by all the Booksellers." See Gent. Mag. vol. VIII. pp. 608, 664.

‡ The Compositors in Mr. Cave's printing-office, who appear by this letter to have then waited for copy.

account,

account, it must doubtless be charged to me; and whatever else shall be reasonable, I shall not oppose: but beg a suspense of judgment till morning, when I must entreat you to send me a dozen Proposals, and you shall then have copy to spare. I am, sir, Yours, *impransus*, SAM. JOHNSON.

"Pray muster up the Proposals if you can, or let the boy recall them from the booksellers *."

It is remarkable that Johnson's last letter to Mr. Cave concludes with a fair confession that he had not a dinner †; and it is no less remarkable that, though in this state of want himself, his benevolent heart was not insensible to the necessities of an humble labourer in literature, as appears from the very next letter:

9. "DEAR SIR, [No date.]

"YOU may remember I have formerly talked with you about a Military Dictionary. The eldest Mr. Macbean ‡, who was with Mr. Chambers, has very good materials for such a work, which I have seen, and will do it at a very low rate. I think the terms of War and Navigation might be comprised with good explanations in one octavo Pica, which he is willing to do for twelve shillings a sheet, to be made up a guinea at the second impression.

* 6000 copies of these Proposals had been dispersed.

† This observation is Mr. Boswell's. Might not, however, *impransus* simply mean, *before dinner*, or *I have not dined?* The letter perhaps was written, in a hurry, late in the day.

‡ Mr. Macbean afterwards published a Dictionary of the Bible; and was employed by the Booksellers in compiling the Poetical Index to Dr. Johnson's edition of the English Poets. He made also a similar Index to Mr. Nichols's "Select Collection." See in Gent. Mag. vol. LV. p. 413, a letter from Mr. Ephraim Chambers to Mr. Macbean, directing him to send to *Canonbury-house* the apparatus he used in correcting the new edition of his "Cyclopædia." In 1780, this useful compiler being oppressed by age and poverty, Dr. Johnson (who had for many years afforded him an asylum) endeavoured to obtain for him an admission into the Charter-house. A very kind letter of Lord Thurlow on this occasion is preserved by Mr. Boswell, Life of Johnson, Vol. III. p. 473. Of his future history, I have not been able to obtain any particulars.

If

If you think on it, I will wait on you with him. I am, sir, Your humble servant, SAM. JOHNSON.

"Pray lend me Topsel on Animals."

10. "SIR, [no date; but written about the end of 1743.]

"I BELIEVE I am going to write a long letter, and have therefore taken a whole sheet of paper. The first thing to be written about is our Historical design *.

"You mentioned the proposal of printing in numbers as an alteration in the scheme; but I believe you mistook, some way or other, my meaning; I had no other view than that you might rather print too many of five sheets, than of five-and-thirty.

"With regard to what I shall say on the manner of proceeding, I would have it understood as wholly indifferent to me; and my opinion only, not my resolution. *Emptoris sit eligere.*

"I think the insertion of the exact dates of the most important events in the margin, or of so many events as may enable the reader to regulate the order of facts with sufficient exactness, the proper medium between a journal, which has regard only to time, and a history, which ranges facts according to their dependence on each other, and postpones or anticipates according to the convenience of narration. I think the work ought to partake of the spirit of history, which is contrary to minute exactness, and of the regularity of a journal, which is inconsistent with spirit. For this reason, I neither admit numbers or dates, nor reject them.

"I am of your opinion with regard to placing most of the resolutions, &c. in the margin, and think we shall give the most complete account of Parliamentary proceedings that can be contrived. The naked papers, without any historical treatise

* Some historical account of the Parliament, from which Cave probably desisted; or some new mode of giving the debates, which he afterwards found impossible to continue.

inter-

interwoven, require some other book to make them understood. I will date the succeeding facts with some exactness, but I think in the margin.

"'You told me on Saturday that I had received money on this work, and found set down 13*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* reckoning the half guinea of last Saturday. As you hinted to me that you had many calls for money, I would not press you too hard, and therefore shall desire only, as I send it in, two guineas for a sheet of copy; the rest you may pay me when it may be more convenient; and even by this sheet-payment I shall, for some time, be very expensive.

"The Life of Savage I am ready to go upon; and in Great Primer, and Pica notes, I reckon on sending in half a sheet a day *; but the money for that shall likewise lie by in your hands till it is done. With the Debates, shall not I have business enough? if I had but good pens.

"Towards Mr. Savage's Life † what more have you got ‡? I would willingly have his Trial, &c.

* On this head, see before, p. 15.

† Of this Life, which appeared on Feb. 11, 1743-4, Mr. Ralph observes, in "The Champion," that "it is, without flattery to its Author, as just and well-written a piece, as, of its kind, I ever saw; so that at the same time that it highly deserves, it certainly stands very little in need of this recommendation. As to the history of the unfortunate person whose memoirs compose this work, it is certainly penned with equal accuracy and spirit, of which I am so much the better judge, as I know many of the facts mentioned in it to be strictly true, and very fairly related. Besides, it is not only the story of Mr. Savage, but innumerable incidents relating to other persons and other affairs, which render this a very amusing, and withal a very instructive and valuable performance. The Author's observations are short, significant, and just, as his narrative is remarkable smooth, and well disposed. His reflections open to us all the recesses of the human heart, and, in a word, a more just or pleasant, a more engaging or a more improving treatise on the excellences and defects of human nature, is scarce to be found in our own, or perhaps in any other language."

‡ Soon after the publication of this life, which was anonymous, Mr. Walter Harte, dining with Mr. Cave at St. John's Gate, took occasion to speak very handsomely of the work. Cave told Harte, when they next met, that he had made a man very happy the other day at his house, by the encomiums he bestowed

on

and know whether his Defence be at Bristol; and would have his Collection of Poems, on account of the Preface;—'The Plain-dealer*;'—all the Magazines that have any thing of his, or relating to him.

"I thought my letter would be long; but it is now ended; and I am, sir,

Yours, &c. SAM. JOHNSON.

"The boy found me writing this almost in the dark, when I could not quite easily read yours.

"I have read the *Italian*†—nothing in it is well.

"I had no notion of having any thing for the *Inscription*‡. I hope you do not think I kept it to extort a price. I could think of nothing, till to-day. If you could spare me another guinea for the *History*, I should take it very kindly, to-night; but if you do not, I shall not think it an injury.—I am almost well again."

11. "SIR, [No date nor signature.]

"You did not tell me your determination about the 'Soldier's Letter §,' which I am confident was never printed. I think it will not do by itself, or in any other place so well as the Magazine Extraordinary. If you will have it at all, I believe you do not think I set it high; and I will be glad if what you give, you will give quickly.

on the author of Savage's Life. "How could that be?" says Harte: "none were present but you and I." Cave replied, "You might observe I sent a plate of victuals behind the skreen. There skulked the Biographer, one Johnson, whose dress was so shabby that he durst not make his appearance. He overheard our conversation; and your applauding his performance delighted him exceedingly."

* Published in 1724, and containing some account of Savage.

† Articles, perhaps, intended for the Magazine.

‡ This, Mr. Malone thinks, might *perhaps* have been the Runic Inscription, Gent. Mag. XII. 132. But I much doubt it, though unable to ascertain what it really was.

§ This must have been something of a friend of Johnson's, recommended by him to Cave. Had it been his own, he would not have said, "I am confident was never printed;" but what it was I know not, and suspect it was never printed at all.

"You need not be in care about something to print; for I have got the State Trials, and shall extract Layer, Atterbury, and Macclesfield, from them, and shall bring them to you in a fortnight; after which I will try to get the South Sea Report."

In a conversation with Boswell, talking of Ghosts, Dr. Johnson said, "he knew one friend, who was an honest and a sensible man, who told him he had seen a Ghost—old Mr. Edward Cave, the printer at St. John's Gate." He said, "Mr. Cave did not like the talk of it, and seemed to be in great horrour whenever it was mentioned."—*B.* "Pray, Sir, what does he say was the appearance?"—*J.* "Why, Sir, something of a shadowy being*."

"His friend Edward Cave having been mentioned, he told us, Cave used to sell 10,000 of the Gentleman's Magazine; yet such was then his minute attention and anxiety that the sale should not suffer the smallest decrease, that he would name a particular person who he heard had talked of leaving off the Magazine, and would say, 'Let us have something good next month†!"—Mr. Cave's attention to the Magazine may indeed truly be termed unremitting; for, as Dr. Johnson once observed to me, "he scarcely ever looked out of the window, but with a view to its improvement."

Of Mr. Cave and his early associates, so singular a character has been drawn by Sir John Hawkins, that it would be injustice to blend it with these desultory Anecdotes; but it shall be given entire at the end of this article‡.

A more amiable and certainly a more candid account of him is given in a recent publication:

"Mr. Cave was much connected with the literary world; and his friendship for Mrs. Carter was the means of introducing her to many Authors and Scholars of note; among these was Mr. (afterwards Dr.) Johnson §."

* Boswell's Life of Johnson, vol. II. p. 175.
† Ibid. vol. III. p. 344. ‡ See p. 49.
§ Pennington's Life of Mrs. Carter, p. 26.

By

By a letter from Mr. Cave to Dr. Birch, Nov. 28, 1739, we find that "Johnson advised Mrs. Carter to undertake a translation of 'Boethius de Consolatione,' because there is prose and verse; and to put her name to it when published*."

In a letter to that lady, Jan. 14, 1756, Johnson says, "To every joy is appended a sorrow. The name of Mrs. Carter introduces the memory of Cave. Poor dear Cave! I owed him much: for to him I owed that I have known you. He died, I am afraid, unexpectedly to himself: yet surely unburthened with any great crime; and for the positive duties of Religion, I have no reason to condemn him for neglect†."

A poetical correspondence between Mr. Cave, Mr. Bowyer, and Mr. Richardson, has appeared in a former volume‡. Two other of Mr. Cave's attempts at verse are here given:

The following billet was to a typographical friend:

"Good Master Hughs§,
I hope you 'll excuse,
That a favour to ask I presume:
What favour is it?
That me you will visit,
Who cannot stir out of my room.

* Boswell, vol. I. p. 113.—Since this was written, "The New Boethius," on a similar plan, has been published by the late Mr. Archdeacon Shepherd, in 1806.

† Pennington, p. 27. ‡ See vol. II. p. 75.

§ Mr. John Hughs was for many years an eminent and worthy Printer; and ranked very high in his profession. From his press almost the whole of the valuable and numerous publications of the Dodsleys were produced; and by him was laid the foundation of a business since brought to a high degree of prosperity. After a life of singular industry, integrity, and benevolence, he died Sept. 30, 1771, at the age of 68; and was buried on the 7th of October, in the vault underneath St. Giles's church. He left a widow, with manners as placid as his own, who survived him several years; and an only son, who, after following the laudable example which had been set him, retired from the fatigues of business, possessed of a fortune very honourably acquired, at a period of life when he was capable of enjoying the benefits of it, and which it is the hearty wish of *one of his oldest friends* that he may long continue to enjoy.

I hope you are stout,
And can trudge about,
And therefore the favour I crave,
The sooner the better:
Thus ends a good letter
From your humble, *très humble*, E. CAVE.
Monday, Dec. 12, 1734, *St. John's Gate.*"

In a poetical epistle he thus also addressed another intimate friend, in October 1749:

To Mr. MOSES BROWNE*,

"Good Moses, say, what will you have
Brought to your house by Master Cave?
I know you love the food that 's staunch;
I 'll send a fine fresh venison haunch:
Suppose I add another dish,
And send your wife some fine fresh fish?
Moses, I know she likes fish well;
Last night she did the secret tell,
When, after angling all the day,
I drank your ale, and whiff'd away:
The wine 's already on the road,
I trust its flavour will prove good;
A cordial 'tis to drooping merit,
I hope it will revive your spirit:
Good wine fresh courage may inspire,
Now string your long-forgotten lyre †.
Tho' anxious cares disturb your breast,
Some future hour may bring you rest;
Shake balmy odours from his wings,
To heal misfortunes, cruel things;
Fix you in some pure calm retreat,
Where you 'll a happy *exit* meet;
And, favour'd with a tranquil breast,
Serenely sink to endless rest;
This is the end I hope you 'll have,
So prays sincere Yours, EDWARD CAVE."

* Of whom see some account in p. 50.
† This was certainly good encouragement to a Poet.

Mr.

Mr. BROWNE'S *Answer.*

"Good Master Cave, my generous friend,
Where will your chain of favours end?
My honest heart cannot conceal
Th' unbounded gratitude I feel.
'Tis true, dark cares corrode my breast,
A stranger long to balmy rest;
How soon Heaven may reverse the scene;
How many hours may intervene,
Before such pleasing prospects rise;
I leave to Him who is all-wise,
Who, sitting at the helm above,
Works all things for our good—through love.
His awful will my soul obeys,
And trusts to Him for clearer days.
Unclouded may my *exit* be,
Such be the end to thee and me!
May this our mutual labours crown!
So prays Your grateful MOSES BROWNE."

It will not be foreign to the purport of this Memoir, if I transcribe two letters from the lately published "Correspondence of Mr. Richardson."

"MR. CAVE, Aug. 9, 1750.

"THOUGH I have constantly been a purchaser of the Ramblers* from the first five that you was so kind as to present me with, yet I have not had time to read any farther than those first five, till within these two or three days past. But I can go no farther than the thirteenth, now before me, till I have acquainted you, that I am inexpressibly pleased with them. I remember not any thing in the Spectators, in those Spectators that I read, for I never found time—(alas! my life has been a trifling busy one) to read them all, that half so much struck me; and yet I think of them highly.

* The *Rambler* was undoubtedly "the paper" referred to in the undated letter in p. 25, of which Mr. Dodsley had so favourable an opinion.

"I hope

"I hope the world tastes them; for its own sake, I hope the world tastes them! The Author I can only guess at. There is but *one man*, I think, that could write them; I desire not to know his name; but I should rejoice to hear that they succeed; for I would not, for any consideration, that they should be laid down through discouragement.

"I have, from the first five, spoke of them with honour. I have the vanity to think that I have procured them admirers; that is to say, readers. And I am vexed that I have not taken larger draughts of them before, that my zeal for their merit might have been as glowing as now I find it.

"Excuse the overflowing of a heart highly delighted with the subject; and believe me to be an equal friend to Mr. Cave and the Rambler, as well as their most humble servant, S. RICHARDSON."

"DEAR SIR, St. John's Gate, Aug. 29, 1750.

"I RECEIVED the pleasure of your letter of the 9th instant at Gloucester; and did intend to answer it from that city, though I had but one sound hand (the cold and rain on my journey having given me the gout); but as soon as I could ride, I went to Whitminster, the seat of Mr. Cambridge, who entertained the Prince there, and, in his boat, on the Severn. He kept me one night, and took me down part of his river to the Severn, where I sailed in one of his boats, and took a view of another of a peculiar make, having two keels, or being rather two long canoes connected by a floor or stage. I was then towed back again to sup and repose. Next morning he explained to me the contrivance of some waterfalls, which seem to come from a piece of water which is four feet lower. The three following days I spent in returning to town, and could not find time to write in an inn.

"I need not tell you that the Prince appeared highly pleased with every thing that Mr. Cambridge shewed, though he called him upon deck often to be seen by the people on the shore, who came in

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prodigious crowds, and thronged from place to place, to have a view as often as they could, not satisfied with one; so that many who came between the towing line and the bank of the river were thrown into it; and his Royal Highness could scarce forbear laughing; but sedately said to them, 'I am sorry' for your condition.'

"Excuse this ramble from the purpose of your letter. I return to answer, that Mr. *Johnson* is the Great Rambler, being, as you observe, the only man who can furnish two such papers in a week, besides his other great business—and has not been assisted with above three.

"I may discover to you, that the world is not so kind to itself as you wish it. The encouragement, as to sale*, is not in proportion to the high character given to the work by the judicious, not to say the raptures expressed by the few who do read it. But its being thus relished in numbers gives hopes that the sets must go off, as it is a fine paper, and, considering the late hour of having the copy, tolerably printed.

"When the Author was to be kept private (which was the first scheme) two gentlemen, belonging to the Prince's Court, came to me to enquire his name, in order to do him service; and also brought a list of seven gentlemen to be served with the Rambler. As I was not at liberty, an inference was drawn, that I was desirous to keep to myself so excellent a Writer. Soon after, Mr. Doddington† sent a letter

* "The sale was very inconsiderable, and seldom more than 500; and it is very remarkable, and a most curious *trait* of the age, that the only paper which had a prosperous sale, and may be said to have been popular, was one which Dr. Johnson did *not* write. This was No. 97, Feb. 19, 1750-1, written by Richardson, as Mr. Nichols was assured by Mr. John Payne, the original publisher. Dr. Johnson indeed introduces it to his readers with an elegant compliment, as the production of an author from whom the age has received greater favours, who has enlarged the knowledge of human nature, and taught the passions to move at the command of virtue." Mr. A. Chalmers's Biographical Preface to the Rambler, in the British Essayists, vol. XIX. p. 14.

† Afterwards Lord Melcombe.

directed

directed to the Rambler, inviting him to his house, when he should be disposed to enlarge his acquaintance. In a subsequent number a kind of excuse was made, with a hint that a good Writer might not appear to advantage in conversation. Since that time, several circumstances, and Mr. Garrick and others, who knew the Author's powers and style from the first, unadvisedly asserting their (but) suspicions, overturned the scheme of secrecy. (About which there is also one paper.)

"I have had letters of approbation from Dr. Young, Dr. Hartley, Dr. Sharpe, Miss Carter, &c. &c.; most of them, like you, setting them in a rank equal, and some superior, to the Spectators (of which I have not read many, for the reasons which you assign): but, notwithstanding such recommendation, whether the price of *two-pence*, or the unfavourable season of their first publication, hinders the demand, no boast can be made of it.

"The Author (who thinks highly of your writings) is obliged to you for contributing your endeavours; and so is, for several marks of your friendship, good sir,

"Your admirer, and very humble servant,

"ED. CAVE."

Among the MS Collections of Dr. Birch, in the British Museum *, are several short letters from Mr. Cave on literary subjects. From some of these it appears that Dr. Birch was occasionally a contributor to the "Parliamentary Debates;" that Mr. Cave had better assistance for that branch of his Magazine than has been generally supposed; that he was indefatigable in getting the Debates made as perfect as he could;—and, by all of them, that Dr. Birch was his steady friend and counsellor.

* Marked 4302, vol. C.

"I trouble

"July 21, 1735.

"I trouble you with the inclosed, because you said you could easily correct what is here given for Lord Chesterfield's speech *. I beg you will do so as soon as you can for me, because the month is far advanced."

"July 15, 1737.

"As you remember the Debates so far as to perceive the speeches already printed are not exact; I beg the favour that you will peruse the inclosed; and, in the best manner your memory will serve, correct the mistaken passages, or add any thing that is omitted. I should be very glad to have something of the Duke of Newcastle's speech †, which would be particularly of service. A gentleman has Lord Bathurst's speech ‡, to add something to."

"Aug. 12, 1738.

"We still agree on Tuesday; and I think we shall see Claremont, as we did Cannons, and then come to dine at Richmond. Had I best send Mr. Thomson word, that we shall be at such an inn at Richmond by *noon*, his hour of rising?

"Your humble servant, ED. CAVE."

"Sept. 9, 1741.

"I have put Mr. Johnson's Play into Mr. Gray's § hands, in order to sell it to him, if he is inclined to buy it; but I doubt whether he will or not. He would dispose of the copy, and whatever advantage may be made by acting it. Would your Society ||, or any gentlemen or body of men that you know, take such a bargain? Both he and I are very unfit

* See Gent. Mag. 1736, vol. VI. p. 445.

† Ibid. p. 377.

‡ Ibid. p. 379.

§ Mr. John Gray, a bookseller of eminence in London.

|| Not the Royal Society; but the Society for the Encouragement of Learning, of which Dr. Birch was a leading member. Their object was to assist authors in printing expensive Works. Having incurred a considerable debt, it was in a short time dissolved. See vol. II. p. 90.

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to deal with theatrical persons. Fleetwood was to have acted it last season; but Johnson's diffidence or . . . . * prevented it. I am, Reverend Sir, your most humble servant, "ED. CAVE."

"July 3, 1744.

"You will see what stupid, low, abominable stuff is put † upon your noble and learned Friend's ‡ character; such as I should quite reject, and endeavour to do something better towards doing justice to the character. But, as I cannot expect to attain my desires in that respect, it would be a great satisfaction, as well as an honour to our work, to have the favour of the genuine speech. It is a method that several have been pleased to take, as I could shew, but I think myself under a restraint. I shall say so far, that I have had some by a *third* hand, which I understood well enough to come from the *first*; others by penny-post, and others by the speakers themselves, who have been pleased to visit St. John's Gate, and shew particular marks of their being pleased."

"Dec. 1747.

"The Ode to Wisdom, in the second volume of Clarissa, was written by Miss Carter: it had been handed about in MS. I had not permission to print it, though I asked for it personally at Deal; and, though I before then had it in manuscript, it was under a promise not to publish it without leave §. "EDWARD CAVE."

"Saturday, Oct. 27, [1750].

"I beg that you will send me the page where Mrs. C.'s letter is in the Magazine. Mr. Johnson remembers both the letters; and he says they were the best, and put the affair in a light new to him at that time, and the reasoning excellent.

* There is no erasure here, but a mere blank; to fill up which may be an exercise for ingenious conjecture.

† I suppose in the London Magazine.

‡ Doubtless, Lord Hardwicke.

§ See it in Gent. Mag. vol. XVII. 1747, p. 565.

"Did

"Did Browne Willis, Esq. produce the scheme to the Society of Antiquaries, as said in the Remembrancer; or is it a joke?

"I have procured a *Latin Comus* for *Lauder**; of which I suppose he makes great account.

"*St. John's Gate.* ED. CAVE."

In the latter part of Mr. Cave's life, having an extensive connexion in the line of his business; at Reading particularly, at Gloucester, and at Northampton, and several relations at Rugby; he was a frequent traveller; and, time being more an object to him than expence, and the luxury of turnpike-roads being then but little known, he generally used four horses†. In one of these journeys, calling on an old school acquaintance, a man of great consequence, he directed the servant of the house to inform his master, "that *Ned Cave the Cobler* was come to visit him;" the name by which he was known to his quondam friends at Rugby-school, and of which in his more prosperous days he never was ashamed.

* A volume of scarce Tracts, possessed by my kind and communicative friend Mr. Bindley, contains, amongst much trash, two curious articles at least; a Latin translation of Milton's Lycidas, and a version of *Comus* into the same language, both by William Hogg, a Scotchman. His Translation of Paradise Lost is now a very common article, though it does not appear to have been so at the time of Lauder's Forgeries on our immortal Poet. There is hardly any thing known of Hogg, who was a great Writer of Latin Verse. Besides these, he translated other pieces of Milton, a Poem of Blackmore's, the Book of Ecclesiastes, and other things, most of which are in Mr. Bindley's library. By the manner in which Lauder is here mentioned by Cave, it appears as if Johnson and he were visitors at St. John's Gate at the same time. Certainly, at first, Johnson *did* give credit (and it is to be feared not reluctantly) to Lauder's charges of plagiarism.

† He was particularly attentive to his horses; which were kept well, and worked well. If proof of this were required, it would be sufficient to refer to a letter of his in Gent. Mag. vol. XVIII. p. 390, on an efficacious remedy for the Glanders in Horses; confirmed by an affidavit of his coachman in p. 432. See also vol. XIX. p. 140.

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It is well remembered also that he was an ingenious mechanic; and, to the no small diminishing of his property, was continually devising plans for the improvement of mills, &c. &c.

That he was the publisher of some valuable books, may be seen by various advertisements in the early volumes of the Magazine.

His "Proposals for printing Du Halde's History of China" are worth preserving at large:

"I. This Edition, which will take up about 500 sheets besides the Cuts and Maps, to be printed on the same Paper and Letter as here used. II. The Price to Subscribers to be at Three Half-pence a Sheet; if they amount to above Three Guineas, the surplus Sheets shall be delivered *gratis*. III. Every Sheet Map, or Sheet of Cuts, is reckoned as four Sheets of the Letter-press, excepting 3 Maps and 3 Plates, which must each be rated as 6 Sheets, though the Charge will exceed 7; Half-sheet Plates in proportion. IV. To publish 8 sheets once a fortnight, for One Shilling, or 20 Sheets for Half a Crown, once a month. V. A few Books on Royal Paper, at the Rate of One Shilling and Six-pence for Eight Sheets. VI. Gentlemen who subscribe for Six, to have a Plate inscribed to them. VII. That, a considerable Part of the Work being translated, it will be put to the press as soon as a Number of Subscriptions are come in sufficient to bear the Charge, which, in such Works as this, is never calculated under 1000. VIII. The Cuts to be engraved by the best Hands; the Maps done as well as the Originals, and several better. IX. That whatever Number of these Books there shall be a Demand for over the said Thousand, during the Progress of the Work, the Profits thereof shall, at its being finished, be fairly divided (excepting the few on Royal Paper) among the Thousand first Subscribers, only deducting 50*l.* to be given to such of His Majesty's British Subjects, as shall in the Opinion of the Royal Society, make (from the Hints given in this Description of China) the best and most useful Improvement in any beneficial

neficial Branch of Art, and exhibit the same to the said Society within 3 Months after this Work is finished. X. Allowance to Booksellers as usual. —The Subscribers are not required to pay any Money (except for the Royal Paper) till they receive the Sheets; and therefore need only favour the Undertaker with their Orders by the General or Penny Post, directed to their humble servant,

"EDWARD CAVE."

A subsequent advertisement was thus varied:

"Ready for the press, the entire Translation (illustrated with all the Cuts and Maps in the Original Copper Plates) a Description of China and Chinese Tartary, with Korea and Tibet, containing the Geography, and History, as well Natural as Civil, of those countries. Lately published at Paris by Pere du Halde, Jesuit, in 4 volumes, folio, and now reduced to 2 in English; with several necessary improvements by the translator, as specified in the plan of this Work, 6000 of which having been dispersed, we refer thereto.

"This book will be delivered by E. Cave at St. John's Gate, according to the orders already received, or to be received, either in monthly numbers, 20 sheets each at half a crown, or 8 sheets every fortnight at one shilling, or may be had at the booksellers in town and country.

"No money to be paid till the sheets are delivered, except a guinea for the royal paper, of which no more will be printed than subscribed for; half a guinea advance money for such as desire to have it only in volumes.

"Those booksellers who have received subscriptions, are desired to send word what numbers they think they shall dispose of, that a computation may be made how many ought to be printed. Some gentlemen who have called at St. John's Gate, have been pleased to say, they have subscribed to certain booksellers, who have not sent any account thereof.

"The Undertaker having more at heart the publishing a complete edition of this valuable Work for the

the honour of this Nation, than seeking employment which he does not want, or than the view of profit, he having publicly offered to resign this Work to his Opponent, is willing to alter the first Proposals to the liking of several subscribers, who think the scheme for giving 50*l.* for the encouragement of Artists impracticable, notwithstanding the Undertaker has already given away one sum of 50*l.* and another of 5*l.* according to Proposals, and has had the honour of proposing a Gold Medal of 10*l.* (the dies for which will cost near 30*l.*) and also another set of prizes to the amount of above 40*l.* which will most certainly be paid in a short time. Instead therefore of the former disapproved scheme of 50*l.* he is advised to give *ten five pounds* to such subscribers as they shall by lot fall to. But he is willing to do more: he will be ready to give the whole profits of the undertaking to fall by lot among the first 1000 subscribers, which profits, if encouragements offer, may produce *fifty* or *a hundred five pounds;* or, if it be thought proper to make only a few lots of five pounds, and divide the rest into lots of two and three pounds, there may be a fortunate lot to every five or six subscribers.

"By this means great part of the subscribers, besides having a book the full value of the purchase-money, will have a chance to gain the whole or double the sums they disburse; and the Undertaker, if this method succeeds, will be secured from loss, which is chiefly his aim; he having 50 and 50 instances to produce, wherein his publications have been printed upon him, before a day, a week, or month, have passed, to his great loss and disappointment.

"If any books remain unsold at the conclusion of the Work, they shall be put to sale by auction, and the produce applied, with the other profits, to the benefit of the fortunate claimants; the Undertaker desiring nothing more than the charges of printing, engraving, and interest of money to be deducted,

deducted, as far as shall be thought reasonable by the worthy Society for encouraging Learning*.

"The fortunate claimants to be determined by the numbers of their tickets being drawn against such lots by the Mathematical Engines; for which purpose tickets, to the number of 1000, will be delivered to those who continue to take the Work in parts as it comes out, or who shall pay half a guinea subscription-money, and take the first, and then the second volume in the same manner†."

In 1738, Mr. Cave printed a small collection of Poems, the early productions of Eliza Carter, but without her name, who was then not quite 20 years old. It consisted only of 24 pages in quarto; and has the cut of St. John's Gate in the title-page.

The "Parliamentary Register," of which Mr. Cave published a second edition in 1741, with the names of the members complete from 1660 to that period.

I have a copy of this book continued by the Rev. Robert Smyth‡ till his own death in 1761;

* See Gentleman's Magazine for June 1736, vol. VI. p. 353.

† Gent. Mag. 1736, vol. VI. p. 624.

‡ He was educated at St. John's college, Cambridge, under the tuition of Dr. Newcome, master of that college, and dean of Rochester; was an indefatigable antiquary, and a member of the Gentlemen's Society at Spalding. He had made large collections for a History of the Sheriffs throughout England, to which Maurice Johnson, esq. founder of the Spalding Society, prefixed an introduction, on the dignity, use, and authority, of these great civil officers.

Mr. Smyth had collected sheriffs, abbots, priors, and heads of religious houses, from Sir John Cotton's 38 MS Rolls, copied from those at Westminster, temp. Edward I. He greatly assisted Mr. Edmund Carter, a school-master, first at Chelsea, afterwards at Cambridge, in his History of that Town and University, 1753, and also in his History of that County; and whatever is more particularly valuable in that work must be attributed to him.

It was his regular custom to bathe almost every morning in the river near Peterborough bridge; and, in the pursuit of this practice, he lost his life, Sept. 15, 1761. He came out of the water apparently well; but died a few minutes after, in the shop of a friend at Peterborough; and was buried in Woodston church-yard, with this epitaph:

"In memory of the Rev. ROBERT SMYTH,
thirty-three years rector of this parish,

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a work compiled on so excellent a plan, that it is to be wished some spirited Publisher would bring it

a sincere honest man and a good Christian.
His utmost endeavours were,
to benefit mankind, and relieve the poor.
He was a laborious and correct Antiquary;
died the 15th of September, 1761, aged 62 years."

The result of a strict enquiry after his "History of Sheriffs" was, that it is supposed to have been destroyed, with many other of his papers, by an illiterate brother, who is himself since dead. He wrote a most singular hand; and crowded his lines so close together, that they entangled in one another in a way that made it extremely difficult to read his letters. The late Mr. Cole of Milton held a correspondence with him for some time.

The "History of the Gentlemen's Society at Spalding" has afforded the greater part of the above particulars; to which I may add, that I have in my own possession the most unequivocal proofs of Mr. Smyth's astonishing application.

Carter's "History of the University of Cambridge" I have now before me, interleaved, so completely filled by the MS additions of Mr. Smyth, that the overflowings make a considerable figure in the margin of a second copy.

Walker's "Sufferings of the Clergy," Le Neve's "Fasti Anglicani," and Wotton's "Baronetage, 1741," are all in like manner enriched with corrections and copious additions.

Mr. Smyth was an early member also, and secretary, of a Society formed in 1730 at Peterborough "for the promotion of friendship and literature," of which Mr. Neve was treasurer. This institution, corresponding to that at Spalding, still continues; and their library shews many marks of Mr. Smyth's attentive industry; many of the books there being improved by his judicious observations in the margin. Among these I particularly noticed (and borrowed) a copy of Burton's Leicestershire, in which many of the pedigrees are much corrected.

His topographical researches seem to have naturally commenced in Cambridgeshire, where he received his education; to have advanced in Huntingdonshire, the county in which he was preferred; and to have extended thence to a considerable circle.

In 1786, when this note was first written, I possessed the following indubitable proofs of his consummate industry:

1. A volume of Collections for Huntingdonshire, evidently finished for the press; in which the sheriffs of Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire are accurately collected on his own improved plan.

2. A folio volume, in which the epitaphs in Huntingdonshire and Bedfordshire are fairly transcribed.

3. Another, with those of the county of Rutland.

4. A large collection for the counties of Cambridge, Huntingdon, and Lincoln; with some few for the counties of Leicester and Nottingham.

5. "*In-*

down to the present time. Mr. Smyth was an industrious and minute collector of heraldic and mo-

5. "*Inscriptiones Sepulchrales;* containing a Collection of the most remarkable Inscriptions belonging to the Persons of Families of chief Note in the County of Huntingdon, and some other Counties; copied mostly from those collected by the late Mr. John Clement, junior, of Woodston. Mr. Clement's Collection (taken in 1731, &c.) being found often faulty, and especially in the arms, many of the Churches have been reviewed since his Death, and the whole of them made exact." This is a volume of 297 pages, in 4to, closely written; and contains many inscriptions in the counties of Bedford, Cambridge, Northampton, Lincoln, Salop, and Stafford; and some few in Suffolk, Derbyshire, and Nottinghamshire.

6. A folio volume (108 pages closely written) of "Additions and Corrections to the Baronetage of England, collected from the last Edition in 1741 to 1758, by R. S.; taking, in the Transcript, the several Baronets in the Order of their Creation." A considerable number of Mr. Smyth's letters to Mr. Wotton are placed in this volume; is accompanied also by three folio volumes of Collections on the same subject by that very curious and unwearied Antiquary Peter Le Neve, esq. (Norroy King of Arms); to which Mr. Wotton acknowledges "more than ordinary obligation, as having been of the greatest use to him" in the edition of 1741; and "which take in," he adds, "such a variety of materials, proper to such works," that they "would still be of a great deal more, if the Baronetage should be thought worthy hereafter, of another impression." I may add, more particularly if an extinct Baronetage should ever be undertaken.

7. "A Copy of the Visitation Book for Hampshire, 1613, by Sir Nicholas Charles, Lancaster Herald, taken by R. S. April 16, 1751, &c. from a MS. in the Library of the Rev. Mr. Thomas Fairfax, who died rector of Eynesbury, 1750, December 2; supposed with reason to be communicated to his Ancestor, a Lover of Antiquity, from the family of Cotton, Baronets in this County, and now given back to it on Mr. Fairfax's death. This Copy is taken *verbatim*, and no Additions made to it (as in the Visitation of Derbyshire, by R. S. transcribed, &c.). Where any such there is now done, or may be hereafter, it will be seen and distinguished by being placed on the Sides with proper Notes of Reference."

8. "A Copy of the Visitation Book of Cheshire, ann. 1513, taken, 1752, by R. S. from one in the Possession of Tho. Weston, of Point Pleasant, in Kingston, Surrey, Gent. In the front stands one of the most valuable Parts of it, an alphabetical List of the Gentry's arms blazoned."

Copies, transcribed by other hands, of the Visitation of Cambridgeshire, 1575; and also of Sussex, 1565; and Berks, ...

The articles marked 1—5 are still mine.

Ralph Bigland, esq. Norroy king of arms, possesses No. 6.

The Visitations are dispersed.

numental notes; but, unfortunately, too confined in circumstances, either to afford the leisure, or to run the hazard, of committing the result of his researches to the press.

Sir JOHN HAWKINS's *Account of Mr.* CAVE, *and of several of his* EARLY ASSOCIATES *.

Speaking of the Translation of Father Paul, Sir John says, "Cave's acquiescence in the above proposal drew Johnson into a close intimacy with him: he was much at St. John's Gate; [which 'when Johnson first saw, he beheld with reverence' (Boswell, vol. I. p. 85);] and taught Garrick the way thither. Cave had no great relish for mirth, but he could bear it; and having been told by Johnson, that his friend had talents for the Theatre, and was come to London with a view to the profession of an Actor, expressed a wish to see him in some comic character. Garrick readily complied; and, as Cave himself told me, with a little preparation of the room over the great arch of St. John's Gate, and with the assistance of a few journeymen printers, who were called together for the purpose of reading the other parts, represented, with all the graces of comic humour, the principal character in Fielding's farce of the Mock Doctor.

"Cave's temper was phlegmatic: though he assumed, as the publisher of the Magazine, the name of *Sylvanus Urban*, he had few of those qualities that constitute the character of urbanity. Judge of his want of them by this question, which he once put to an Author: 'Mr. ——, I hear you have just published a pamphlet, and am told there is a very good paragraph in it upon the subject of Music: did you write that yourself?' His discernment was also slow; and as he had already at his command

* It would be injustice to Sir John Hawkins, if I did not observe, that, in a second edition, he softened several of the expressions which tended to reflect on the memory of Mr. Cave. See pp. 54, 56.

some

some writers of prose and verse, who in the language of Booksellers are called good hands*, he was

* "Mr. Moses Browne, originally a pen-cutter, was, so far as concerned the poetical part of it, the chief support of the Magazine, which he fed with many a nourishing morsel. This person, being a lover of angling, wrote Piscatory Eclogues; and was a candidate for the fifty pound prize mentioned in Johnson's first letter to Cave, and for other prizes which Cave engaged to pay him who should write the best poem on certain subjects; in all or most of which competitions Mr. Browne had the good fortune to succeed. He published these and other poems of his writing, in an octavo volume, Lond. 1739; and has therein given proofs of an exuberant fancy and a happy invention. Some years after he entered into holy orders. A farther account of him may be seen in the Biographia Dramatica, to a place in which work he seems to have acquired a title by some juvenile compositions for the stage. Being a person of a religious turn, he also published in verse a series of devout contemplations, called *Sunday Thoughts*. Johnson, who often expressed his dislike of religious poetry, and who, for the purpose of religious meditation, seemed to think one day as proper as another, read them with cold approbation, and said, he had a great mind to write and publish *Monday Thoughts*.—To the proofs above adduced of the coarseness of Cave's manners, let me add the following: he had undertaken, at his own risk, to publish a translation of Du Halde's History of China, in which were contained sundry geographical and other plates. Each of these he inscribed to one or other of his friends; and, among the rest, one to *Moses Browne*. With this blunt and familiar designation of his person, Mr. Browne was justly offended. To appease him, Cave directed an engraver, to introduce with a caret under the line, *Mr.*; and thought, that in so doing, he had made ample amends to Mr. Browne for the indignity done him.

"Mr. John Duick, also a pen-cutter, and a near neighbour of Cave, was a frequent contributor to the Magazine, of short poems, written with spirit and ease. He was a kinsman of Browne, and the author of a good copy of encomiastic verses prefixed to the collection of Browne's Poems above mentioned.

"Mr. Foster Webb, a young man who had received his education in Mr. Watkins's academy in Spital-square, and afterwards became clerk to a merchant in the city was at first a contributor to the Magazine, of enigmas, a species of poetry in which he then delighted, but was dissuaded from it by the following lines, which appeared in the Magazine for October 1740, after a few successful essays in that kind of writing:

'Too modest Bard, with enigmatic veil
No longer let thy Muse her charms conceal;
Though oft the Sun in clouds his face disguise,
Still he looks nobler when he gilds the skies.

the backwarder in making advances, or courting an intimacy with Johnson. Upon the first approach

Do thou, like him, avow thy native flame,
Burst through the gloom, and brighten into fame.'

"After this friendly exhortation, Mr. Webb, in those hours of leisure which business afforded, amused himself with translating from the Latin Classics, particularly Ovid and Horace: from the latter of these he rendered into English verse, with better success than any that had before attempted it, the Odes, "Quis multa gracilis te puer in rosa;" "Solvitur acris hyems grata vice veris, et Favoni;" "Parcus Deorum cultor et infrequens;" and "Diffugêre nives, redeunt jam gramina campis;" all which are inserted in Cave's Magazine. His signature was sometimes Telarius, at others Vedastus. He was a modest, ingenious, and sober young man; but a consumption defeated the hopes of his friends, and took him off in the twenty-second year of his age.

"Mr. John Smith, another of Mr. Watkins's pupils, was a writer in the Magazine, of prose essays, chiefly on religious and moral subjects, and died of a decline about the same time.

"Mr. John Canton, apprenticed to the above-named Mr. Watkins, and also his successor in his academy, was a contributor to the Magazine, of verses, and afterwards, of papers on philosophical and mathematical subjects. The discoveries he made in electricity and magnetism are well known, and are recorded in the Transactions of the Royal Society, of which he afterwards became a member.

"Mr. William Rider, bred in the same prolific seminary, was a writer in the Magazine, of verses signed Philargyrus. He went from school to Jesus college, Oxford, and, some years after his leaving the same, entered into holy orders, and became surmaster of St. Paul's school, in which office he continued many years, but at length was obliged to quit that employment by reason of his deafness.

"Mr. Adam Calamy, son of Dr. Edmund Calamy, an eminent Non-conformist Divine, and author of the Abridgment of Mr. Baxter's History of his Life and Times, was another of Mr. Watkins's pupils, that wrote in the Magazine; the subjects on which he chiefly exercised his pen were essays in polemical theology and republican politics; and he distinguished them by the assumed signature of *A consistent Protestant*. He was bred to the profession of an attorney, and was brother to Mr. Edmund Calamy, a Dissenting teacher, of eminence for his worth and learning.

"A seminary, of a higher order than that above-mentioned, viz. the academy of Mr. John Eames in Moor-fields, furnished the Magazine with a number of other correspondents in mathematics and other branches of science and polite literature. This was an institution supported by the Dissenters, the design whereof was to qualify young men for their ministry. Mr. Eames was formerly the continuator of the abridgement of the Philosophical

"Trans-

of a stranger, his practice was to continue sitting, a posture in which he was ever to be found, and, for a few minutes, to continue silent: if at any time he was inclined to begin the discourse, it was generally by putting a leaf of the Magazine then in the press into the hand of his visitor, and asking his opinion of it. I remember that, calling in on him once, he gave me to read the beautiful poem of Collins, written for Shakspeare's Cymbeline, 'To fair Fidele's grassy tomb,' which, though adapted to a particular circumstance in the play, Cave was for inserting in his Magazine, without any reference to the subject. I told him it would lose of its beauty if it were so published: this he could not see; nor could he be convinced of the propriety of the name *Fidele*: he thought *Pastora* a better, and so printed it.

"He was so incompetent a judge of Johnson's abilities, that, meaning at one time to dazzle him with the splendour of some of those luminaries in literature who favoured him with their correspondence, he told him that, if he would, in the evening, be at a certain alehouse in the neighbourhood of Clerkenwell, he might have a chance of seeing Mr. Browne and another or two of the persons mentioned in the preceding note: Johnson accepted the invitation; and being introduced by Cave, dressed

Transactions begun by Jones and Lowthorp, and was a man of great knowledge, and a very able tutor. Under him were bred many young men who afterwards became eminently distinguished for learning and abilities; among them were the late Mr. Parry of Cirencester, the late Dr. Furneaux, and Dr. Gibbons; and, if I mistake not, Dr. Price. The pupils of this academy had heads that teemed with knowledge, which, as fast as they acquired it, they were prompted by a juvenile and laudable ambition to communicate in letters to Mr. Urban.

"To this account of Cave's correspondents might be added the celebrated names of Dr. Birch, Mrs. Carter, Dr. Akenside, the Rev. Mr. Samuel Pegge, who, by an ingenious transposition of the letters of his name, formed the plausible signature of Paul Gemsege; Mr. Luck, of Barnstaple in Devonshire; Mr. Henry Price, of Pool, in Dorsetshire; Mr. Richard Yate, of Chively, in Shropshire; Mr. John Bancks; and that industrious and prolific genius, Mr. John Lockman.

in

in a loose horse-man's coat, and such a great bushy uncombed wig as he constantly wore, to the sight of Mr. Browne, whom he found sitting at the upper end of a long table, in a cloud of tobacco-smoke, had his curiosity gratified.

"Johnson saw very clearly those offensive particulars that made a part of Cave's character; but, as he was one of the most quick-sighted men I ever knew in discovering the good and amiable qualities of others, a faculty which he has displayed, as well in the life of Cave, as in that of Savage, printed among his works, so was he ever inclined to palliate their defects; and, though he was above courting the patronage of a man whom, *for many reasons, he could not but hold cheap**, he disdained not to accept it, when tendered with any degree of complacency.

"Cave, who had no idea of the powers of eloquence over the human mind, became sensible of its effects in the profits it brought him. He had long thought that the success of his Magazine proceeded from those parts of it that were conducted by himself, which were, the abridgment of weekly papers written against the Ministry, such as the Craftsman, Fog's Journal, Common Sense, the Weekly Miscellany, the Westminster Journal, and others, and also marshaling the pastorals, the elegies, and the songs, the epigrams, and the rebuses, that were sent him by various correspondents; and was scarcely able to see the causes that at this time increased the sale of his pamphlet from ten to fifteen thousand copies a month. But, if he saw not, he felt them, and manifested his good fortune by buying an old coach and a pair of older horses; and, that he might avoid the suspicion of pride in setting up an equipage, he displayed to the world the source of his affluence, by a representation of St. John's gate, instead of his arms, on the door-

* This phrase was, on my remonstrance, corrected in the second edition thus: "whom, in respect to mental endowments, he considered much inferior."

pannel,

pannel. This, he told me himself, was the reason of distinguishing his carriage from others, by what some might think a whimsical device, and also for causing it to be engraven on all his plate.

"It might seem that between men so different in their endowments and tempers as Johnson and Cave were, little of true friendship could subsist; but the contrary was the case: Cave, though a man of a saturnine disposition, had a sagacity which had long been exercised in the discrimination of men, in searching into the recesses of their minds, and finding out what they were fit for; and a liberality of sentiment and action, which, under proper restrictions, inclined him not only to encourage genius and merit, but to esteem and even to venerate the possessors of those qualities as often as he met with them: it cannot, therefore, be supposed but that he entertained a high regard for such a man as Johnson, and, having had a long experience of his abilities and integrity, that he had improved this disposition into friendship. Johnson, on his part, sought for other qualities in those with whom he meant to form connexions: had he determined to make only those his friends whose endowments were equal to his own, his life would have been that of a Carthusian; he was therefore more solicitous to contract friendships with men of probity and integrity, and endued with good moral qualities, than with those whose intellectual powers, or literary attainments, were the most conspicuous part of their character; and of the former, Cave had a share, sufficient to justify his choice. On this mutual regard for each other, as on a solid basis, rested the friendship between Johnson and Cave. It was therefore with a degree of sorrow proportioned to his feelings towards his friends, which were ever tender, that Johnson reflected on the loss he had to sustain, and became the narrator of the most important incidents of his life. In the account which he has given of his death, it will be readily believed, that what he had related respecting the constancy of his friendship

ship is true, and that when, as the last act of reason, he fondly pressed the hand that was afterwards employed in recording his memory, his affection was sincere.

Having occasion to notice Johnson's first imitation of Juvenal *, Sir John Hawkins observes, that "Johnson and Dodsley were soon agreed; the price asked by the one, and assented to by the other, was, as I have been informed, fifty pounds: a reward for his labour and ingenuity, that induced Johnson ever after to call Dodsley his patron;" and adds, "It [*is pretty certain that, in his offer of the poem to Dodsley, Cave stipulated for the printing of it; for it* †] came abroad in the year above mentioned with the name of Cave as the printer, though without that of the author."

A good portrait of Mr. Cave, by Worlidge, after the manner of Rembrandt, was inserted in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1754, vol. XXIV. p. 55, and is prefixed to the present volume.

There is another portrait of him, by Grignion, with emblematic devices, and this inscription:

"EDWARD CAVE, ob. 10 Jan. 1754, ætat. 62.
The first Projector of the Monthly Magazines.
Th' Invention all admired, and each how he
To be th' Inventor miss'd."

Mr. Cave was buried in the church of St. James, Clerkenwell; but the following inscription to the memory of his father and himself, which was written by Dr. Hawkesworth, is placed on a table monument in the North-west church-yard at Rugby:

"Near this place lies the body of
JOSEPH CAVE, late of this parish,
who departed this life Nov. 18, 1747,
aged 80 years.

* Of which see before, pp. 23, 24.

† These words were properly *retracted* in the second edition.

He

He was placed by Providence in a humble station;
but
INDUSTRY abundantly supplied his wants,
and TEMPERANCE blest him with
CONTENT and HEALTH.
As he was an affectionate Father,
he was made happy in the decline of life
by the deserved eminence of his eldest son
EDWARD CAVE;
who, without interest, fortune, or connections,
by the native force of his own Genius,
assisted only by a classical Education,
which he received in the Grammar-school
of this Town,
planned, executed, and established
a Literary Work, called
THE GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE;
whereby he acquired an ample Fortune,
the whole of which devolved to his family.
Here also lies the body of ESTHER his wife,
who died Dec. 30, 1734, aged 69 years."

On the North side of the same tomb:

"Here also lies
the body of WILLIAM CAVE,
second son of the said JOSEPH and ESTHER CAVE,
who died May 2, 1757, aged 62 years;
and who, having survived his elder brother
EDWARD CAVE,
inherited from him a competent estate;
and, in gratitude to his benefactor,
ordered this monument, to perpetuate his
memory.
He liv'd a Patriarch in his numerous race,
And shew'd in charity a Christian's grace:
Whate'er a friend or parent feels, he knew;
His hand was open, and his heart was true;
In what he gain'd and gave, he taught mankind,
A grateful always is a generous mind.

Here

Here rest his clay! his soul must more than rest;
Who blest when living, dying must be blest.
Here also lies the body of
JUDITH, wife of the said WILLIAM CAVE,
who died Feb. 11, 1748, aged 56 years."

On the South side:

"Here lies the body of JOSEPH CAVE,
son of JOSEPH and ESTHER CAVE,
who died Nov. 18, 1738, aged 42 years.
Also the body of
SARAH, wife of the said JOSEPH CAVE,
who died March 13, 1750, aged 56 years."

The following inscription was placed on a flat stone in the old church of St. James Clerkenwell, to the memory of the late Mr. Richard Cave *, of St. John's gate, who died Sept. 8, 1766; and of his wife, who survived him about six years:

"Reader, if native worth may claim a tear,
Or the sad tale of death affect thy ear,
Heave from thy breast one sympathising sigh,
Since here such fair examples mouldering lie.
Here lies a pair, whom Honesty approv'd,
In death lamented, and in life belov'd;
Who never meant a neighbour to offend;
Who never made a foe, nor lost a friend;
Whose only strife was, who should act the best;
Whose only hope, to rise among the blest."

* Nephew to the original projector of the Magazine, and, from 1754 till 1760, the printer of it, in conjunction with my late worthy friend David Henry, esq. who wrote the above epitaph, and whose laudable exertions long supported and increased the original credit of what Mr. Burke styled "one of the most chaste and instructive Miscellanies of the age." Annual Register, 1780, p. 184.

No. II.

JOHN DUNTON. (See vol. IV. p. 88.)

This eccentric Bookseller was born May 14, 1659, at Graffham in Huntingdonshire, where his father, John Dunton, fellow of Trinity college, Cambridge, was then rector. His mother, Lydia Dunton, was daughter of Mr. Daniel Carter, of Chesham; and died March 3, 1660. On the loss of his wife, Mr. Dunton went to Ireland, where he continued some years; and the son was placed, at a very early age, at the school of Mr. William Readings, at Dungrove, near Chesham.

In 1669 his father returned into England, obtained the rectory of Aston Clinton, where he married a second wife, and removed the son from school to his own immediate tuition, intending him for the Church. The acquirement of Latin he found easy; but the difficulty of Greek overcame all his resolutions. He made some little progress in logic, metaphysics, and morality; but at the age of fourteen was found too volatile for the Church; to the no small mortification of his father, who was himself the third John Dunton, in a lineal descent, that had been a minister. When nearly fifteen, to suit the peculiarity of his genius, he was apprenticed to Mr. Thomas Parkhurst, a respectable bookseller. In 1676 he lost his father; and, when his apprenticeship was nearly expired, made himself conspicuous in the great political dispute between the Tories and the Whigs. He, being a prime mover on the part of the Whig apprentices, and selected for their Treasurer, the Tories, to the number of 5000, presented an address to the King against the petitioning for parliaments. The dissenting

senting party made their remonstrances to the former address, in another they presented to Sir Patience Ward, then lord mayor of London, who promised he would acquaint the King with their address; and then bid them return home, and mind the business of their respective masters.

By his own statement, his conduct during the seven years was not very regular; and at the expiration of the term 100 apprentices were invited to celebrate *the funeral.* He now entered on business as a bookseller on his own account; but, to avoid too large a rent, took only half a shop, a warehouse, and a fashionable chamber. "Printing," he says, "was the uppermost in my thoughts; and hackney authors began to ply me with specimens, as earnestly, and with as much passion and concern, as the watermen do passengers with oars and scullers. I had some acquaintance with this generation in my apprenticeship, and had never any warm affection for them; in regard I always thought their great concern lay more in how much a sheet, than in any generous respect they bore to the commonwealth of learning; and indeed the learning itself of these gentlemen lies very often in as little room as their honesty; though they all pretend to have studied you six or seven years in the Bodleian Library, to have turned over the Fathers, and to have read and digested the whole compass both of humane and ecclesiastic history: when, alas! they have never been able to understand a single page of Saint Cyprian, and cannot tell you whether the Fathers lived before or after Christ. And as for their honesty, it is very remarkable, they will either persuade you to go upon another man's copy, to steal his thought, or to abridge his book, which should have got him bread for his life-time. When you have engaged them upon some project or other, they will write you off three or four sheets perhaps, take up three or four pounds upon an urgent occasion, and you shall never hear of them more."—"The first copy I would venture to print, was written

ten by the Reverend Mr. Doolittle, and intituled 'The Sufferings of Christ.' This book fully answered my end; for, exchanging it through the whole trade, it furnished my shop with all sorts of books saleable at that time; and it also brought me acquainted with those ingenious gentlemen, Mr. Waters, Mr. Shewel, Mr. Clark, Mr. Benson, Mr. Wells, and Mr. Sanders, who were then students under the care of Mr. Doolittle. There was a copy of Greek verses prefixed to this book, which occasioned a poetical duel between the two private Academies of Islington and Stepney; Mr. Wesley, then pupil under Mr. Veale, endeavouring to ridicule the Poem; with whom, and Mr. Kingston, his fellow student, I contracted a very intimate friendship. Mr. Wesley was much celebrated for his vein at poetry; though those that allow of no second rate in that art have endeavoured to lessen his reputation.—The second adventure I made in printing, was a copy written by Mr. Jay, rector of Chinner, intituled, 'Daniel in the Den; or, the Lord President's Imprisonment, and miraculous Deliverance.' It was dedicated to the Lord Shaftsbury, and published upon the occasion of his being acquitted by an ignoramus jury. This piece was well furnished with wit, and, being published at the critical time, sold well.

Books have their time of life as well as we;
They live by chance, but die by destiny.
Our fate is less severe, in this alone,
That books no resurrection have, we hope for one.

"This extraordinary success in my first attempts, gave me an ungovernable itch to be always intriguing that way The next thing I printed was a Sermon preached by the Rev. Mr. John Shower, at the funeral of Madam Anne Barnardiston. The growing reputation of the author made the Sermon move very well. There have been three editions of it, two of my own printing, and a third by my worthy

worthy friend Mr. John Lawrence. When I was thus fixed in the trade, I resolved to make public a Collection of Funeral Discourses preached by my reverend father, Mr. John Dunton, intituled, 'The House of Weeping.' The success was well enough; but my chief design was to perpetuate my father's name, for whose memory I have always entertained a very great and just veneration."

Dunton's reputation grew with his circumstances; and, Aug. 3, 1682, he married Elizabeth, one of the daughters of Dr. Annesly, who at that time was a celebrated preacher among the Dissenters. He now opened a shop at the Black Raven in Princes-street; where he carried on business very prosperously, till the universal damp upon trade which was occasioned by the defeat of the Duke of Monmouth in the West; when, having 500*l.* owing him in New England, he determined, after much deliberation, to make a trip thither; and, after a long and tedious voyage of four months, and the loss of a venture of 500*l.* in another ship, which was castaway, he arrived safe at Boston in March 1685-6; and opened a warehouse for the sale of the books which he had taken thither. Carrying with him powerful recommendations, and his books being of a class adapted to the Puritans, the success was equal to his wishes. His rivals in trade were but few; Mr. Usher, Mr. Philips, Mynheer Brunning, and Duncan Campbell, an industrious Scotchman, being then the only booksellers in Boston; and Mr. Green the principal if not the only printer. He had taken with him a steady apprentice, Samuel Palmer, to whom he entrusted the whole charge of his business; which left him at leisure to make many pleasant excursions into the country.

He visited Harvard college particularly, and the town of Salem; where he opened another warehouse for his books. He also visited Wenham, an inland town; where he was most kindly received by Mr. Geery, the then minister of that place; whose character he thus delineates: "It were endless to enter

on

on a detail of each faculty of learning Mr. Geery is master of, and therefore take his character in short-hand. The Philosopher is acute, ingenious, and subtle; the Divine curious, orthodox, and profound; the Man of a majestic air, without austerity or sourness; his aspect is masterly and great, yet not imperious or haughty. The Christian is devout, without moroseness, or starts of holy frenzy and enthusiasm; the Preacher is primitive, without the accessional colours of whining or cant; and methodical without intricacy or affectation; and, which crowns his character, he is a man of a public spirit, zealous for the conversion of the Indians, and of great hospitality to strangers. He gave us a noble dinner, and entertained us with such pleasant fruits as, I must own, Old England is a stranger to."—In a ramble to Ipswich he had an opportunity of seeing much of the customs of the Indians.

In the autumn he returned to London; and, being received by his wife and her father with all the marks of kindness and respect, expected nothing but a golden life of it for the future, though all his satisfactions were soon withered; for, being deeply entangled for a sister-in-law, he was not suffered to step over the threshold in ten months. Wearied with this confinement, he determined to take a trip to Holland, Flanders, Germany, &c.; and stayed four months at Amsterdam; whence he travelled to Cleves, Rhineberg, Dussledorp, Cologne, Mentz, &c.; and, returning through Rotterdam to London, Nov. 15, 1688, found his wife in health, and all her affairs in peace. On the day the Prince of Orange came to London, he again opened shop, at the Black Raven, opposite the Poultry Compter, where he traded ten years, with variety of successes and disappointments. The following books, among many others, may serve to give a taste of what he was engaged in: "Heads of Agreement, assented to by the United Ministers."—"The Morning Exercises, published by the London Ministers."—"Malebranche's Search after Truth, which was made English

English by Mr. Sault."—"Mr. Coke's Detection of the Court and State of England."—"The Works of the Lord Delamere, published by Consent of the Earl of Warrington."—"Dr. Burthogg's Essay on Reason, and the Nature of Spirits; dedicated to Mr. Locke."—"The Tigurine Liturgy; published by the Approbation of Six learned Prelates."—"Bishop Barlow's Remains; published from his Lordship's original Papers, by Sir Peter Pet, Knight."—"The Life of the Reverend Mr. Thomas Brand."—"The Life and Death of the Reverend Mr. John Elliot, who first preached the Gospel to the Indians in America."—"The Bloody Assizes, which contain the Trials and Dying Speeches of those that died in the West."—"Sermons on the whole Parable of Dives and Lazarus, by Joseph Stephens, Lecturer of Cripplegate and Lothbury Churches."—"The Tragedies of Sin, by Mr. Jay, Rector of Chinner."—"Mr. Williams's Gospel Truth."—"Machenzye's Narrative of the Siege of Derry."—"Mr. Boyse's Answer to Bishop King."—"Mr. Shower's Mourners Companion."—"Mr. Roger's Practical Discourses."—"Poems, written by Madam Singer, the Pindarick Lady."—"Mr. Baxter's Life."—"The History of the Edict at Nantes, translated by several Hands."—"It was a wonderful pleasure," he says, "to Queen Mary to see this History made English, and was the only book to which she ever granted her Royal Licence."

Of 600 books which he had printed, he had only to repent, he adds, of *seven*: "The second Spira," "The Post-boy robbed of his Mail," "The Voyage round the World," "The new Quevedo," "The Pastor's Legacy," "Heavenly Pastime," "The Hue and Cry after Conscience." These he heartily wished he had never seen, and advised all who had them to burn them. After confessing his errors in printing, he says, "As to bookselling and traffick, I dare stand the test, with the same allowance that every man under the same circumstance with me would wish to have, for the whole trading part of my life. Nay, I challenge all the Booksellers in London

London to prove I ever over-reached them or deceived them in any one instance. And when you come to that part of my life that relates to the *Auctions I made in Dublin*, you will find that in all the notes I made for Dublin, that I put the same price to every man. And would any Bookseller be at the pains to compare all my notes together (though I exchanged with all the trade), for every penny he finds charged more to himself than to other men, he shall have ten pounds reward, and a thousand thanks into the bargain, for rectifying a mistake I never designed."—In 1692, having been "put in possession of a considerable estate upon the decease of my cousin Carter, the Master and Assistants of the Company of Stationers began to think me sufficient to wear a Livery, and honoured me with the cloathing. My Livery-fine upon that occasion was twenty pounds, which I paid; and the year following, Mr. Harris (my old friend and partner), and about fifty more of the Livery-men, entered into a Friendly Society, and obliged ourselves to pay twenty shillings a man yearly to the Renter-warden, in regard that honour was usually once a year attended with a costly entertainment to the whole Company.

"The first year I wore the Livery, Sir William Ashhurst being then Lord Mayor, I was invited by our Master and Wardens to dine with his Lordship. We went in a body from the Poultry church to Grocers-hall; where the entertainment was very generous, and a noble spoon he sent to our wives. To speak the truth, I do not think Sir William Ashhurst ever acted a little or a mean thing in his whole life. The world now smiled on me. I sailed with wind and tide; and had humble servants enough among the Booksellers, Stationers, Printers, and Binders; but especially my own relations, on every side, were all upon the very height of love and tenderness, and I was caressed almost out of my five senses.—And now, making a considerable figure in the Company of Stationers, the Right Hon. the Earl of Warrington did me the honour to send

me a letter (the original of which I have still by me) in behalf of Mr. Humphreys, desiring all the interest I could make, to procure him the Clerk's place to the Company of Stationers. Upon my reading the Earl's letter, I did all that lay in my power to get Mr. Humphreys chosen Clerk, though by the majority of voices it was carried against him. However, the many civilities I received from the Company of Stationers, for the fifteen years I traded amongst them, do oblige me, out of mere gratitude, to draw the character of the most eminent of that profession in the three kingdoms." Here Mr. Dunton proceeds to characterize the principal Booksellers, Printers, Stationers, Bookbinders, &c. who were his contemporaries (as in a former part of the volume he had the several Authors with whom he had been connected in trade); several of whom have already been mentioned in the present work, and others shall be noticed in future pages.

In delineating the characters of others, Mr. Dunton has not forgot to describe his own *Projects*; "for I have been sufficiently convinced," he says, "that unless a man can either think or perform something out of the old beaten road, he will find nothing but what his forefathers have found before him. A Bookseller, if he is a man of any capacity and observation, can tell best what to go upon, and what has the best prospect of success. I remember Mr. Andrews, a learned and ingenious Scotsman of this age, has offered me several translations, and told me they would certainly sell; the substance of the book was so and so, and could not miss. He added, I had printed more than any other, and yet none had printed less. This was sharp enough, I confess; however, it is a difficult matter to attack a man in his own science. I have, it is true, been very plentifully loaded with the imputation of *Maggots*, &c. And what is the reason? Why, because I have usually started something that was new; whilst others, like footpads, ply only about the high-roads, and either abridge another man's book,

or

or one way or other contrived the very life and soul out of the copy, which perhaps was the only subsistence of the first Proprietor. I once printed a book, I remember, under the title of *Maggots**; but it was written by a Dignitary of the Church of England. However, I am willing to submit myself, and to stand or fall by the impartial judgment of the Reader. My *first Project* was the 'Athenian Gazette.' As the Athenian Society had their first meeting in my brain—so it has been kept ever since religiously secret: but I will now oblige the Reader with a true discovery of the *Question-project*, and of the several persons that engaged in it.

"I had received a very flaming injury, which was so loaded with aggravations, that I could scarce get over it; my thoughts were constantly working upon it, and made me strangely uneasy: sometimes I thought to make application to some Divine, but how to conceal myself and the ungrateful wretch, was the difficulty. Whilst this perplexity remained upon me, I was one day walking over St. George's-fields, and Mr. Larkin and Mr. Harris were along with me, and on a sudden I made a stop, and said, 'Well, Sirs,' I have a thought I'll not exchange for fifty guineas!' They smiled, and were very urgent with me to discover it; but they could not get it from me. The first rude hint of it, was no more than a confused idea of concealing the Querist, and answering his question. However, so soon as I came home, I managed it to some better purpose, brought it into form, and hammered out a title for it, which happened to be extremely lucky, and those who are well acquainted with the Grecian History may discover some peculiar beauties in it.—However, the honest Reader that knows nothing of criticism may see the reason why this Project was intituled the 'Athenian Gazette,' if

* "*Maggots;* or, Poems on several Subjects never before handled. 1685." 8vo; with the portrait of the Author *(Samuel Wesley)*; a maggot on his forehead. See more particulars relating to this publication (which is anonymous) in Granger, vol. IV. 8vo. p. 329.

he only turns to Acts xvii. 21. When I had thus formed the design, I found that some assistance was absolutely necessary to carry it on, in regard the Project took in the whole compass of Learning, and the nature of it required dispatch. I had then some acquaintance with the ingenious Mr. Richard Sault; who turned Malebranche into English for me, and was admirably well skilled in the mathematicks; and over a glass of wine I unbosomed myself to him, and he very freely offered to become concerned. So soon as the design was well advertised, Mr. Sault and myself, without any more assistance, settled to it with great diligence (and Numbers 1. 2. were entirely of Mr. Sault's composure and mine). The Project being surprizing and unthought-of, we were immediately overloaded with letters; and sometimes I have found several hundreds for me at Mr. Smith's coffee-house in Stocks-market, where we usually met to consult matters.

"The 'Athenian Gazette' made now such a noise in the world, and was so universally received, that we were obliged to look out after more members; and Mr. Sault, I remember, one evening came to me in great transport, and told me he had been in company with a gentleman, who was the greatest prodigy of learning he had ever met with; upon inquiry, we found it was the ingenious Dr. Norris*, who very generously offered his assistance *gratis*, but refused to become a stated member of Athens. He was wonderfully useful in supplying hints; for, being universally read, and his memory very strong,

* "He search'd Malebranche; and now the Rabbi knows,
The secret springs whence truth and error flows.
Directed by his leading light we pass,
Through Nature's rooms, and tread in ev'ry maze;
A throng of virtues in his soul repose,
Which, single, would as many Saints compose:
Or if all graces you would see in one,
View his *humility* for there 'tis found.
He is distinguish'd by his low retreat
To Bemerton, far from a Bishop's seat:
Yet dignified, for Learning makes him great."
[*This is* Dunton's *Character of Mr.* Norris.]

there

there was nothing could be asked, but he could very easily say something to the purpose upon it.

"In a little time after, to oblige *Authority*, we altered the title of 'Athenian Gazette,' into 'Athenian Mercury.' The undertaking growing every week upon our hands, the impatience of our Querists, and the curiosity of their questions, which required a great deal of accuracy and care, did oblige us to adopt a third member of Athens; and the reverend Samuel Wesley * being just come to town, all new from the University, and my acquaintance with him being very intimate, I easily prevailed with him to embark himself upon the same bottom, and in the same cause. With this new addition we found ourselves to be masters of the whole design, and thereupon we neither lessened nor increased our number.

"The success of Athens growing so very considerable, Mr. Brown and Mr. Pate began to ape our design in a paper they intituled the 'Lacedemonian Mercury,' which immediately interfered with us under a title, which, it is true, was pretty and pertinent enough. Upon this, I was resolved one way or other to blow them up, in regard, it was both ungenerous and unjust to interlope upon a man, where he has the sole right and property; for the children of the brain are as much ours, as those we beget in lawful wedlock. I first of all advertized, that all the questions answered in the 'Lacedemonian Mercury' should be answered over again in our 'Athenian Mercury,' with amendments, with the life of Tom Brown, the chief antagonist. This news startled them pretty much. At that time I was altogether unacquainted with Mr. Brown. However, one evening he comes to me, with all the civility imaginable, and desires to take a glass with me. I sent for my Athenian brethren, and we went to the Three Cranes, where we discoursed the matter with him at large: but, Mr. Sault being a gentleman of courage, and a little inclined to passion, was going to draw upon Mr. Brown, for an uncivil reflection;

* See p. 67.

upon

upon which Mr. Brown cried *peccavi*, and promised very faithfully that he would never meddle any more with the 'Lacedemonian Mercury;' and though they had not dropt it, yet the flaming wickedness, and the blasphemy that was in it, would have ruined the design.

"A little after this was published, 'The New Athenian Comedy,' containing, 'The Politicks, Œconomicks, Tacticks, Crypticks, Apocalypticks, Stypticks, Scepticks, Pneumaticks, Theologicks, Poeticks, Mathematicks, Sophisticks, Pragmaticks, Dogmaticks, of our most Learned Society.' This Play was a poor performance, writ, however, on purpose to expose us; but failed so far in the design of it, that it promoted ours. There was nothing of wit through the whole of it, and the reader may take notice that Mr. S——'s genius was quite run out towards the conclusion of the third act, and could not carry it an inch farther.

"The Earl of ——— was once pleased to frown upon the 'Athenian Mercury,' and forced us into silence; but, when men are pleased to make personal application (for the offence was only taken at a question that was sent us, of a father that had two daughters), it is a sign there is a sore place, else they would never wince for the matter; however Captain M——al procured us liberty to proceed, and had twenty-five guineas for that service. I have waded through these, and many other difficulties with this design; and nothing could discourage me, when my cause was so great and good.

"The 'Athenian Mercury' began at length to be so well approved, that Mr. *Gildon* thought it worth his while to write 'A History of the Athenian Society;' to which were prefixed several poems written by the chief Wits of the age (*viz.* Mr. Motteux, Mr. Foe, Mr. Richardson, &c. and in particular, Mr. *Tate* (now Poet Laureat), was pleased to honour us with a Poem directed to the Athenian Society. Mr. *Swift**, a country gentleman, sent an Ode to

* Afterwards the celebrated Dean; see his Works, vol. XVI. p. 23.

the

the Athenian Society; which, being an ingenious poem, was prefixed to the Fifth Supplement of the 'Athenian Mercury.' Many other persons did also rhime in the praise of our Questions. Our Athenian Project did not only obtain among the populace, but was well received by the politer sort of mankind. That great and learned Nobleman, the late Marquis of Halifax, was once pleased to tell me, that he constantly perused our Mercuries, and had received great satisfaction from very many of our Answers. The late Sir William Temple, a man of a clear judgement, and wonderful penetration, was pleased to honour me with frequent letters and questions, very curious and uncommon; in particular, that about the *Talismans* was his. The Honourable Sir Thomas Pope Blount, when he resided in town, has very frequently sent for me to his chamber, and given me particular thanks for my Athenian Project; and the last visit I made him, he told me the Athenian Society was certainly the most useful and informing design that had ever been set on foot in England. Sir William Hedges was pleased to tell me, he was so well pleased with the 'Athenian Mercuries,' that he would send several complete sets into the Indies, to his friends; and that he thought the publick, and himself in particular, so much obliged to me, that I should be always welcome to his house, and that he would serve me to his utmost with reference to my trade. I could mention many more honours that were done me, by Sir Peter Pett, and several others, whose learning and judgment the world has little reason to question.

"Our 'Athenian Mercuries' were continued till they swelled, at least, to twenty volumes folio; and then we took up, to give ourselves a little ease, and refreshment; for the labours and the travels of the mind are as expensive, and wear the spirits off as fast, as those of the body. However our Society was never formally dissolved.

"The old Athenian volumes, a while ago, growing quite out of print, a choice collection of the most

most valuable questions and answers, in three volumes, have lately been re-printed, and made publick; under the title of 'Athenian Oracle;' two of which I dedicated to the most illustrious and magnanimous Prince, James Duke of Ormond (Chancellor of the Universities of Oxford and Dublin), and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. These two volumes I presented to his Grace with my own hand; and if any thing could make me vain of the Athenian Project, it would be the generous reception his Grace gave to each of the volumes. I have no need here to shew the reason of this dedication; for his Grace's fame is improved already to an undoubted immortality. His courage, conduct, and success in war, have raised him as far above the reach of flattery, as above all parallel. He has waded through blood and battles, and has freely ventured his life and fortunes in the great cause of liberty and religion; and now, at last, we cannot but applaud the judicious choice of our gracious Queen, in making him the Guardian of a Kingdom which owes so much to his Family, and where his presence is as acceptable, as it is necessary; and therefore, as the Duke of Ormond is Patron of Learning, as well as of Arms, the Athenian Society thought they had a natural right to his protection; and they found it in so ample a manner, that his Grace not only honoured each volume with his own perusal, but was pleased afterwards to mention to some Lords the great satisfaction he took in the Athenian Oracles that had been presented to him. And may his Grace live long, the great encouragement of Arms and Arts! The copy of these three volumes I sold to Mr. Bell in Cornhill, and is all (as appears by our articles) that he has any right to; and much good may his success do him! For it is thought he will get above a thousand pounds by it.

"A *second Project* of mine, which was set on foot by the Old Athenians, and lately published by the New, is intituled, 'The Athenian Spy; or the Secret Letters of Platonic Courtship, between the Athenian Society,

Society, and the most ingenious Ladies in the Three Kingdoms; with the form of solemnizing Platonic Matrimony, invented by the Athenian Society.'

"*A third Project* of mine, for the promotion of Learning, was a Monthly Journal of Books printed in London, and beyond Sea; which was chiefly extracted out of 'The Universal Bibliotheque,' and 'Journal des Sçavans;' and it first appeared under the title of 'A Supplement to the Athenian Mercury,' but was afterwards called, 'The Complete Library.' This design was carried on about ten months, when Monsieur Lecrose interfered with me in a Monthly Journal, intituled 'The Works of the Learned;' upon which I dropped my own design, and joined with Lecrose's Bookseller, in publishing 'The Works of the Learned.' But, Lecrose dying, it was discontinued; though the same design, under the same title, is yet on foot, and managed by several hands, one of which is the ingenious Mr. Ridpath.

"IV. *Another Project* (which I writ myself, and published a year ago) was intituled 'The Post Angel: or Universal Entertainment.'

"My *fifth Project* has been preparing for the press for these ten years, and is intituled, 'The New Practice of Piety. Writ in imitation of Dr. Brown's *Religio Medici*: or, a System of uncommon Thoughts, extracted from the Experience of Forty Years.'

"My *sixth Project* was, 'The Challenge, sent by a young Lady to Sir Thomas ——; intituled *The Female War;* wherein the present Dresses and Humours of the Fair Sex, are vigorously attacked by Men of Quality, and as bravely defended by several Ladies.'

"VII. My next *Project* was intituled, 'The Post-Boy robbed of his Mail; or, The Pacquet broke open, containing Five Hundred Letters that were taken from several Posts, discovering the Secrets of Men and Women of all Ranks and Qualities.' The Club of Gentlemen supposed to have been concerned in this frolick make remarks upon the Letters as they break them up. This Project obtained so well, that both volumes are now out of print.

"My

"My *eighth Project* was a design to expose vice, intituled, 'The Night Walker; or, Evening Rambles in search after lewd Women*; with the various Conferences held with them.' This Project was so well received, that I purposed to continue it monthly.

"IX. My last *Project* (amongst many that I shall leave unmentioned) was intituled 'The Merciful Assizes; or, a Panegyrick on the late Lord Jeffreys' hanging so many in the West.' You must know, Reader, in the book intituled 'The Bloody Assizes' (of which I sold above six thousand) the Lord Jeffreys is made a very cruel man: but in this new Project I (wholly) change the scene, and turn the Bloody Assizes into Merciful Assizes.' But let none be surprized that I make Jeffreys the subject of a panegyrick; for there is a witty Author has defended the bloody Nero; and of late, a learned gentleman has published an Apology for the Failures of Dr. Walker; and with the same design that these gentlemen writ, do I venture to praise that *nonsuchman*, George Lord Jeffreys." This panegyrick was so well accepted, that my friend Mr. George Larkin was pleased to explain the Project by an ingenious Poem.

"Thus have I given a brief account of the Projects I formerly engaged in; and whether they give me the title of *Maggot*, or Promoter of Learning and Virtue, is left to the candour and judgment of the honest Reader."

After this ample account of himself and of his various Projects, little remains to be added, but the title-pages of three of Dunton's publications.

1. "*The Dublin Scuffle*: being a Challenge sent by John Dunton, Citizen of London, to Patrick

* Dunton's greatest Project was intended for the extirpating of lewdness from London; a scheme highly creditable to the schemer, had it been practicable. Armed with a constable's staff, and accompanied by a clerical companion, he sallied forth in the evening, and followed the wretched prostitutes home, or to a tavern, where every effort was used to win the erring fair to the paths of virtue; but these, he observes, were 'perilous adventures,' as the Cyprians exerted every art to lead him astray, in the height of his spiritual exhortations.

Campbel,

Campbel, Bookseller in Dublin; together with the small Skirmishes of Bills and Advertisements. To which is added, the *Billet Doux*, sent him by a Citizen's Wife in Dublin, tempting him to Lewdness: with his Answers to her. Also some Account of his Conversation in Ireland, intermixt with particular Characters of the most eminent Persons he conversed with in that Kingdom; but more especially in the City of Dublin. In several Letters to the Spectators of this Scuffle. With a Poem on the whole Encounter. '*I wear my Pen as others do their Sword.*' OLDHAM. London, printed for the Author; and are to be sold by A. Baldwin, near the Oxford-Arms in Warwick-Lane, and by the Booksellers in Dublin; 1699."

This volume is inscribed "To the Honourable Colonel Butler, a Member of the House of Commons in Ireland;" as a compliment due to the generous encouragement that gentleman had been pleased to give to his *Auction of Books* at Dublin in the year 1698, and the extraordinary and unmerited kindnesses he had received. The *Scuffle* relates to disputes in trade with Patrick Campbel, a Dublin Bookseller, who was jealous of Dunton's success; which are amusing, though not very generally interesting. But the "Account of his Conversation in Ireland" contains a pleasing description of several parts of that Island, not generally known to an English reader, and well worth perusing.

2. His next regular publication was, "The Life and Errors of John Dunton, late Citizen of London; written by himself in Solitude. With an Idea of a new Life; wherein is shewn how he'd think, speak, and act, might he live over his days again: intermixed with the new Discoveries the Author has made in his Travels abroad, and in his private Conversation at home*. Together with the Lives and Characters

* At the end of this volume was advertized, as preparing for the press, "A Ramble through Six Kingdoms, by John Dunton, late Citizen of London. Wherein he relates, 1. His Juvenile Travels. 2. The History of his Sea Voyages. 3. His Conversation in Foreign Parts. With Characters of Men and Women, and

of a Thousand Persons now living in London, &c. Digested into Seven Stages, with their respective Ideas.

'He that has all his own mistakes confess'd,
Stands next to him that never has transgress'd;
And will be censur'd for a fool by none,
But they who see no errors of their own.'

FOE's Satyr upon himself, p. 6.

London: printed for S. Malthus, 1705." This genuine and simple narrative of his own history is a very curious performance, and abounds in literary history of an interesting nature.

3. "The Case of John Dunton with respect to Madam Jane Nicholas of St. Alban's, his Mother-in-law, 1700," 4to.

4. "A Cat may look on a Queen: or a Satyr on Her present Majesty."

5. "Plain French: or a Satyr upon the Tackers. To which is added the Character of a True Patriot: written to caution and direct English Freeholders in the Choice of a New Parliament; and particularly the Electors in Bucks. By John Dunton, a Freeholder of the same County. The Fourth Edition, corrected and enlarged."

6. "The New Athenian Oracle; under Three General Heads, *viz.* The Divine, Philosophic, and Secret Oracle. The whole resolving such nice and curious Questions as were never answered in the Old Athenian Oracle. vol. I. with a General Table. —The Second Volume of The New Athenian Oracle will be published when a thousand of the first Volume is sold off; and then this New Oracle will be continued in Volumes, at 3*s.* each, till the Question Project is completed in Six Volumes; all which will not exceed the bulk (or price) of the Three Volumes of the Old Athenian Oracles. This Notice is given, that so the ingenious Querists may continue to send

and almost every Thing he saw or conversed with. The like Discoveries (in such a Method) never made by any Traveller before. Illustrated with Forty Cuts, representing the most pleasant Passages in the whole Adventure. With Recommendatory Poems, written by the chief Wits in both Universities."

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what nice and curious Questions they have still by them. But take notice, that no Questions will be answered, or received, but what are sent to the Athenian (or Smith's) Coffee-house in Stock's-market, and postage paid."

7. "The Athenian Catechism: containing, The Atheist's Catechism, Numb. 1. A Continuation of the Atheist's Catechism, Numb. 2. The Player's Catechism, Numb. 3. The High Flyer's Catechism, Numb. 4. The bigotted Dissenter's Catechism, Numb. 5. The Atheist at Confession: or, the Atheist's penitential Catechism, Numb. 6. A Continuation of the Atheist's penitential Catechism, Numb. 7. The occasional Conformist's Catechism, Numb. 8. The occasional Nonconformist's Catechism, Numb. 9. A Continuation of the occasional Nonconformist's Catechism, Numb. 10. The Lady's Catechism for Paint and Patches, Numb. 11. A Catechism for our late Pamphleteers, Numb. 12. A Catechism for Coffee-houses, Numb. 13. A Continuation of the Coffee-house Catechism, Numb. 14. The Catechism for Coffee-houses continued, Numb. 15. The finishing Catechism for the Coffee-houses, Numb. 16. The Political Catechism, for the Improvement of Newsmongers, Numb. 17. A Continuation of the Political Catechism, Numb. 18, 19, 20.—These several Catechisms are a Continuation of the Athenian Catechism, To which is added, The Gentleman's Courant, or, News for the Ingenious. These 20 Numbers complete the first Volume of the Athenian Catechism; and are sold at 18*d*. A second Volume of this Catechetical Project will be published, if due encouragement be given.—By the New Athenian Society."

8. "Dunton's Whipping-post: or, a Satire upon every body. To which is added, A Panegyrick on the most deserving Gentlemen and Ladies in the Three Kingdoms; &c. &c. Vol. I. To which is added, The Living Elegy: or, Dunton's Letter to his few Creditors. With the Character of a Summer

Summer Friend. Also, the secret History of the Weekly Writers, in a distinct Challenge to each of them. Printed, and are to be sold by B. Bragg, at the Black Raven in Paternoster-row. 1706."

9. "The Bull-baiting: or, Sacheverell dressed up in Fireworks. Lately brought over from Bear-garden in Southwark; and exposed, for the Diversion of the Citizens of London, at Six-pence a-piece. By John Dunton, Author of the Answer to Dr. Kennett, intituled "*The Hazard of a Death-bed Repentance.*" Being Remarks on a scandalous Sermon bellowed out at St. Paul's on the fifth of November last, before the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor, and Court of Aldermen, by Dr. Sacheverell. Printed for the Author, and are to be sold by John Morphew, near Stationers-hall; and take notice whatever of these Books are published, not having Mr. Morphew's name to them (or that are sold at a lower price than *6d.*) are a wrong to the Author, and a cheat to the Buyers; all such stolen and imperfect Books not containing the fourth part of Mr. Dunton's original Copies. 1709."

11. The latest of his publications that I have seen* is intituled, "*Athenianism; or, the new Projects of Mr. John Dunton, Author of the Essay intituled, 'The Hazard of a Death-bed Repentance;* being,

* Dunton is honoured with an incidental notice in the Dunciad, II. 144; on which Warburton remarks, that "he was a auction bookseller, and an abusive scribler. He wrote Neck or Nothing, a violent satire on some Ministers of State; a libel on the Duke of Devonshire and the Bishop of Peterborough, &c."

"I am informed," says Swift in the *Tale of a Tub*, "that worthy Citizen and Bookseller Mr. John Dunton has made a faithful and painful Collection, which he shortly designs to publish in *twelve volumes in folio, illustrated with copper-plates;* a work useful and curious, and altogether worthy of such a hand." —In his "Public Spirit of the Whigs," Swift says, "Among the present Writers on that side I can recollect but three of any great distinction, which are the Flying Post, Mr. Dunton, and the author of the Crisis. The first of these seems to have been much sunk in reputation, since the sudden retreat of the only true genuine original author, Mr. Ridpath, who is celebrated by the Dutch

*six hundred** distinct Treatises (in Prose and Verse) written with his own Hand; and is an entire Colection of all his Writings, both in Manuscript and such as were formerly printed. To which is added, *Dunton's Farewell to Printing*, in some serious Thoughts on those Words of Solomon, 'Of making many Books there is no End; and much Study is a Weariness of the Flesh.' With the Author's Effigies, to distinguish the original and true Copies from such as are false and imperfect. Take care also of being cheated by Wooden Cuts: the right is that which is drawn and 'graved by those two celebrated Artists, *Knight* and *Vander Gucht*. To this Work is prefixed an Heroick Poem upon Dunton's Projects, written by the Athenian Society; with an Alphabetical Table of the several Projects, Questions, Novelties, Poems, and Characters in-

Dutch Gazetteer as one of the best pens in England. Mr. Dunton hath been longer and more conversant in books than any of the three, as well as more voluminous in his productions: however, having employed his studies in so great a variety of other subjects, he hath, I think, but lately turned his genius to politicks. His famous tract, intituled *Neck or Nothing*, must be allowed to be the shrewdest piece, and written with the most spirit, of any which hath appeared from that side since the change of the Ministry: it is indeed a most cutting satire upon the Lord Treasurer and Lord Bolingbroke; and I wonder none of our friends ever undertook to answer it. I confess, I was at first of the same opinion with several good judges, who from the style and manner suppose it to have issued from the sharp pen of the Earl of Nottingham; and I am still apt to think it might receive his Lordship's last hand."

Dunton was certainly a most voluminous writer, as he seems to have had his pen always ready, and never to have been at a loss for a subject to exercise it upon. Though he generally put his name to what he wrote, it would be a difficult task to get together a complete collection of his various publications. As containing notices of many persons and things not to be found elsewhere, they certainly have their use; and his accounts are often entertaining.

* This dipper into *a thousand* books formed *ten thousand* projects, six hundred of which he appears to have thought he had completely methodized. His mind seemed to be like some tables, where the victuals have been ill-sorted, and worse dressed.

serted

serted in this Volume. Printed by Tho. Darrack; and sold by John Morphew. 1710."

In the Preface to this volume, which breathes all the pride of self-consequence, he informs his readers, that he does not write to flatter, or for hire.

As a specimen of the better parts of this performance †, take the characters of three eminent Divines, of whom some memoirs have been given already *.

"Wise as the best, will the learn'd *Stanhope* seem,
But in St. Lawrence' pulpit picture him;
For, Dunton, there you 'll find the Seraphim.
Devotion is the *imprese* in his breast,
Learning and Zeal below divide the rest;
He loaths the fools that dare to preach in jest.
His temper is harmonious as the spheres,
Copious his wit, yet sparkling as the stars.
Athens and Rome, when Learning flourish'd most,
Could never such a famous Preacher boast;
Whose matchless beauties in the English tongue
Have even rival'd the fam'd *Tillotson*.
Judgment does some to reputation raise,
And for Invention others wear the bays:
Stanhope has both, with such a talent still
As shews not only force of wit, but skill:
So faultless are his works, 'tis hard to know,
If he does more to Art or Nature owe.

* Other subjects are, 1. "The Funeral of Mankind, a paradox, proving we are all dead and buried." 2. "The Spiritual Hedgehog; or, a new and surprising Thought." 3. "The Double Life, or a new way to redeem Time, by living over to-morrow before it comes." 4. "Dunton preaching to himself; or every man his own Parson." 5. His "Creed, or the Religion of a Bookseller," in imitation of Browne's Religio Medici, has some humour and merit. This he dedicated to the Stationers Company.

† As a Satirist, he appears to most advantage in his Poems, intituled, "The Beggar mounted;" "The Dissenting Doctors;" "Parnassus hoa! or Frolics in verse;" "Dunton's Shadow, or the character of a Summer Friend." Throughout the whole of his writings, however, he is exceedingly prolix and tedious, and sometimes obscure. His "Case is altered, or Dunton's Remarriage to his own Wife," has some singular notions, but very little merit in the composition.

Read

Read where you will, he 's musick all along,
And his sense easy as his thought is strong.
Some, striving to be clear, fall flat and low;
And, when they think to mount, obscure they grow.
He is not darker for his lofty flight,
Nor does his easiness depress his height;
But still perspicuous wheresoe'er he fly,
And, like the Sun, is brightest when he 's high.
He 's dignify'd by all the books he writes;
And so distinguish'd by his learned flights,
His mere translations shine, and far excel
What others write, though an original.
Some men a luckless imitation try;
And, whilst they soar, and whilst they venture high,
Flutter and flounce, but have not wing to fly.
Some in loose words their empty fancies bind,
Which whirl about like chaff before the wind.
Here brave conceits in the expression fail,
There big the words, but with no sense at all.
Still *Stanhope's* sense might *Stanhope's* language trust,
Both pois'd, and always bold, and always just.
None e'er may reach that strange felicity,
Where thoughts are easy, words so sweet and free,
Yet not descend one step from majesty.
I 'll add but this, lest, while I think to raise
His fame, I kindly injure him with praise.
Spotless his Pulpit, and his Sermons quaint,
A finish'd Preacher, and an equal Saint."

" Let pious *Hoadly* next his station find,
Grown man in body now, but more in mind;
His looks are in the mother's beauty drest,
And *Moderation*,* has inform'd his breast.
He preach'd—(when he did railing fools detest).
But here, John Dunton, is thy skill confin'd,
Thou canst not paint his grave polemic mind,
That task is for wise *Calamy* assign'd.
The Painter's pencil cannot make a draught
Of things unseen, nor dares he paint a thought:

* " He lately published a Sermon upon that subject."

'Tis neither Art nor Nature can amend him,
I should but wrong him if I should commend him;
I 'll only add, that Hoadly 's dignify'd
By wit, and grace, and han't one spark of pride.
Merit has made him great, and spread his fame,
He is distinguish'd by a life that's clean,
His answering *Blackall* is his only stain."

"If these fam'd Preachers have thy art refin'd,
Dunton, draw *Moss*, that 's dazzling yet behind;
Paint sweetness in his eyes at once, and awe,
And make his looks preach Piety and Law;
No pulpit-notes, or Angel ever sung,
More harmony than dwells upon his tongue:
Happy in preaching, dignity, and parts;
And (which is strange) the Lawyers he converts*,
Who, all men know, have seared, stony hearts.
But, by his pulpit art and eloquence,
'These stones are flesh'd †, and fools made men of sense.'
His voice sure is by nightingales advanc'd!
He does but speak, and all men are entranc'd.
Being thus distinguish'd for a man of sense,
Tho' not *my Lord*, yet, as he serves his Prince,
We'll call him *Bishop* in the future tense ‡."

This volume, on the whole, is a strange mixture of sense and folly; containing some good articles in prose and verse, a few of a licentious turn, and some deeply tinctured with insanity; a misfortune under which Dunton appears to have long laboured.

12. Dunton published, after this, "An Appeal to Her Majesty, with a List of his Political Pamphlets;" of which a copy is in the British Museum.

* Dr. Moss was Preacher at Gray's Inn. See vol. IV. p. 223.

† Ezekiel ii. 19.

‡ In like manner he describes "the most eminent Conformists" of his age; and, after some advice to the Clergy, adds,

"These preaching rules will make you grave and neat:
But that you may be fam'd and more complete,
Mind Talbot, Lucas, and a thousand more,
Who preach like Angels, and like them adore.
Read Glanvil, South, Dove, Culverwel, and Scot,
Whose matchless Sermons ne'er will be forgot."

I find

I find no farther particulars of him till Oct. 17, 1723, when he advertised the volume * noticed below; which I have never seen. He survived till 1733; and died at the age of 74.

* "*Upon this Moment depends Eternity:* or, Mr. John Dunton's serious Thoughts upon the present and future State, in a Fit of Sickness that was judged mortal; in which many new Opinions are started and proved; in particular this, That the sincere practice of known Duties, or dying daily to this Life and World, would of itself resolve the most ignorant Person in all the abstruse Points of the Christian Religion—being a new Directory for holy living and dying; composed of the Author's own Experience in Religion, Politicks, and Morals, from his Childhood to his Sixty-third Year (but more especially during his dangerous Disease in Ireland in the Year Ninety-eight, when his Life was despaired of); and completed in Twenty Essays upon such nice and curious points in Divinity as were never handled before. To which is added, the Sick Man's Passing-Bell, to remind all Men of that Death and Eternity to which they are hastening. Containing, 1. God be merciful to me a Sinner; or, Dunton at Confession; in which he discovers the secret Sins of his whole Life; with his Resolution in what penitent Manner (by the help of God) he'll spend the short Time he has yet to live. 2. Dunton's Legacy to his native Country; or, a dying Farewell to the most remarkable Persons and Things both in Church and State; with his last Prayer (or those very Petitions to Almighty God) with which he hopes to expire. 3. A living Man following his own Corpse to the Grave: or, Dunton represented as dead and buried, in an Essay upon his own Funeral. To which is added (for the Oddness and Singularity of it) a Copy of his last Will and Testament. His living Elegy, wrote with his own Hand; and the Epitaph designed for his Tombstone in the new Burying-place. Together with, 4. The real Period of Dunton's Life; or, a Philosophical Essay upon the Nature of that Grand Climacteric Year Sixty-three, in which (as few Persons outlive that fatal Time) he expects to be actually buried with the best of Wives Mrs. Elizabeth Annesley *alias* Dunton; with their Reasons for sleeping together in the same Grave till the general Resurrection; as contained in two Letters that passed between Mr. Dunton and his Wife a few Days before she died. The whole Directory and Passing-Bell submitted to the impartial Censure of the Right-Reverend Father in God William Lord Bishop of Ely. By Mr. John Dunton, a Member of the Athenian Society, and Author of the Essay intituled, 'The Hazard of a Death-bed Repentance."

We are all seiz'd with the Athenian Itch,
News, and New Things do the World bewitch. Dr. Wild.

Printed for S. Popping in Paternoster-row, price 1*s.* 6*d.*"

No. III.

THE FAMILY OF THE FREINDS.

(See vol. I. p. 288.)

WILLIAM FRIEND*, M.A. born Aug. 3, 1634, was educated at Westminster-school, elected to Christ Church, Oxford, 1656; obtained the rectory of Croughton in Northamptonshire in 1663; where he resided till his death, which is thus recorded on a handsome monument in the chancel of that church:

On the frieze:

"Natus Augusti iii°, 1634; obiit Septemb. xx. 1689."

On the tablet:

"H. S. E.

GULIELMUS FRIEND, A. M.

hujus parochiæ per XXVI annos Rector,
Scholæ Regiæ Westmonasterii } Alumnus;
deinde Ædis Christi Oxonii }
utrique loco charus, utriusque amantissimus.

Vir
ingenii acumine satis valens,
astutiarum omninò vacuus;
in tuendâ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ causâ,
cui fidem suam dedit,
integer, intrepidus;
in gerendâ Parochiali curâ, cui totum se devovit,
diligens, indefessus:
in toto vitæ cursu,
quod vel parùm decuit, vel sordidi fuit animi,
nihil non aspernatus:
quod justum fuit et honorificum
nihil non ausus.

Neque fuit illo usquam, quoad potuit,
vel egenis liberalior, vel vicinis beneficentior,
vel hospitibus hospitalior, vel amicis amicior;
nemo aut Sacerdotis, aut Mariti, aut Parentis
munera fidelius pleniusve obivit.

* So spelt; but his sons wrote the name *Freind*.

Tres,

Tres, qui hodie supersunt, filios,
ROBERTUM, S.T.P.
Scholæ Westmonasteriensis Archididasculum;
GULIELMUM, A.M.
Manerii de Hitcham in Com' Buck', Dominum,
JOANNEM, M.D. Londinensem,
sub iisdem, in quibus ipse olim adolevit, Penetralibus
erudiri probè curavit.
Qui filii
et ipsius exemplar,
et fœlicissimam suam educationem
egregium fuisse Patrimonium arbitrati,
marmor hoc optimo Parenti
P. P."

Mr. Friend, besides the three sons recorded in his epitaph, had a daughter Anne, who was married to the successor of her father in the rectory; as appears by the following epitaph:

" Hic cum certâ
resurgendi spe sepultus est
JOANNES MAXIMILIANUS DEL'ANGLE *
SAMUELIS DEL'ANGLE, S.T.P.†
DE CHARENTON juxta Parisios
celebris olim Ecclesiæ pastoris,
deinde, pulsis in exilium Protestantibus,
Ecclesiæ WESTMONASTERIENSIS Præbendarii,
filius;
et magni BOCHARTI ex Sorore Nepos;
Patriâ Gallus, fide omninò Anglus.
Qui
hujusce parochiæ curam administravit,
Rector pius, integer, industrius,
à suis omnibus et dilectus et cultus.
Uxorem duxit ANNAM FRIEND,
Gulielmi Annæque filiam,
quæ Marito desideratissimo
H. M. P.
Obiit An. Dom. 1719, Aug. 20, æt. 53."

* M. A. of Christ Church, Oxford, 1694. Two others of the family obtained the same degree in 1719 and 1752.

† Of whom see p. 89.

ROBERT

ROBERT FREIND, the eldest son, was admitted in 1680 to Westminster-school, whence he was elected to Christ Church in 1686; where he was a student at the time of the inauguration of King William and Queen Mary; and made on that occasion a good copy of English verses, which were printed in the University Collection *. In the famous dispute between Bentley † and Boyle, Mr. Freind was a warm partizan for the honour of his College ‡.

He proceeded M.A. June 1, 1693; became second master of Westminster-school in 1699; and accumulated the degrees of B. and D.D. July 7, 1709.

In 1711 he published a Sermon preached before the House of Commons, Jan. 30, 1710-11, from Jer. iii. 25. In the same year he succeeded Duke the Poet in the valuable living of Witney in Oxfordshire; became head-master of Westminster-school; and is said to have drawn up the preamble to the Earl of Oxford's patent of Peerage §.

March 16, 1722-3, the day after his brother (Dr. John) was committed to the Tower, Dr. Robert Freind caused much speculation in the school, and its vicinity, by giving for a theme, "*Frater, ne desere Fratrem.*"

In 1724, he published Cicero's "Orator;" and in 1728 Mr. Bowyer was indebted to him for the West-

* "Vota Oxoniensia pro serenissimis Guilhelmo Rege et Mariâ Reginâ M. Britanniæ, &c. nuncupata; Oxon, 1689."—These verses were also printed in the Select Collection of Miscellany Poems, 1781, vol. VII. p. 132.

† A niece of Dr. Robert Freind was married to a son of Dr. Bentley, who, after that event, conceived a better opinion of the Christ Church men; and declared, that "Freind had more good learning in him than ever he had imagined."

‡ "I will tell you what Mr. Pope told me, who had been let into the secret concerning the Oxford performance—that Boyle wrote only the narrative of what passed between him and the Bookseller, which too was corrected for him; that Freind the Master of Westminster and Atterbury wrote the body of the criticisms; and that Dr. King of the Commons wrote the droll argument to prove Dr. Bentley was not the Author of the Dissertation on Phalaris, and the Index. And a powerful cabal gave it a surprising run." Warburton's Letters, 8vo, p. 11.

§ He probably revised it; but it was drawn up by Swift; and may be seen in the Dean's Works, 1808, vol. III. p. 367.

minster

minster Verses on the Coronation of King George the Second, which are noticed under 1761.

In April 1729, Dr. Freind obtained a canonry of Windsor; which in 1731 he exchanged for a prebend of Westminster.

In the Gentleman's Magazine for 1733 *, are some verses by Stephen Duck to Dr. Freind, on his quitting Westminster-school; by which it appears that Lord Carteret (afterwards Earl Granville), Lord Hervey, and the Duke of Newcastle, were greatly indebted to him for part of their accomplishments and future fame.

In 1734, he was desirous of resigning Witney to his son (afterwards Dean of Canterbury); but could not do it without the permission of Bishop Hoadly, which he had little reason to expect. On application, however, to that Prelate, through Queen Caroline and Lady Sundon †, he received this laconic answer: "If Dr. Freind can ask it, I can grant it ‡."

* Vol. III. p. 152.

† This lady, more known by the name of Mrs. Clayton, was the bed-chamber woman and intimate friend of Queen Caroline; and for a considerable time sole arbitress of Church-preferments. Several of Bp. Hoadly's Letters to her, from 1715 to 1734, are preserved in his Works. In one of them he says, "I do not follow great precedents, and write on the outside, or in the front, *To the much esteemed, To the much respected, To the highly honoured Mrs. Clayton.* But it is writ within, in lasting characters. Your own virtues have writ it. Your other accomplishments are great and uncommon; but it is your sincerity and goodness which make the deepest impression, which manage the others, and give them their agreeableness."—On the business of the living of Witney, Bp. Hoadly tells this Lady, "I had no design in my neglect of avoiding to give all the assurances that you yourself desired about Mr. Freind. If you and I continue upon this dirty planet, you yourself shall be satisfied of the truth of what I have said to you; and I say this the rather, because, if you are not satisfied in what I do, I am very sure I shall not be so myself. You have done more in two or three words, when you tell me, *You shall esteem it as done to yourself,* to move and engage me (if I had not been already engaged to it) than all the oratory of all others could have done. And if that case should happen which you once put; but which my heart will not suffer me to repeat; Friendship and Honour shall most certainly act a part, which if your spirit could then look out and see, it would say, *This is exactly as it would have been, had I been still there.*"

‡ "Dr. Freind could ask any thing. All his letters to Lady Sundon are still existing; they are trifling and low beyond conception; yet Dr. Freind was a scholar that Bentley would consult." *T. F.*

In

In the Gentleman's Magazine for 1737 * is an elegant Ode to the Duke of Newcastle by Dr. Freind (who was in that year made canon of Christ Church), and the following epigram:

"Reverendo doctissimoque
Roberto Freind, S.T.P.
Ecclesiæ Divi Petri Westmonast. Prebendario,
et Ædis Christi Oxon. Canonico.

De te, *Freinde*, duæ certant socialiter Ædes,
Hæc *Christi* insignis nomine, et illa *Petri*,
Quæ potior charum titulis ornaret alumnum,
Jamque senem posset læta fovere sinu.
Illustris fuerit *Ducis* hanc componere litem:
Utraque quem voluit Mater utrique dedit.

Dat. 14 *Kal. Julii*, A. S. 1737." R. L. †

Thus indifferently translated in 1738:

"For you, most learned Freind! two Churches strove,
(For you, the darling object of their love;)
This *Christ* was call'd, and that St. *Peter's* nam'd,
(Rare Nursing Mothers, from past ages fam'd),
Their friendly contest was, which Church should grace
Her Foster Son with Dignitary's place,
And cheer him, now grown old, with her most kind embrace.
A noble Duke, this contest to decide,
Each Mother's cravings graciously supply'd,
And gave to each her darling son, right nobly dignified."

Dr. Freind's Latin poetry ‡ was much superior to his English, as may be seen by his Verses on the Death of Queen Caroline, inscribed to the Duke of Newcastle, principal secretary of state §. He had

* Vol. VII. p. 631.

† Probably Robert Lowth, afterwards the learned Bishop.

‡ Dr. Atterbury, in 1712, when Dean of Christ Church, apologizing to Bishop Trelawny for the Poets of his College, says, "By Dr. Freind's assistance, I hope, we shall every day do better."

§ Printed in "Pietas Academiæ Oxoniensis in Obitum augustissimæ et dilectissimæ Reginæ Carolinæ, Oxonii, 1738;" and copied in the "Select Collection," 1781, vol. VII. p. 125.

before

before written the Dedication to that Queen, prefixed to the Medical Works of his Brother *.

In 1744, he resigned his stall at Westminster in favour of his son; and died August 9, 1751, aged 84.

By Jane his wife, one of the two daughters † of Dr. Samuel Delangle ‡, he had two sons; Charles, who died in 1736; and William, his successor at Witney, and afterwards Dean of Canterbury, of whom see p. 102.

Dr. Freind wrote the epitaph on Dodwell, which is printed in Ashmole's Berkshire, vol. II. p. 492; and the beautiful epitaph on Lord Carteret's younger son Philip, who died at Westminster-school, 1710, in his 19th year §.

* See p. 97.

† The other was married to Bp. Smalridge (see p. 92).

‡ Who had a small benefice near Oxford, and taught the French language to young gentlemen in that University. He was created D.D. 1682; and obtained a prebend of Westminster Oct. 13, 1683; which he held till 1693. See p. 85.

§ Held out on a very large marble scroll by a figure of Time on his monument in the North aile of Westminster Abbey. The Reader will not be displeased to see it here; and may compare the annexed translation of it with that by Samuel Cobb, in the "Antiquities of Westminster Abbey, 1722," 8vo, vol. II. p. 101.

Quid breves te delicias tuorum
Næniis Phœbi chorus omnis urget,
Et meæ falcis subito recisum
Vulnere plangit?
En, puer, vitæ pretium caducæ!
Hic tuam custos vigil ad favillam
Semper adstabo, & memori tuebor
Marmore famam.
Audies clarus pietate, morum
Integer, multæ studiosus artis:
Hæc frequens olim leget, hæc sequetur
Emula pubes.

Short-lived Delight of every Friend,
Why do the tuneful Nine attend
To mourn my sickle's stroke!
Behold, dear Youth, what meed awaits,
Thy life thus shorten'd by the Fates,
My sentence to revoke.
Watchful I guard thy ashes here:
In marble guard thy memory dear,
Thy piety and truth,
Thy spotless life, thy studious pain,
Eternal monuments remain
T' instruct each rival youth.

"The

"The epitaph to Dr. Smalridge at Christ Church," says Bishop Newton, "was drawn up most probably by Dr. Freind, the head-master of Westminster-school, and also his brother-in-law; the Bishop and he having married two sisters *. Dr. Freind was at that time the celebrated writer of Latin epitaphs; which yet Mr. Pope, who was as great a composer of epitaphs in English verse, and could not well bear a Rival in any way, thought too prolix and too flattering, if Dr. Freind be really intended, as he was generally supposed to be intended, in that epigram:

"*Freind*, for your Epitaphs I'm griev'd,
Where still so much is said,
One half will never be believ'd,
The other never read."

Shenstone expresses a satisfaction in possessing a name that was not liable to a pun. One has just been given. Another, on Dr. Freind's appointment to the mastership of Westminster-school, is here added:

"Ye Sons of Westminster, who still retain
Your antient dread of *Busby's* awful reign;
Forget at length your fears—your panic end—
The Monarch of this place is now a *Freind*."

WILLIAM FREIND, the second brother, who was one year younger than Robert, was elected from Westminster-school to Christ Church in 1687; where he took the degree of M.A. 1694; and obtained a living in Bedfordshire.

The vicissitudes of fortune which occurred to this gentleman are thus related in Mrs. Pilkington's Memoirs: "We had a sort of chapel belonging to the gaol, where Dr. Freind, a clergyman, brother to Dr. Freind the physician, obliged us with divine service every Sunday. This gentleman was himself a prisoner in the King's Bench; and, after all the gran-

* Bishop Smalridge left three children; a son named Philip, and two daughters.

deur

deur he had once lived in, was now so low reduced, as even to be beholden to such an unfortunate creature as I for six-pence; which, unfortunate as I was, I could not refuse to so fine an orator, a gentleman! and, by all accounts, only undone by boundless generosity and hospitality. The first day I heard him preach, I was charmed with his elocution; but the rest of the congregation, mad and drunk, bade him hold his tongue. He, indeed, like Orpheus, played to wolves and bears; nor were they half so obliging to him, as the storms were to Arion; neither could he, though uttering dulcet and harmonious sounds, make the rude crowd grow civil with his song. This fine gentleman I often invited to my lonely mansion. He was not a little surprized to hear my mournful story; and indeed it somewhat alleviated my sorrow to find such a companion: Poor gentleman! Death has released him; I am sure I should have done it, had the Almighty given me a power equal to my inclination to serve him."—He died April 15, 1745.

On this head my late friend Mr. Ashby observed, "There is a traditional story that one of the name of Freind (I think it must be Mrs. Pilkington's hero) dreamt that two numbers in a Lottery of Queen Anne would be the two greatest prizes; that he went and bought them, and they came up so; that he went backwards and forwards to his bureau to look at them, till he was almost mad; that he spent all, and died a beggar (I believe) in gaol. This story I had from Mr. Holmes, the curate, and afterwards vicar of Wellingborough, a gentleman of uncommon good sense, who died about the year 1760, and who was sent for to the inn by Freind to drink a bottle when he was in his meridian; and (as I recollect) had the story of the tickets from himself. If he would tell it on such an occasion, he must have told it to many: and one should like to know what one could about so extraordinary a tale. Dr. Johnson says truly, 'One must not be too positive in disbelieving, as the story may be true; nor too credulous, as it may be false.' Mrs. Pilkington calls him 'a clergyman; and

and mentions the grandeur he had lived in.' This is not the description of a common clergyman, however well provided; and you mention no preferment; so I think he must be the man; though I do not remember that my informant called him a clergyman; but I always thought he was a son or a younger brother of the master of Westminster-school; though I could never make him out before. Yet surely Mrs. Pilkington would have heard this story from him if he ever told it to a stranger; and if so, she would surely have been glad to have swelled her Memoirs with it."

The traditional story is thus confirmed by Bishop Newton: "Dr. William Freind, brother to Dr. Robert Freind, master of Westminster-school, and to Dr. John Freind the famous physician, had a prize of 20,000*l.* in Queen Anne's time, and another considerable prize of 5 or 10,000*l.* in the reign of George I.; but yet with these lucky hits he would have died a prisoner in the Fleet *, if his old schoolfellow the Earl of Winchelsea, when he was at the head of the Admiralty, had not made him chaplain to a ship of 100 guns."

One part of this strange story may gain credibility from the News-papers of the times. Whatever might be the case as to the dream, or the prizes in Queen Anne's reign, the Rev. William Freind, a clergyman in Bedfordshire, obtained a prize of 20,000*l.* Feb. 14, 1714-15; and when the marriage of Mr. Smalridge † (son to the Bishop) was mentioned in print, May 2, 1730, his lady is called "Miss Freind, daughter to him who got the great prize." What could have afterwards involved him in distress, is not for us now to enquire.

Mrs. Pilkington's account of his profuse hospitality is confirmed by Bishop Atterbury's mention of his entertaining Royal Guests. And it is not improbable that, elated by his former success, he might have ventured deeply into the fatal bubble of the South Sea.

* Rather the King's Bench, a circumstance which Mrs. Pilkington could not easily mistake.

† See p. 89.

Dr.

Dr. JOHN FREIND, the third brother, was elected from Westminster-school to Christ Church in 1690; and, under the auspices of Dr. Aldrich, undertook, with Mr. Foulkes, to publish an edition of Æschines, and Demosthenes de Coronâ, which were well received; and was also prevailed upon to revise the Delphin edition of Ovid's Metamorphoses, 1696, which Dr. Bentley severely reprehended. He was *Director of the Studies* to Mr. Boyle; wrote the Examination of Dr. Bentley's Dissertation on Æsop; and, says the great Critic, "was of the same size for learning with the late Editor* of the Æsopean Fables. If they can make but a tolerable copy of verses, with two or three small faults in it, they must presently set up to be Authors."

Hitherto he had been employed in reading the poets, orators, and historians of antiquity, by which he had made himself a perfect master in the Greek language, and had acquired a great facility of writing elegant Latin, in verse as well as prose. He now began to apply himself to physic; and his first care, as we are told, was to digest thoroughly the true and rational principles of natural philosophy, chemistry, and anatomy, to which he added a sufficient acquaintance with the mathematics. The first public specimen that he gave of his abilities in the way of his profession was in 1699, when he wrote a letter to Dr. (afterwards Sir) Hans Sloane, concerning an Hydrocephalus, or Watery Head †; and, in 1701, another letter in Latin to the same gentleman, "De Spasmi rarioris Historiâ," or concerning some extraordinary cases of persons afflicted with convulsions in Oxfordshire, which at that time made a very great noise, and might probably have been magnified into something supernatural, if our author had not taken great pains to set them in a true light ‡.

He proceeded M. A. April 12, 1701; B. M. June 1, 1701; and, after having published "Emmenologia:

* Mr. Anthony Alsop.

† Phil. Trans. vol. XXI. p. 48. ‡ Ibid. vol. XXII. p. 799.

in

in quâ fluxus muliebris menstrui phænomena, periodi, vitia, cum medendi methodo, ad rationes mechanicas exiguntur *," 8vo, was chosen professor of chemistry at Oxford in 1704; and the next year attended Lord Peterborough on his Spanish expedition, as physician to the army there, in which post he continued near two years. From thence he made the tour of Italy, and went to Rome, as well for the sake of seeing the antiquities of that city, as for the pleasure of visiting and conversing with Baglivi and Lancisi, men eminent at that time for their skill in physic. On his return to England in 1707, he found the character of his Patron very rudely treated; and, from a spirit of gratitude, published a defence of him, intituled, "An Account of the Earl of Peterborough's conduct in Spain, chiefly since the raising the Siege of Barcelona, 1706;" to which is added, "The Campaign of Valencia. With Original Papers, 1707," 8vo †. In 1707, he was created M. D. by diploma. In 1709 he published, "Prælectiones Chymicæ: in quibus omnes fere operationes Chymicæ ad vera principia et ipsius Naturæ leges rediguntur; anno 1704, Oxonii, in Musæo Ashmoleano habitæ." These lectures are dedicated to Sir Isaac Newton, and are nine in number, besides three tables. They were attacked by the German Philosophers, who were greatly alarmed at the new principles; and therefore, the Authors of "Acta Eruditorum," in 1710, prefixed to their account of them a censure, in which they treated the principles of the Newtonian philosophy as figments, and the method of arguing made use of in these lec-

* This work, though at first it met some opposition, and was then and afterwards animadverted upon by several writers, has always been reckoned an excellent performance; and is, as all Dr. Freind's writings are, admirable for the beauty of its style, the elegant disposition of its parts, its wonderful succinctness, and at the same time perspicuity, and for the happy concurrence of learning and penetration visible through the whole.

† This piece, relating to party matters, made a great noise, some loudly commending, others as loudly condemning it; so that a third edition of it was published in 1708.

tures

tures as absurd; because, in their opinion, it tended to recall Occult Qualities in Philosophy. To this groundless charge an answer was given by Freind *.

Dr. Freind was elected F. R. S. in 1711; and in that year attended the Duke of Ormond into Flanders, as his physician. After his return, residing chiefly in London, he gave himself up wholly to the cares of his profession. In 1716 he was chosen a fellow of the College of Physicians; and the same year published the first and third books of "Hippocrates de morbis popularibus," to which he added, a Commentary upon Fevers, divided into nine short dissertations †.

In 1717 he read the Gulstonian lecture in the College of Physicians; and in 1720 spoke the Harveian Oration, which was afterwards published.

Dr. Freind had once a fee of 300 guineas for a journey from London to Ingestre in Staffordshire, to attend Mr. Pulteney, who lay there dangerously ill, but recovered before Dr. Freind arrived.

He was elected a burgess for Launceston in Cornwall 1722; and, acting in his station as a senator with that warmth and freedom which was natural to him, he distinguished himself by some able speeches against measures which he disapproved. He was supposed to have a hand in Atterbury's plot, as it

* Published, in Latin, in Phil. Trans. vol. XXVII. p. 330.

† This work was attacked by Dr. Woodward, professor of physic in Gresham-college, in his "State of Physic and of Diseases, with an inquiry into the causes of the late increase of them, but more particularly of the Small-pox, &c. 1718," 8vo: and here was laid the foundation of a dispute, which was carried on with great acrimony and violence on both sides. Parties were formed under these leaders, and several pamphlets were written. Freind supported his opinion, "Concerning the advantage of purging in the second fever of the confluent kind of Small-pox" (for it was on this single point that the dispute chiefly turned) in a Latin letter addressed to Dr. Mead in 1719, and since printed among his works. He was likewise supposed to be the author of a pamphlet entituled "A Letter to the learned Dr. Woodward, by Dr. Byfield," in 1719, wherein Woodward is rallied with great spirit and address; for Freind made no serious answer to Woodward's book, but contented himself with ridiculing his antagonist under the name of a celebrated Empiric.

was

was then called, and this drew upon him so much resentment, that the Habeas Corpus Act being at that time suspended, he was, March 15, 1722-3, committed to the Tower *. He continued a prisoner there till June 21, when he was admitted to bail, his sureties being Dr. Mead, Dr. Hulse, Dr. Levet, and Dr. Hale; and afterwards, in November, was discharged from his recognizance. The leisure afforded him by this confinement was not so much disturbed by uneasy thoughts and apprehensions, but that he could employ himself in a manner suitable to his abilities and profession; and accordingly published a letter, intituled, "Johannis Freind ad celeberrimum virum Ricardum Mead, M. D. de quibusdam Variolarum generibus Epistola, 1723†," 4to. Here, also, he laid the plan of his last and most elaborate work, the History of Physic; the title of which runs thus: "The History of Physic, from

* "March 14. Tuesday last John Freind, esq. M. D. and member of parliament for Launceston, who is allowed to attend the Bishop of Rochester in the Tower as his physician, was taken into the custody of a messenger; and we hear that, having been examined by a Committee of Council, he is committed to the Tower for high treason."

"16. We were misinformed in our last as to Dr. Freind's commitment to the Tower. He is only confined to his own house in Albemarle street by a messenger, who brought him yesterday to the Cockpit; where being examined by a Committee of Council, he was remanded to the custody of his messenger.

"19. Dr. John Freind, after being examined before a Committee of Lords of the Privy Council on Friday last, was committed close prisoner to his Majesty's Tower of London for high treason: he was carried thither in his own coach, under the care of three messengers; and was lodged in the apartment the Earl of Orrery came out of the day before.—Dr. Hugh Chamberlen is permitted by warrant to visit the Bishop of Rochester, in the room of Dr. Freind." *Newspapers of* 1722-3.

† This elegant letter thus begins: "Cum ex insperato mihi abunde otii suppeteret, et animus esset in his etiam rerum augustiis à nimiâ solicitudine liber, videbar mihi hoc quicquid est vacui temporis haud meliùs conterere posse, quàm si consueta recolerem studia, & pauca iis, quæ pridem à me de *Morbis acutioribus* animadversa sunt, attexerem." And ends, "Ego scribo hoc, cum permissione atque etiam indulgentiâ Præfecti, in præsentiâ *Warderi*: qui cùm in scribendo me non multùm adjuvet, facit, quod tibi gratum fore reor, nè longior sim."

the

the time of Galen to the beginning of the sixteenth century, chiefly with regard to practice, in a discourse written to Dr. Mead. The first part was published in 1725, the second in 1726 *.

Soon after he obtained his liberty, he was made Physician to the Prince of Wales; and, on that Prince's accession to the Crown, became Physician to Queen Caroline, who honoured him with a share of her confidence and esteem.

Very early in the year 1727-8 Bp. Atterbury addressed to Dr. Freind his celebrated "Letter on the Character of Iapis †," of whom he justly considered this learned Physician to be the modern Prototype. But, whatever esteem he entertained for his professional abilities, the following letters from Mr. Morice were sufficient to have occasioned some different ideas respecting his political opinions.

Jan. 2, 1727-8, Mr. Morice says, "You observe rightly, that all things do not run in one channel, as they did in the late reign; and that Sir Robert's influence in ecclesiastical affairs is at an end. Nor has the Archbishop of Canterbury any power in that matter. He imagined he should have the first week or fortnight of the new Reign; and people thought so too; but he found his recommendations are disregarded, and so he has chose to sit still at Lambeth, and tells every body he has no interest at Court. The Queen seems chiefly to manage that branch, though not absolutely; for she intended Dr. *Hare* ‡ for the bishoprick of Bath and Wells,

* This work, though justly deemed a masterly performance, both for use and elegance, did not escape censure; but was animadverted upon both at home and abroad.

† See the Bishop's Epistolary Correspondence, vol. II. p. 428.

‡ Francis Hare, admitted a scholar on the foundation at Eton 1688, was elected thence to King's college, Cambridge; B. A. 1692; M. A. 1696; canon-residentiary of St. Paul's, and prebendary of Portpool in that cathedral, 1707; D. D. 1708; fellow of Eton 1712. He was tutor to the Marquis of Blandford; and chaplain-general to the Army; and obtained the deanry of Worcester 1715; and was made chaplain to King George I.; but was dismissed from that station in 1718 by the strength of party prejudices, in company with Dr. Moss and

and Dr. *Sherlock* for that of Norwich; but the whole Ministry united in their representations against it, alledging it would disoblige the whole Bench of Bishops to have the new-consecrated ones let into the best preferments at once; and, to carry their point, they put Wynne upon taking Bath and Wells (for which it seems he made no application himself); and Baker upon taking Norwich, to disappoint Sherlock.—Dr. Freind is a great man at Court; and his reputation as a Physician greatly raised by Lord Townshend's recovery, after the Whig Doctors; particularly Hulse (who attended in conjunction with Freind and Sloane) differed so greatly with Dr. Freind, as to quit his farther attendance on my Lord, and declare his Lordship must die if he followed the course Dr. Freind was for taking with him. But his Lordship declared he would live or die by the hands of Freind; and so Hulse took his leave, and his Lordship is, contrary to most people's expectations, past all danger. Dr. Freind some time ago recovered Lord Lynne *, after the other physicians had given him over; and also soon after recovered the second son, so that the Townshend family

and Dr. Sherlock, persons of distinguished rank for parts and learning. He became dean of St. Paul's 1726 (on the resignation of Dr. Godolphin); bishop of St. Asaph 1727; of Chichester 1731; and died April 6, 1740. He published ten single Sermons, 1700—1735; and about the latter end of Queen Anne's reign printed a remarkable pamphlet, intituled, "The Difficulties and Discouragements which attend the Study of the Scriptures, in the Way of private Judgement;" in order to shew, that, since such a study of the Scriptures is an indispensable duty, it concerns all Christian societies to remove, as much as possible, those discouragements. In this work, his manner appeared to be so ludicrous, that the Convocation fell upon him, as if he were really against the study of the Holy Scriptures: and Whiston says, that, finding this piece likely to hinder that preferment he was seeking, he aimed to conceal his being the author. He published also many pieces against Bishop Hoadly, in the Bangorian Controversy, as it is called; and also other learned works, which were collected after his death, and published in four volumes, 8vo. 2. An edition of "Terence," with notes, in 4to. 3. "The Book of Psalms in the Hebrew, put into the original poetical Metre." 4to.

* The late Marquis Townshend, who at that time was only three years old.

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owe the Doctor three lives. This intimacy of Dr. John Freind at Court has made way for the civilities which the public prints inform you have been paid Westminster-school, by the young Prince's honouring them with his presence, and seeing a play acted by the King's scholars at the College. *Dr. Bob* * is to have a prebend. The first vacancy is promised, so he is to fill the second; but, if that does not happen soon, some people imagine he may be disappointed, notwithstanding present appearances, and his early compliments to the present reign; for, the Monday following the death of the old King, the theme he gave in School was a little out of the way, and I am at a loss to find out the wit of it; it was this:

'Numquam Libertas gratior extat quam sub Rege NOVO.'

Methinks *pio* might have stood as well, and been as good a compliment to a new King. Some time after, the young Prince begged a Play; and, upon the occasion, the theme given for the boys to exert their talents upon was, *Celebrate ducem qui vobis otia fecit.* And I foresee the next anniversary meeting of Westminster scholars, on the 15th instant, will vary very much from the last, when great care was taken not to dip into flattery or party †."

Again, May 8, 1728, Mr. Morice says, "I cannot learn what expence the Royal Guest occasioned at *Hitcham* ‡. It is certain Dr. Freind made great preparation. Whether he will compass the m[illegible]ing his brother *Bob* a Bishop, I much doubt; for Sir Robert Walpole has gained his point in re-

* Dr. Robert Freind, the Master of Westminster-school; see p. 86.

† Atterbury's Epistolary Correspondence, vol. V. p. 99.

‡ Where the Princess Amelia, on her road to Bath, April 22, 1728, visited Dr. Freind.—The manor of Hitcham was some time the property of James Doe, esq. who died possessed of it May 23, 1678. Edward Nicholas, esq. died possessed of the manor May 24, 1696; as did another Edward Nicholas, esq. March 28, 1700.—After this it was purchased by the *Freinds;* and continued in that family till the death of Robert Freind, esq. Jan. 26, 1780, soon after which it was purchased by the present Lord Grenville, who has a house in that neighbourhood.

lation to Church preferments; and you will scarce hear of any more such promotions as *Hare* (who is Bishop of St. Asaph) and *Sherlock*. Her Majesty, they say, consults, and does nothing without Sir Robert's leave on that head *."

And, June 24, 1728, "I have communicated a Copy of the Discourse † (for I am resolved to keep the original myself), to the Physician. He was mightily pleased upon casting his eye over a small part of it. I have not seen him since he has had time to consider the whole; it cannot fail giving him infinite pleasure, as your application of it to him does him vast honour. In a little time, I suppose, I shall have some sort of return to make you from him.—Dr. John Freind is a very assiduous Courtier, and must grow so more and more every day, since his *quondam* friends and acquaintances shun and despise him; and, whenever he happens to fall in the way of them, he looks, methinks, very sillily. He is in great hopes (as I have heard) of obtaining a bishoprick for his brother *Bob*, and not without expectation of placing him in the see of Rochester, and deanry of Westminster, if old Bradford ‡ would be so kind as to make way for him. In that case, he is (as is said in the family) to be preceptor to Prince William. But this scheme I scarce believe will ever be compassed; for the great Sir Robert not only hates, but despises the family of the *Freinds*; and, while his power lasts at the pitch it now is, they will never be able to obtain such extended views §."

Dr. Freind died July 26, 1728||, in his 52d year.

* Atterbury's Epistolary Correspondence, vol. V. p. 110.

† On Iapis.

‡ Dr. Samuel Bradford; who had been appointed successor to Bp. Atterbury in those preferments, and held them till 1731.

§ Atterbury's Epistolary Correspondence, vol. I. p. 113.

|| The following extracts are taken from the Hitcham Register.

"Dr. John Freind, lord of this manor, and first physician to her Majesty Queen Caroline, was buried on the 2d of August, 1728.

"Mrs. Ann Freind, widow, relict of Dr. John Freind, lord of this manor, was buried Sept. 21, 1737.

"John Freind, esq. lord of this manor, was buried April 8, 1750.

"Robert Freind, esq. buried in the chancel Jan. 25, 1780."

July

July 29, 1728, Mrs. Morice tells Bp. Atterbury, "Our concern for the loss of Mr. Drake, Dr. Brydges, and Dr. Chamberlen (still fresh upon our memories), is now increased by the death of Dr. John Freind, who was thought to be in a fair way of recovery last Thursday; but there came a sudden ill turn the night following, and he breathed his last on Friday about three in the afternoon. Many people will find the want of him as a physician; and I shall, I fear, miss him often, and feel the loss of him, with regard to myself and children *. God's will be done †!"

Aug. 11, Bishop Atterbury, writing to Mr. Williams, says, "You have heard of the death of Dr. Freind; a public loss, in more respects than one! for I dare say, notwithstanding his station at Court, he died of the same political opinions in which I left him. He is lamented by men of all parties at home, and of all countries abroad; for he was known every where, and confessed to be at the head of his Faculty ‡."

In a letter to his daughter, Aug. 19, 1728, Bp. Atterbury says, "Pray desire Mr. Morice to send me word what Dr. Freind died worth; I fear, scarce 20,000*l.* His brother the Schoolmaster's interest and hopes may probably die with him. I wish Mr. Morice would get the MS paper of mine, which he put into his hands a little before he died; and would send me word how he took it, and what he thought of it, as well as the other gentleman's thoughts about the verses: in both which cases, I desire Mr. Morice to be very open, sincere, and plain with me: for I pique not myself, at this time of day, upon being able to write well on those sort of subjects; and shall not be in the least mortified, if those persons for whom I designed those papers should not have judged favourably of them §."

* This Lady adds, "The last prescription he gave me was the use of my horse; I am resolved to follow his advice, hoping it will succeed so well, as that I shall not soon want any other physician, of whose prescriptions I can never entertain the same opinion; nor can any other person judge so well of my constitution as Dr. Freind, who had been so long used to it."

† Atterbury's Epistolary Correspondence, vol. II. p. 370.

‡ Ibid. p. 381. § Ibid. p. 401.

97748 Sept.

Sept. 8, Bp. Atterbury writes to Mr. Morice, "I hope you have retrieved the MS. you put into Dr. Freind's hands, by the means of your sister*: I desire much to have it sent me to Montpelier.—I dare say you are terribly embarrassed; partly with your own affairs, partly with those of Dr. Freind, in behalf of your sister†."

Dr. Freind, in his last will, dated March 12, 1727, directs all his pictures to be sold (except those of Anne his wife, to whom he was married in 1709, his son, the Bishop of Rochester and his son, and his own brother). He gives 100*l.* a year to his brother William; and 1000*l.* to Christ Church, to found an Anatomical Lecture. The greater part of his fortune he bequeathed to his nephew William, son to his brother Robert. He mentions also his nephew Charles; and nieces, Anne Freind, and Harriet Del'angle. Their Majesties, in consideration of his merit, settled a pension on his widow.

The monument in Westminster Abbey of Bishop Sprat‡, and of his son the prebendary of Rochester, is inscribed by Dr. John Freind; whose own memory is also there perpetuated by the following epitaph:

"JOHANNES FREIND, M. D.
Archiater
Serenissimæ Reginæ Carolinæ;
cujus perspicaci judicio cum se approbâsset,
quantâ priùs apud omnes Medicinæ famâ,
tantâ apud Regiam Familiam gratiâ floruit.
Ingenio erat benevolo et admodùm liberali,
societatis et convictuum amans,
amicitiarum (etiamsuo alicubi periculo) tenacissimus.
Nemo beneficia aut in alios alacriùs contulit,
aut in se collata libentiùs meminit.
Juvenis adhuc scriptis cœpit inclarescere,
et assiduo tum Latini tum Patrii sermonis usu
orationem perpolivit;

* Dr. Freind married a sister of Mr. Morice.

† Atterbury's Epistolary Correspondence, vol. II. p. 414.

‡ That on Philips, which had been ascribed to him, is since ascertained to be by Atterbury.

quam

quam vero in umbraculis excoluerat facundiam,
eam in solem atque aciem Senator protulit.
Humanioribus literis domi peregréque operam dedit;
Omnes autem, ut decuit, nervos intendit
suâ in arte ut esset versatissimus:
quo successu, Orbis Britannici cives et proceres,
quam multiplici scientiâ, viri omnium gentium eruditi;
quam indefesso studio et industriâ,
id quidem, non sine lacrymis amici loquentur.
Miribquiddam fuit, quod in tam continuâ occupatione,
inter tot circuitiones,
scribendo etiam vacare posset:
quod tanto oneri diutius sustinendo impar esset,
nihil miri.
Obiit siquidem, vigente adhuc ætate,
annum agens quinquagesimum secundum,
æt. Christi 1728, Jul. 26;
Collegii Westmonasteriensis
& Ædis Christi Oxoniensis Alumnus;
Collegii Medicorum Londinensium
& Societatis Regiæ Socius."

The following epigram on this great Physician, by Mr. Samuel Wesley, may be worth preserving:

" When Radcliffe fell, afflicted Physick cried,
How vain my power! and languish'd at his side.
When Freind expir'd, deep-struck, her hair she tore,
And speechless fainted, and reviv'd no more.
Her flowing grief no farther could extend;
She mourns with Radcliffe, but she dies with Freind."

There is a medal of Dr. John Freind, finely executed, by St. Urbain, a Lorrainer; with the Doctor's bust on the obverse, inscribed, IOANNES. FREIND. COLL. MED. LOND. ET REG. S. S.; and on the neck the initial letters of the artist's name, S. V. Reverse, an antient and modern physician joining hands, MEDICINA. VETVS. ET NOVA. Exergue, VNAM FACIMVS VTRAMQUE. His valuable library was sold by auction, by Mr. Cock, Jan. 2—14, 1728.

An original portrait of him was in the possession of the widow of the late Dr. James Parsons.

WILLIAM

WILLIAM FREIND, son of the learned master of Westminster-school, was born in 1715; admitted at Westminster 1727; elected to Christ Church 1731; M. A. 1738; succeeded his father in the valuable rectory of Witney in 1739; obtained a prebend of Westminster, Oct. 17, 1744; and accumulated the degrees of B. and D. D. 1748. In 1755 he published "A Sermon preached before the House of Commons Jan. 30; and in 1756 quitted his prebend at Westminster, for a canonry of Christ Church: but, finding afterwards that his Patron was distressed (upon some political arrangement) for a Canonry there, generously resigned it without making any conditions whatever; in consequence of which, on the death of Dr. Lynch, he was, in May 1760, without solicitation, appointed Dean of Canterbury.

He was also chaplain in ordinary to King George the Second and to his present Majesty.

He was appointed Prolocutor of the Lower House of Convocation in 1761, in which character he delivered and elegant "Concio ad Clerum †, in Synodo Provinciali Cantuariensis Provinciæ habita, ad D. Pauli, die 6° Novembris MDCCLXI, à Gulielmo Freind, S.T.P. Ecclesiæ Christi Metropoliticæ Cantuariensi Decano; jussu Reverendissimi & Commissariorum."

His attainments as a scholar and a gentleman were eminent; and his conduct as a Divine was exemplary. He was also a great lover of music, which he both patronized and practised.

He married one of the sisters ‡ of the late Sir Thomas Robinson, bart. and of Lord Rokeby, the late Primate of Ireland; by whom he left three sons, Robert, a canoneer student of Christ Church, and

* As was John Freind in the same year.

† On receiving a proof of the "Concio," he told Mr. Bowyer, "You have been so correct and exact in printing, that you have left me little to alter, except what arises, I fancy, from a blunder of my own."

‡ The following Impromptu is ascribed to Mr. Hawkins Browne, on seeing Mr. Highmore's picture of this lady:

"I, whom no living beauty yet could warm,
Am now enamour'd of an empty form."

barrister

barrister at law (who died young); William-Maximilian*, a canoneer student of Christ Church also; and John†, both in orders; and a daughter, Elizabeth, married to Capt. Duncan Campbell of the Marines.

He died in 1765, and was buried at Witney; where, against the South wall of the chancel, a table of white marble is thus inscribed:

"To the memory of Dr. Robert Freind,
son of William, rector of Croton in Northamptonshire,
who died August 9, 1754, aged 84.
He was head-master of Westminster-school,
rector of Witney,
prebendary of Westminster and Windsor,
and, on resigning the former, canon of Christ Church.
He married Jane, the only daughter of
Samuel Delangle, D. D. and one of the pastors
of the Reformed Church of Charenton,
who, taking refuge in England,
became a prebendary of Westminster.
She died Feb. 3, 1758, aged 81.
Dr. William Freind, his son,
dean of Canterbury, rector of Witney,
died Nov. 28, 1766, aged 55.
Charles Freind died July 16, 1736, aged 16;
leaving his parents and only brother surviving."

A slab on the floor has this inscription:

"By the consent of
Benjamin Lord Bishop of Winchester,
and Thomas Lord Bishop of Oxford,
the burial-vault underneath was appropriated
to the sole use of Dr. Freind and family, 1753."

Dr. Freind had a most excellent collection of books, pictures, and prints; the latter of which, after his death, were sold by auction, by Mr. Langford, Dec. 14—18, 1767: and his valuable library by Mr. Baker, April 28—May 6, 1767. An epitaph by Dr. William Freind, on Dr. Morres, vicar of Hinckley, is printed in the History of that Town.

* M. A. 1771; preferred first in Ireland; but now rector of Chinnor, Oxfordshire.

† Elected from Westminster to Christ Church 1772; prebendary of Armagh 1778; M. A. 1779; afterwards archdeacon of Armagh.

No.

No. IV.

REV. THOMAS BAKER. (See vol. I. p. 418.) (Principally from the MSS. of Dr. Z. Grey.)

This very ingenious and learned Antiquary was descended from a family antient and well-esteemed, distinguished for its loyalty and affection for the Crown.

His grandfather, Sir George Baker, knt. almost ruined his family by his exertions for Charles I. Being recorder of Newcastle, he kept that town, 1639, against the Scots* (as they themselves wrote to the Parliament) with "a noble opposition." He borrowed large sums upon his own credit, and sent the money to the King, or laid it out in his service†.

* Lloyd's Memoirs, p. 669.

† Mr. Thomas Baker erected a monument to him, at his own expence, in the chancel of the great church at Hull, with the following epitaph, after he had lain there disregarded 40 years:

"Haud procul hinc jacet GEORGIUS BAKER Miles,
Pater, Avus, Proavus } GEO. BAKER Armig.
Qui postquam multa pro Rege, pro Patriâ fecisset tulissetque,
præcipuè in propugnando fortiter Novo-Castro
contra Scotos tunc rebelles,
hic tandem indigno et meritis suis dispari,
fato concessit,
August. anno MDCLXVII.
At non passus est Deus tantam virtutem penitùs latere:
Obscurè obiit, honorificè tamen sepultus;
funus ejus prosequentibus
militum tribuno, totâque cohorte militari
memorabili honoris pietatisque exemplo.
Tandem cum per quadraginta plus minus annos neglectus jacuisset,
nepos ejus THOMAS BAKER, S.T.B.
non tam virtutis, quàm adversæ fortunæ hæres,
avi charissimi indignæ sortis misertus,
hoc ei Monumentum mœrens lubens posuit,
anno 1710."

His

His father was George Baker, esq. of Crook, in the parish of Lanchester, in the county of Durham, who married Margaret, daughter of Thomas Forster, of Edderston, in the county of Northumberland, esq.

Mr. Baker was born at Crook, Sept. 14, 1656 *. He was educated at the free-school at Durham, under Mr. Battersby, many years master, and thence removed, with his elder brother George, to St. John's College, Cambridge, and admitted, the former as pensioner, the latter as fellow commoner, under the tuition of Mr. Sanderson, July 9, 1674 †.

He proceeded B.A. 1677; M.A. 1681; was elected fellow March 1679-80; ordained deacon by Bishop Compton of London, Dec. 20, 1685; priest by Bishop Barlow of Lincoln, Dec. 19, 1686.—Dr. Watson, tutor of the college (who was nominated, but not yet consecrated, Bishop of St. David's) offered to take him for his chaplain, which he declined, probably on the prospect of a like offer from Lord Crew bishop of Durham, which he soon after accepted. His Lordship collated him to the rectory of Long-Newton in his diocese, and the same county, June 1687; and, as Dr. Grey was informed by some of the Bishop's family, intended to have given him that of Sedgefield, worth 6 or 700*l.* a year, with a golden prebend, had he not incurred his displeasure, and left his family, for refusing to read King James the Second's Declaration for liberty of conscience. Mr. Baker himself gives the following account of this matter: "When the King's Declaration was appointed to be read, the most condescending thing the Bishop ever did me was com-

* Heath's Chronicle, p. 68. Rushworth's Collections, p. iii. vol. II. p. 647. Register of Births in Lanchester church, there being at that time no register of baptisms.

† Mr. Thomas Baker's admission is entered in the College Register, June 13, 1674, ætat. 16. But, if the parish register may be depended on, he must at that time have been near 18; and he has been heard to say, that coming up at the same time with his elder brother George, who was two years older, that it might not be known how late he was admitted, their true ages were concealed.

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ing to my chambers (remote from his) to prevail with me to read it in his chapel at Auckland, which I could not do, having wrote to my curate not to read it at my living at Long-Newton. But he did prevail with the curate at Auckland to read it in his church, when the Bishop was present to countenance the performance. When all was over, the Bishop (as penance, I presume) ordered me to go to the Dean (as Archdeacon) to require him to make a return to court of the names of all such as did not read it; which I did, though I was one of the number." The Bishop, who disgraced him for his refusal, and was excepted out of King William's pardon, took the oaths to that King, and kept his bishoprick till his death. Mr. Baker resigned Long Newton August 1, 1690, refusing to take the oaths *; and retired to his fellowship at St. John's, in which he was protected † till Jan. 20, 1716-17, when, with 21 others ‡, he was dispossessed of it. This hurt him most of all, not for the profit he received from it, but that some whom he thought his sincerest friends came so readily into the new measures, particularly Dr. Robert Jenkin the master §, who wrote a defence of the profession of Dr. Lake bishop of Chichester, concerning the new oaths and

* The following memorandum was extracted from the Register-book of Long-Newton, by the curate of that parish: "Mr. John Oliver, rector of Long-Newton, died in February, 1686, and was succeeded by Thomas Baker, fellow of St. John's college in Cambridge; who, refusing to take the oaths to King William and Queen Mary, at Candlemas 1689, returned to his college again.—Mr. James Finny, M. A. of St. John's college in Oxford, chaplain to the Right Honourable the Earl of Burlington and Cork, afterwards D. D. and prebendary of Durham, was inducted into the rectory of Long-Newton on the 30th of January, 1690."

† See his Preface to Lady Margaret's Funeral Sermon.

‡ Mentioned in the Appendix to Kettlewell's Life.

§ "Mr. Baker was quite wrong in fancying that the master, &c. could do more for him than he did. He was screened, till notice came from above that it would not be overlooked there any longer. How did Mr. Baker, as a scrupulous man, reconcile to his conscience, the holding of his fellowship with his annuity of 20*l. per annum*? Was not this *certi redditus*?" *T. F.*

passive

passive obedience, and resigned his precentorship of Chichester, and vicarage of Waterbeach, in the county of Cambridge. Mr. Baker could not persuade himself but he might have shewn the same indulgence to his scruples on that occasion as he had done before while himself was of that way of thinking. Of all his sufferings none therefore gave him so much uneasiness. In a letter from Dr. Jenkin, addressed "to Mr. Baker, fellow of St. John's," he made the following remark on the superscription: "I was so then; I little thought it should be by him that I am now no fellow: but God is just, and I am a sinner." After the passing the Registring Act, 1723, he was desired to register his annuity of 40*l.* which the last act required before it was amended and explained. Though this annuity, left him by his father for his fortune, with 20*l. per annum*, out of his collieries by his elder brother from the day of his death, August 1699, for the remaining part of the lease which determined at Whitsuntide 1723, was now his whole subsistence, he could not be prevailed on to secure himself against the act, but wrote thus in answer to his friend:—"I thank you for your kind concern for me; and yet I was very well apprised of the late act, but do not think it worth while at this age, and under these infirmities, to give myself and friends so much trouble about it. I do not think that any living besides myself knows surely that my annuity is charged upon any part of my cousin Baker's estate; or if they do, I can hardly believe that any one for so poor and uncertain a reward will turn informer; or if any one be found so poorly mean and base, I am so much acquainted with the hardships of the world, that I can bear it. I doubt not I shall live under the severest treatment of my enemies; or, if I cannot live, I am sure I shall die, and that's comfort enough to me. If a conveyance will secure us against the act, I am willing to make such a conveyance to them, not fraudulent or in trust, but in as full and absolute a manner as words can make it; and if that shall be thought good security, I desire

you

you will have such a conveyance drawn and sent to me by the post, and I'll sign and leave it with any friend you shall appoint till it can be sent to you." He retained a lively resentment of his deprivations; and wrote himself in all his books, as well as in those which he gave to the college library, "socius ejectus," and in some "ejectus rector."

In 1730 he contributed a fine Common-prayer book* to Mr. Willis's chapel of St. Martin at Fenny Stratford †.

He continued to reside in the college as commoner-master till his death, which happened July 2, 1740, of a paralytic stroke, being found on the floor. "In the afternoon, being alone in his chamber, he was struck with a slight apoplectic fit, which abating a little, he recovered his senses, and knew all about him, who were his nephew Burton ‡, Doctors Bedford and Heberden. He seemed perfectly satisfied and resigned; and when Dr. Bedford desired him to take some medicine then ordered, he declined it, saying, he would only take his usual sustenance, which his bed-maker knew the times and quantities of giving: he was thankful for the affection and care his friends shewed him, but, hoping the time of his dissolution was at hand, would by no means endeavour to retard it. His disorder increased, and the third day from this seizure he departed. His accustomed regularity and abstemious way of living

* The folio edition of 1662; bound elegantly in blue Morocco.

† "Mr. Baker desires me to convey his present of a fine common prayer-book for Mr. Willis's new chapel by the coach that goes from hence. He bids me further add, that he hath now by him Mr. Strype's last volume of Annals in MS.; which, had you been here, he thinks you was fitter to have examined than himself, whether he hath been guilty of making repetitions, a fault he is too subject to; it is to remain in his custody till the last day of this month, and no longer." *Letter to Dr. Grey, dated Cambridge, Oct.* 15, 1730; *from Mr. William Baker, fellow of St. John's college, Cambridge;* for whom Mr. Bowyer printed a 30th of January Sermon, 1726. He published also two other single Sermons, in 1716 and 1728.

‡ Mr. Richard Burton, of Elamore hall, Mr. Baker's nephew and executor.

had,

had, one would have imagined, been a security from a disorder of this nature; though perhaps, when it did come, it rendered him less able to struggle with it. But it happened at this very time his great-nephew, Mr. Baker of Crook, was just come from Eton school to be admitted at St. John's, upon which occasion, besides the great joy he expressed in seeing him, he frequented company more than usual, and had entertainments in his own chambers (which he very rarely practised): so that this unusual hurry destroyed that equilibrium of spirits his wonted tranquillity had kept up, and, like any violent excess, proved too much for him to bear. I recollect it always as one of the fortunate incidents of my life that I happened to be thrown in the way at this time, both as I had an opportunity of seeing my much honoured and great friend in his last minutes, as also of having an occasion of exerting myself in his service; who, when I was a student, had left no act of friendship or relation undone towards me; and next, I am extremely glad of this farther and public opportunity of owning the great obligation and honour I had in being known to, and in my youth regarded by, so great and learned a man, so kind and affectionate a relation *." Letter from Dr. John Bedford (of whom see an account hereafter) to Dr. Grey, Durham, July 27, 1755. He was buried in St. John's outer chapel, near the monument of Mr. Ashton, who founded his fellowship. No memorial has yet been erected over him, he having forbidden it in his will †.

Being appointed one of the executors of his eldest brother's will, by which a large sum was bequeathed

* In a letter of Bishop Warburton, written towards the close of Mr. Baker's life, and first published by Mr. Maty in his "New Review," he says, "Good old Mr. Baker of St. John's has indeed been very obliging. The people of St. John's almost adore the man; for, as there is much in him to esteem, much to pity, and nothing (but his virtue and learning) to envy; he has all the justice at present done him that few people of merit have till they are dead."

† Mr. Cole, by *his* will, left ten pounds, to buy a black marble slab, to cover Mr. Baker's grave.

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to pious uses, he prevailed on the other two executors, who were his other brother Francis and the Hon. Charles Montagu, to lay out 1310*l.* of the money upon an estate to be settled upon St. John's college for six exhibitioners. He likewise gave the college 100*l.* for the consideration of 6*l.* a year (then only legal interest) for his life; and to the library several choice books, both printed and MS, medals, and coins; besides what he left to it by his will; which were "all such books, printed and MS, as he had, and were wanting there."

All that Mr. Baker printed was, 1. "Reflections on Learning*, shewing the insufficiency thereof in its several particulars, in order to evince the usefulness and necessity of Revelation, London, 1709-10," (which went through eight editions; and Mr. Boswell, in his "Method of Study" ranks it among the English classics for purity of style); and 2. "The Preface to Bishop Fisher's Funeral Sermon for Margaret Countess of Richmond and Derby, 1708;" both without his name. Dr. Grey had the original MS. of both in his own hands. The latter piece is a sufficient specimen of the editor's skill in antiquities to make us regret that he did not live to publish his "History of St. John's college,

* This piece is written with much ingenuity and learning, and points out in an agreeable, but yet in a very general and superficial manner, the defects and errors in the various branches of literature and science; and it is remarkable, that too close an attachment to his point has made the author overlook some real and capital acquisitions, that have been made in the field of knowledge. For proof of this, we need only observe, that though he hath one chapter upon Metaphysics, and another upon Natural Philosophy, yet he hath not mentioned either Locke or Newton. He does indeed allude to Newton, in his chapter upon Natural Philosophy; but it is only to observe, that his principle of attraction is rather pious than philosophical, and in truth no better than an occult quality. Though the author doubtlessly intended this little work for the benefit of Revelation, as he professeth; yet many have not perceived the consequences, which were so striking to him; nor, why Revelation is the more necessary and useful, because Nature has prescribed bounds and limits to the powers of the human understanding. His book however, which was printed about the year 1700, has gone through eight or ten editions. The fifth was printed in 1714.

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from the foundation of old St. John's house to the present time; with some occasional and incidental account of the affairs of the University, and of such private colleges as held communication or intercourse with the old house or college; collected principally from MSS. and carried on through a succession of masters to the end of Bishop Gunning's mastership, 1670." (The original, fit for the press, is among the Harleian MSS. N° 7028.)

His MS Collections relative to the History and Antiquities of the University of Cambridge, amounting to XXXIX volumes in folio and III in quarto, are divided between the British Museum and the Public Library at Cambridge; the former possesses XXIII volumes, which he bequeathed to the Earl of Oxford, his friend and patron; the latter XVI in folio and III in quarto, which he bequeathed to the University. A particular detail of the contents of those in the British Museum may be seen in the Harleian Catalogue, from N° 7028 to 7054; and also in "Masters's Memoirs of Baker," together with the contents of those in the Public Library at Cambridge.

"*Baker*, after many years passed in Biography, left his manuscripts to be buried, in a library, because that was imperfect which could never be perfected *."

Dr. Knight † styles him "the greatest master of the Antiquities of this our University;" and Hearne ‡ says, "Optandum est ut sua quoque collectanea de Antiquitatibus Cantabrigiensibus juris faciat publici cl. Bakerus, quippe qui eruditione summâ judicioque acri et subacto polleat."

Mr. Baker intended something like an *Athenæ Cantabrigienses* on the plan of the *Athenæ Oxonienses*. Had he lived to have completed his design, it would have far exceeded that work, notwithstanding the reflection, as unjust as severe, with which the writer of Anthony Wood's article in the first edition of the "Biographia Britannica" insults Cambridge, by saying, "that Mr.

* Dr. Johnson, in the Idler, No. LXV. July 14, 1759.
† Life of Erasmus, p. 88. ‡ Pref. ad Ross. Warw. p. 6.

Baker's feeble attempt of the like kind undoubtedly reflects the highest honour on Mr. Wood's performance."

With the application and the industry of Anthony Wood Mr. Baker united a penetrating judgement and a great correctness of style; and these improvements of the mind were crowned with those amiable qualities of the heart, candour and integrity *.

Among his contemporaries who distinguished themselves in the same walk with himself, and derived assistance from him, may be reckoned Mr. Hearne, Dr. Knight, Dr. John Smith, Hilkiah Bedford †, Browne Willis, Mr. Strype, Mr. Peck, Mr. Ames, Dr. Middleton, and Professor Ward. Two large volumes of his letters to the first of these Antiquaries are in the Bodleian Library.

There is a mezzotinto print of him by Simon from a *memoriter* picture; and a very good likeness by C. Bridges. Vertue was privately engaged to draw his picture by stealth. Dr. Grey had his picture, of which Mr. Burton had a copy by Mr. Ritz. The Society of Antiquaries have another portrait of him.

He wrote a neat, but very remarkable hand; and it was his custom in every book ‡ he had, or read, to in-

* Dr. Grey collected materials for a life of him, which were given by his widow to Mr. Masters, who thought them hardly sufficient to make a work by themselves, but would have prefixed them to Mr. Baker's History of St. John's college; and applied to Dr. Powell, the late master, for the use of the transcript taken, at his predecessor Dr. Newcome's expence, from the original in the British Museum. But this was declined, as the history, though containing several curious matters, is written under the influence of partiality and resentment. It is probable, however, that Mr. Baker's Collections will some time or other be laid before the publick. *This was written in* 1782.

† Of whom see vol. I. p. 167.

‡ "His observations that he wrote in books were often very trifling. When Dr. Taylor published his Lysias he told me (I think) that he gave him a large-paper copy; and when he died was very desirous to get a sight of it to see what he had written: but found only the copy of his own admission and Mr. Morton's, to whom it is dedicated. It should be observed, however, that Baker did not live long after the publication." *T. F.*—This objection Mr. Masters in some degree obviates, by observing, "that Mr. Baker's notes were generally of a biographical nature; and related either to the life of the Author, or some account of the Book; and instances the notes on "Smith's Catalogue."

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sert observations, and an account of the author. Of these a considerable number are at St. John's Cambridge, and several in the Bodleian Library, among Dr. Rawlinson's bequests; and many others are dispersed in the hands of curious collectors. Mr. Bindley has his copy of Philipps's Life of Abp. Williams, full of valuable MS notices.

Dr. John Bedford * of Durham had his copy of the "Hereditary Right" greatly enriched by Mr. Baker. —Dr. Grey, who was advised with about the disposal of the books, had his copy of Spelman's Glossary †.

I once possessed a fair transcript of his select MS observations on Dr. Drake's edition of Archbishop Parker, 1729; but don't recollect to whom I gave it.

Mr. Crow married a sister of Mr. Baker's nephew Burton; and, on Burton's death intestate, in the autumn after his uncle, became possessed of every thing. What few papers of Mr. Baker's were among them, he let Mr. Smith of Burnhall see; and they, being thought of no account, were destroyed ‡, except the

* Of whom, see vol. I. p. 169.

† "I return you a thousand thanks for the trouble you have had with my uncle's catalogue, and for your kind endeavours to procure me a better price for the remaining part of his books than what has been offered at Cambridge. I find they are like to raise little money at best: and my cousin Baker seeming desirous to purchase them, and have them preserved in memory of his uncle, and to prevent their being exposed in shops; I think to bring them into the country, which I hope may be done without a great expence, as we have water-carriage the whole way: should the young man happen to change his mind when he comes to age, the loss (it is likely) cannot be great. I am told, Mr. Thurlbourne says he would give any (even my own) price for some of the books in the catalogue. After so much trouble as I have given you, I am really ashamed to take any further liberties of that sort. Yet, I must confess, I should be very thankful to you, if, at your leisure, you would be so good as to mark a few of the most valuable of them: the books of low (or no) price, I beg you will give yourself no trouble about. So soon as I am able to write, I will desire Dr. Williams to look out Spelman's Glossary, which you will give me leave to beg a place for in your study, where I shall be proud to have it preserved, as a memorial of our common friend; and a mark of that esteem with which I am, &c. RICHARD BURTON."

Letter to Dr. Grey, Jan. 16, 1740-1.

‡ "Some time since I did myself the pleasure of answering your obliging letter, and am sorry to find it has not reached

deed concerning the exhibitions at St. John's, his own copy of the History of the College, notes on the Foundress's funeral sermon, and the deed drawn for creating him chaplain to Bishop Crew in the month and year of the Revolution, the day left blank, and the deed unsubscribed by the Bishop as if rejected by him.

This article is reprinted almost literally as it stood in the former edition of these Anecdotes *; to which I

your hands. In it I did acquaint you that I have made diligent search after the effects and papers my uncle left, but can find none, as I believe they were all consumed after Mr. Burton's death, by an accident, when in his brother Crow's custody, so that I am afraid I can give you no light whatsoever of his correspondence or life. I am greatly obliged to you for your kind intention of perpetuating the memory of my uncle; and am, &c. GEORGE BAKER." *Letter to Dr. Grey, dated Elemore, Sept.* 18, 1755.

* Two years after the first appearance of those "Anecdotes," some regular "Memoirs" of Mr. Baker were published, by the late Rev. Robert Masters, B. D. who tells us that "Dr. Grey *was apt* to wonder at the silence of Mr. Baker's fellow-collegians, and endeavoured to make amends for it by collecting together what materials he could. These, blended with others in relation to many other eminent Nonjurors, were *obligingly put into the hands* of the present editor by Dr. Grey's widow, some years since, with power to dispose of them as he thought proper; and they would have been earlier reduced into some form, and committed to the publick, had not an obstacle to his first design, which it is not now perhaps necessary to relate, occasioned this delay."—In a *Review* of those Memoirs by a *Literary Club* (of which Mr. Gough was President) it was truly observed, That, though Mrs. Grey put these materials into the editor's hands some time ago, she or her executors did not think themselves precluded from selling the rest of the Doctor's papers, to the best advantage, to a bookseller at Northampton. From thence a number of valuable papers found their way to London; and among the rest an abstract of the most material parts of Mr. Baker's Life, which will want no extraordinary compression to make them lie within the compass of a folio half-sheet. These, with many other papers from the same quarter, becoming the property of Mr. Nichols, it was thought could not appear to better advantage than in that temple of gratitude and fame which he was then erecting to his Friend and Patron, and his learned contemporaries, and in which Mr. Baker was fairly entitled to a place. But, not content with this, he accepted some hints which another of his friends is charged with furnishing from the Life of Mr. Baker, which Mr. Masters confidentially put into his hands. The utmost that could be purloined from this meagre MS. was a few dates of the few historical facts in it; and if this is a breach of confidence that entitles a person to be set to the bar with the illustrious names of

shall now only add the following very apposite remark, transcribed by my late excellent friend Mr. Gough, in the margin of the former edition of these Anecdotes*: "Mr. Baker's MSS. at Cambridge, the work of his long life, are no longer consulted, but slighted and abused by a younger generation, who undervalue them chiefly from their ignorance of the contents of them. But it is no longer a wonder that Antiquaries are treated with contempt by a race of men who are tired of their Religious Establishments, and would have a new one every ten or twenty years.

"Feb. 7, 1772. W. C.—Feb. 5, 1783. R. G."

of Moore and Bodley, Umfreville, Rawlinson, Willis, &c. (and we might add some later stealers of books, manuscripts, coins, and other antiquarian *supellex*), we venture to affirm he would be acquitted, with a copy of his indictment.—But a worse charge remains for the second count. Some disagreeable truths have come out in the second edition of the British Topography. Historic Verity has recorded something to the discredit of Mr. Masters in his dispute with a modest and ingenious architect of Cambridge, whose works he had purloined. To his History of Corpus Christi College he has annexed a plan of the intended new building, *designed by himself*. Let Mr. Cole, who best knew the whole transaction, give an account of it. 'This was just as much designed by himself as the *drawing* of Pythagoras's school was; that is, he had *no hand* in either. Mr. *Essex* drew the *plan* of the *new college*, where *invenit* honestly stands for *found* it, if it relates to the compiler of this book; if to Mr. Essex, in its natural sense.—The other was *found* at Mr. *Stephens's*, the *engraver*, at *Cambridge*, where it had been left by Mr. *West*, who, with Mr. *Essex*, took the draught, and gave it to Mr. *Stephens*, where it was found, as has been observed. I have the *original draught* now by me, with Mr. *West's name* scratched out, which had been under the drawing." The curious Reader is referred to Gent. Mag. 1784, vol. LIV. pp. 194, 329.

* The quarto edition of Lord Orford's Works contains "The Life of the Reverend Mr. Thomas Baker, of St. John's College in Cambridge; written in 1778; "of which," an intelligent Friend observes to me, "I suppose you will make some mention, dry, and dull, and uninteresting as it is. I never thought that the sprightly and inquisitive Horace Walpole could ever have written any thing of so little information or curiosity. How writers at times differ from themselves, in their most essential points of character!"

No. V.

AMBROSE BONWICKE. (See vol. I. p. 419.)

AMBROSE BONWICKE, first-born child of Ambrose Bonwicke *, master of Merchant Taylors' School, and Elizabeth his wife, daughter of Philip Stubbs, of St. Peter's, Cornhill; was born at the master's house, adjoining to the School, Sept. 30, 1691; but his father removing to Headley School within three months after his birth, he entered there under the tuition of his father, till Jan. 11, 1702-3; when he was admitted into Merchant Taylor's School;

* Of whom some account has been given in vol. I. p. 66. The correspondence with Mr. Blechynden, there mentioned, with several of Mr. Bonwicke's letters and College exercises, may be seen in the quarto volume of Mr. Bowyer's "Miscellaneous Tracts." The epitaph on Mr. John Bonwicke, the father of the schoolmaster, has also been printed in the page above referred to. These which follow are for some of his children.

On the South side of the altar at Mickleham, on a black marble, is the following inscription:

"Hic, eodem sepulchro conditi,
jacent par charissimum
Augustinus et Philippa,
liberi natu minimi
Johannis Bonwicke, S.T.B.
et Dorotheæ uxoris;
quorum ille in cœlum cursum
maturavit festo S. Johan. Bapt.
A.D. MDCLXXXIII.
Hæc autem, tam dilecti fratris
desiderio contabescens, post
quinquennium postridie ejusdem
festi in amplexus ejus ruebat.
A.D. MDCLXXXVIII.
Parce pias animas nimio violare dolore;
Non poscit lacrymas ille vel illa tuas.
Quin potiùs gravidis quantus fluat humor ocellis
In tua si sapias crimina totus eat."

On

and boarded with his uncle, Mr. Henry Bonwicke, a bookseller in St. Paul's church-yard, a man of great piety and probity, who died in 1706. In 1708-9, he gave a specimen of that habitual piety which was a prominent feature in his character. He wrote to his father: "You have told me, Sir, I should not want any helps for my learning (and I do not know that I do want any); and I doubt not but you will assist me in my devotions also, and therefore desire you would lend me a book or two to employ my spare time in the ensuing Lent; for I think I cannot employ too much time in preparing myself for the most Holy Sacrament, you intend I shall, and I desire to receive. If you cannot well spare me a book or two, I shall be very glad to buy myself one, if you would but please to send (when you have an opportunity, and can spare time) a line or two of your advice about the properest books and

On another marble grave-stone:

"H. S. E.
Benjamin Bonwicke, S.T.B. Collegii
S. Johannis Bapt. Oxon. Socius, et filius
Johannis Bonwicke, istius
Ecclesiæ Rectoris, ex Dorotheâ
conjuge: vir summo ingenio,
judicio pari, at modestiâ pene
nimiâ; cujus mores suavissimos
omnes quibus notus erat,
jam maximè desiderant; hunc
sævus variolarum morbus
nobis omnibus præripuit, et
Deo suo reddidit, quem semper
quantum humanitas patiatur
religione non querulâ et
muliebri, sed tacitâ et masculâ
coluerat. Abi quisquis es, et
scito te pariter
mortalem.
Obiit A.D. III idûs Decembres *, MDCLXXXVII.

Counsellor Bonwicke, of the Mickleham family, and a barrister of the Middle Temple, died May 14, 1729.

* Sic Orig.

means,

means, for I have no books that are particularly relating to that great affair."

At the latter end of July this year, he removed nearer to the school, and became a parishioner of Dr. Whincup's, under whose ministry he was a regular communicant so long as he continued at the school. At the election in 1709, he was left Captain of the school; but was disappointed in his expectation of going to St. John's at Oxford, through the *Nonjuring* scruples which he had imbibed from his father.

His not reading prayers was taken notice of by the master of the company, Alderman Ward, who, it was supposed, came to the knowledge of it by the means of some one of the head scholars, who hoped, by putting aside Bonwicke, to succeed himself. It is the custom of that school for the head-scholars in their turns to read the prayers there; and among other prayers for the morning, the first Collect for the King at the Communion service of our Liturgy is appointed to be read. This our conscientious lad stuck at; and on that account was frequently attacked by most of his friends in London, who endeavoured not only to convince him with arguments, but to affright him with the consequences of his not complying. But the heroic youth stood firm against all their assaults, resolving to sacrifice every thing rather than his conscience *.

* In a letter to his father, dated Feb. 22, 1709-10, wherein he gave him a large account of what two of his uncles had said to him on this point, he thus expresses himself: "Now though I am very well convinced in my own breast that these arguments are very false, yet I cannot so well answer to them, because I do not know whether you would have me open myself so much as I must of necessity do, if I go to refute these arguments; therefore I hear all, and say little. But, if you would have me do otherwise, pray let me know it." And in another place thus; "I am stedfastly resolved to keep to your opinion; which I take to be the right, and my duty; and I hope God will give me grace and courage to suffer for the same, whenever it shall please him to call me to it." To support and comfort him in this trial, he received two days after the following letter from his mother: "Dear Ambrose, we are afraid by your letter that came by your uncle,

At length the election for the year 1710 came on; and St. Barnabas being on a Sunday, the orations, examinations, and other exercises, were performed the day before. In all which our youth came off with a reputation answerable to his post and standing. Particularly his extempore translation of Livy, (which was truly so, for he declared he had never read that part of the history before) was so much admired, that Dr. Delaune *, then president of St. John's in Oxford, told the master of the school it was fit to be printed. On Sunday in the evening they proceeded to the election; and the captain being called in, the master of the company spoke to him in these, or words to this effect: "Mr. Bonwicke, the President and gentlemen who have examined you as a candidate for this election, declare that you have performed your duty very well, and are every way capable of being elected. But the company who are the electors have received information that you have not read the prayers of the school, whether enjoined by the statutes or your master I cannot tell. The company therefore desire to know of you the reason why you did not read them. You may make what excuse you please;

uncle, that you trouble yourself too much; and had that come time enough for us to send you orders to come down on Tuesday, I believe it had been done, though your father thought it would be too great a fatigue to return so soon now the ways are so bad. I pity you, supposing you have not one friend at London to encourage you, but that all blame us and you. I hope notwithstanding you will take courage and bear up, when you consider you had the same fate which you now fear, before you were a month old, and it has pleased God you have wanted for nothing since that time; and therefore you have great reason to hope, if you do your duty, God will still provide for you some way or other; we do not in the least doubt of it. And if you are put by going to Oxford, and do not like Cambridge so well, you may assure yourself we shall not desire you to go thither, nor think you a burthen to us here, where you have a good friend to direct you in your studies. In the mean time God may raise us and you up friends, as he has done to a worthy person, which he never knew nor heard of before his troubles. So praying God in all things to direct and rule your heart, I leave you to his protection, who am your loving mother, E. B."

* Of whom see vol. I. p. 384.

I do

I do not put any thing to you to say; but only the reason why you did not read them." To which he in short answered: "Sir, I could not do it." Upon which the master and several other persons there present, said, "it was very honestly said, a very honest answer, the best answer he could give;" and one, "that he was very sorry for him." Within a little while after, the second and fourth boys were elected, the third being set aside for having been absent some considerable time from the school since the last election. Our young confessor bore this defeat serenely and cheerfully; and, after he had served a long apprenticeship at the school, having been near seven years and a half there, and for a considerable time in the head-form, he laid down all his hopes of going to the same University and College of which his father had been, and of which he had heard so much (and once had viewed from an adjacent hill) with an evenness of mind becoming the title here given him; and retired to his father's in the country, where he patiently and industriously assisted him in his business, till the Bartholomew vacation afforded them leisure for a journey to Cambridge; where he was admitted into St. John's college, Aug. 25, and had another mortification in seeing several that had been below him at school, superior to him in the University. But this and some others he scarcely regarded, being on many accounts so well pleased with his condition. It pleased God to raise him up many friends, and among them one especially, over whom his chamber was, who was all along like a father to him in care and kindness, and whose favours were so many, that there was scarce any letter of the many that he wrote home, but mentioned some of them. He had an agreeable chamber-fellow, a very good scholar, a sober and innocent, yet chearful companion. But the greatest happiness of all, and what he valued above the honours and profits he lost with his election to the other St. John's, was the frequent returns of the holy Sacrament, which he would have missed of there, and could

could not, probably, have enjoyed at any other house in either of the Universities, except Christ Church in Oxford, which, being a Cathedral as well as a College, is under a double obligation of conforming itself to the fourth rubrick after the Communion-service. Accordingly the second Sunday after his admission, as soon as he was tolerably settled, he addressed himself again to this holy duty, having had no opportunity of communicating since he left London; and it is certain from that time he missed but four sacraments all the while he was there, two of which happened on State-festivals, and the other two when he was confined to his chamber for the sake of his health. Just before he left Headley, he had by his dear mother's direction, transcribed into one of the spare leaves in his "Officium Eucharisticum," a short prayer for a student, out of Dr. Patrick's Book of Devotions for Families, &c.; and as soon as his books were arrived, he betook himself heartily to his studies, and pursued them in spight of Sturbridge fair, which made most of the other students idle, and by that means deprived him (for want of auditors) of those lectures and instructions of his tutor, which would have been more grateful to him than any of the diversions of that season *.

* From that time he followed his studies so close, that in the space of eleven months he had read over all Dionysius's "Periegesis," the Oxford edition; Virgil to the ninth book of the Æneis; all Ælian's "Varia Historia," as it is printed for the use of Eton-school; all Terence; fifty Hebrew Psalms; a great part of Seneca the Philosopher; all Burgersdicius's Logic; all the "Fasciculus Præceptorum Logicorum, Oxon;" and half another Logic book; all Bussiere's "Flosculi Historici;" all Pindar's Olympic Odes, and the four first of the Pythian; the Lives of the three first Emperors in Seutonius; five books of Pliny's Epistles; the Dialogue *De Oratoribus*, by some ascribed to Quintilian, by others to Tacitus; the first book of Ascham's Epistles; the first volume of Plutarch's Lives; the first volume of Lord Clarendon's History, and some other books; and this not hastily or perfunctorily, but he made his observations as he read them, and transcribed *Excerpta* out of several of them into his *Adversaria*. Besides these, on holy-days he read books of piety, and on Sundays no

He was an excellent husband of his time, rising often at four o'clock, and sometimes earlier, very rarely exceeding six, and that only when the college prayers were later than ordinary; and never, if he was well, going to bed till near ten. Quickly after his settlement at St. John's, he fixed to himself a weekly course of study, as appears from a letter he writ to his father Sept. 14, of that year 1710. "My tutor," says he, "did not talk to me about a method, &c. as I hear is customary; but I have (thinking it convenient) proposed to myself one, *viz.* on Tuesdays and Thursdays all day, and Saturday mornings, which are our Logic-lecture days, to read logic only, as being what I most need; Monday mornings Greek prose, chiefly Hierocles, as being read at lecture after dinner. When that is done, the rest of the afternoon I intend to turn the

no other, having in the fore-mentioned space of eleven months read all "Thomas à Kempis de imitatione Christi," "The whole Duty of Man," some pieces of Kettlewell, "Brome of Fasting," almost all Nelson's "Festivals and Fasts," a book that he had a great value for, and which he quickly purchased after his arrival at St. John's; besides several chapters in the Greek Testament, and other parts of the Holy Bible. He had moreover in this time translated into English a Latin Sermon of Dr. Henry Byam's, preached before the clergy at Exeter, at the triennial visitation of Dr. Joseph Hall, Bishop of Exon; and Erpenius's "Epistle to the Reader" before his edition of Ringelbergius, and Erasmus "De ratione Studii;" had made four and twenty Greek or Latin themes, eighteen copies of Latin verses, with some Greek, three Latin epistles, and three epitomes, one of which was the first part of Eustachius's Ethics, and transcribed into a paper book among his other exercises, but the other two do not appear. Besides all this, his practice was, for his improvement in the Greek tongue, to take the Latin translation of an author, either prose or verse, and turn it himself into Greek, either prose or verse; and, dividing his paper book into two columns, in one of them he writ his own version, and in the other the author, that so he might see wherein he fell short of the original. And thus, in the aforesaid space of 11 months, he had imitated a hundred verses of Theognis, 4 epigrams of Theocritus, and 11 dialogues of Mr. Leedes's Lucian, from the beginning in order, omitting only the eighth and the tenth (which he had done before he came to the University), and concluding with the thirteenth; and all this, notwithstanding his constant attendance on all the exercise of the house, and his tutor's private lectures.

translation

translation of a Greek author, prose and verse, by turns into Greek; Wednesday morning Latin prose, afternoon Latin verse; Friday morning Greek verse, afternoon Hebrew; Saturday afternoon Hebrew, and holy duties. If you think fit to make any additions or alterations, pray send them. I think also to make what he calls a common-place book, in which to write observations."

Within less than a quarter of a year after his coming he was chosen scholar of the house; and the very worthy master, Dr. Gower, told him, it was his regular and good behaviour that got him that preferment, and was the likeliest means to get him more *.

On this success our pious youth did not "sacrifice to his net, or burn incense to his drag," but gave the glory of it to God alone. For thus he prefaces the account he gave his father of it: "I have told you how God has delivered me from trouble; I am now to let you know with what great mercies he has blessed me." And concludes all thus: "I doubt not but you will join with me in praying to God to enable me to keep the favour of the Master, which by his blessing I have thus signally gained."

His first and greatest concern after this, was to keep the oath (of observing the Statutes of his college) which he had taken when he was admitted scholar. And understanding that some of these were grown into disuse, "so that it would be ridiculous in him, nay perhaps to the disturbance of the peace of the college to pretend to observe them: I began," says he, "to doubt whether I could perform my oath, and at the same time comply with the customs of the College; and whether, to keep a good conscience, though with the loss of all my preferment here, I was not immediately to quit my scholarship at least, if not the College. On the other

* On this occasion a very worthy member of that house wrote to his father the Letter printed in vol. I. p. 417.

hand

hand I could not think that, if the governing part and whole college should annul a law by their practice, one single scholar was obliged to observe it. However I could not be free (considering the dreadful guilt of the most heinous sin of perjury) from some doubts and scruples, and therefore made haste to wait on my good friend Mr. Roper, that I might know his sentiments. He, I thank God, has settled my mind, and freed me pretty well from my scruples. But it being a matter of the greatest importance to have one's conscience quiet and at ease, I would, when you have leisure and opportunity, beg your opinion of the case, whether, being ready, whenever my superiors shall require it, to perform every article of the Statutes that concerns me, or suffer the punishment they shall think fit to inflict; and performing to the best of my power, whatever I can presume they would have me do, or punish me for not doing; and avoiding whatever they would have me not do, or would punish me if they knew I did, and observing whatever else I conveniently can; and being also sorry that all required by the Statutes is not to be performed, I faithfully perform my oath, and can with a good conscience acquit myself of perjury. And whether by the words *faciam ab aliis observari*, which are part of the oath, I am obliged to tell lads continually their duty as far as I know it, and also to inform against transgressors." To which this answer was returned by his father: "I know not how to express my great obligations to Mr. Roper, particularly from his freeing you from your scruples about the Statutes, which thing, no doubt, he has well considered, and therefore he is best able to give you satisfaction. I herewith send you our University-statutes, in the 195th page whereof, you have this matter resolved. The resolution indeed has not the same authority in respect of your Statutes that it has of ours, but I think the reason is the same for both. It is the governing part of the college that must answer for the neglect or disuse of any statute, the main business

ness of the juniors, and what I suppose is often enjoined them in those very Statutes, being obedience. And what you resolve upon in discharge of your oath, is I believe as much as the foundress herself, if she were alive, would require of you. It is out of your province to attempt a reformation, and would be an affront to your governors. And the *faciam ab aliis observari* can never be meant to oblige you to oppose them. I bless God for his extraordinary grace to you in giving you so conscientious a regard to oaths, which I doubt are generally too much disregarded in both Universities; of which the sad effects are too visible all over the nation." In his next to his father he thus expresses himself: "I return you many thanks, and praise God that I am by yours, and good Mr. Roper's assistance, now so well satisfied in a matter of such importance."

His temperance was always very great, and his fasting and abstinence rather more than his weak constitution could well bear. Yet we shall find him still increasing those rigours; and though at first he contented himself with missing his breakfast, and eating his bare commons on the Church-fasts, and his days of preparation for the blessed Sacrament; afterwards on the approach of Lent his rules were more severe, which, being written in his "Officium Eucharisticum" without any date, might be made about this time *.

* "Remember to observe all Lent with abstinence and retirement, and interruption of visits; and the Wednesdays and Fridays therein, together with the Holy-passion-week, with strict fasting. Observe all Vigils with abstinence and prayer, as also Embers and Rogations; and all Fridays in the year with strict fasting. But have always regard to thy health, and necessary occasions, as travelling and the like. Be not over-scrupulous as to the accidents of place, friends, civility, &c. which may sometimes put by thy stated rules. Be always prepared for charitable offices; and let not thy fasts make thee peevish, affected in them, or self-conceited for them. Sanctify all thy actions, especially on these times, by a holy intention; and doubt not but God will bless and accept thee. But be sure at Lent, and all other fasts, beg

Before he had fully spent this Lent according to the foregoing rules, there was an additional sorrow to the solemn one of the season, from the death of Dr. Gower, the worthy master of the college, of which he gave his father the account transcribed below *.

beg his assistance even to out-do thyself. Obey the precepts of the Gospel, and follow its counsels as thou canst. Obey the church." The abstinence here mentioned respected both the quality and quantity of the food; and the strict fasting was eating but one spare meal on those days, which was most commonly a dinner in the hall.

* "HONOURED SIR, *St. John's, Cam. March* 28, 1711.

"YOURS of the 26th I received this evening, and agree with you in your opinion of our late excellent Master; for, alas! our good friend and benefactor, and the honour of this College and University, died yesterday about two in the afternoon. He was last week thought to be in a fair way of recovery from the illness I mentioned in my last; but being on Monday in the afternoon taken with an aguish shivering, he thought, they said, himself that he should die. He lay speechless, and I think senseless too, from four the next morning. And upon his death you might see in all faces deep sorrow for the loss of so good a governor, except in those loose youths, who thought he held the reins too tight, and hope now to be no more punished for their irregularities. The President went the Friday before to his living at Lynn, to administer the Sacrament there at Easter, but is sent for back to college; and a schedule is this day affixed to the chapel-door to give notice of the vacancy, and that according to statute 13 days hence, *viz.* on the 9th of April a new Master will be chosen, and Dr. Jenkin (they say) will, without opposition, be the man. Thus has it pleased God to take to himself from us a man indeed too good for us, as he had a little before a better. For to night being in Mr. Roper's chamber, 'Before we begin to read,' says he, 'you shall hear a letter, in which I have an account of the death of Bp. Ken. Here,' says he, 'have I lost another good friend and acquaintance; he died as he lived, a plain humble man.' And then upon my asking (that I might give you an account) where and when, &c. he took up the letter again, and read the particulars to me thus: 'He came hither (to my Lord Weymouth's) on the 9th in Mrs. Thynne's coach, at whose seat he had been all the winter, designing for the Bath on the 12th, but was hindered by the return of his illness. He had two physicians from the Bath and the Devizes, and desired to know their opinion of his condition, for he was not, he said, at all afraid to die, and therefore desired they would tell him the truth. Upon their saying there was but small hopes, he replied, God's will be done! and so died the 19th; leaving order in his will to be buried in the church-yard

of

Dr. Robert Jenkin was on the 9th of April chosen master of the college; whose favour our young student, partly by his own merit, and partly by the recommendation of his good friend and

of the parish in his diocese soon after sun-rising very privately; to be carried by the six poorest men in the parish, and to have laid over him a plain stone, with an inscription on it of his own composing, which the writer did not yet know. He was, according to his order, buried on Wednesday morning the 21st at Frome, I think.' These particulars, I dare say, you have not heard of, if you have of the death of this excellent Prelate; and therefore, that I might the more exactly remember them, I take this night to write my answer; and partly because we are ordered to make verses on the melancholy occasion against Saturday, with which I must necessarily be busied to-morrow, though against my inclination: for though such sorrowful subjects may be proper, yet I could have wished the puzzling our heads with verses might have been let alone till another time, because they will be apt to discompose our minds, and keep out of them better thoughts, and fitter for this holy week, especially this latter part of it: to direct us in the observance of which, Mr. Anstey sent to all or most of his pupils on Monday (as Mr. Edmondson had done to his the week before) a book entitled, *The Use, Measures and Manner of Christian Fasting*; especially with regard to the most holy Passion-week, by Mr. Brome, one of our senior fellows, a particular friend to the Master, and who always lived in the lodge with him. Though I have most of it that is useful in short in Mr. Nelson, and should have liked Mr. Seller's book much better to employ my time on this great week; yet I thought it very improper to refuse it, and that it were better to be at a small, though unnecessary charge, than seem to put an affront on Mr. Anstey and the Author, if not the Master also, to whom the book is dedicated. I must hastily conclude (it being pretty late) with desiring you to accept the duty of your most obedient son, A. Bonwicke."—To this may be added an extract from his next to his father, of April 5, relating to the same subject: "The body of our late excellent Master was interred on Thursday night; but the funeral is not to be performed till next Saturday. He has been a noble benefactor, having left by his will two exhibitions of 10*l.* each; all his books to the library; his country-seat at Thriploe, valued at 120*l. per ann.* to the Master, after the death of Mr. West his nephew and heir, and 500*l.* to buy a living for the college. Besides private legacies, as 100*l.* to Mr. Brome, who is also to have the use of his books as long as he stays here; to his sizar, and to another who had been his sizar, whom (being a relation of Bp. Gunning) he had just made fellow, though but middle bachelor, 10*l.* each for mourning; and 5*l.* to him who is to make his funeral oration."

patron Mr. Roper, quickly gained; yet when he gave his father an account of it, according to his wonted piety, referring all to the first cause, he attributes it to God alone.

He was (as has been already observed) so early a riser, and so constant at chapel; unless on those few state holy-days that intervened, that he was easily prevailed on by the Chapel-clerk, who was indisposed, to officiate for him, which he did for almost two months, to the satisfaction of the Master and Deans. But the afore-mentioned eleven months being now expired, and having kept *Freshman's Term* (as it is there called) purely for the sake of the exercise he was to perform in it; he was willing to visit his friends in Surrey, and, having obtained his father's leave, went for Headley at the beginning of August; where he with great diligence assisted in the instruction of the scholars, and thereby made himself more perfect in the Greek and Latin, especially the grammar of both; and improved in his arithmetick, to qualify him for an auditor of the Algebraic Lecture in their College.

During his stay at Headley, it pleased God to take away his youngest sister, whose sickness and death would have been much more afflicting, had he been at College at the time; but, being near her, he had the satisfaction of knowing continually how she did, and of contributing his assistance for her recovery, by going himself to consult the Doctor (who lived at some distance) as often as it was thought necessary.

At the latter end of October he left Headley, in order to return to St. John's college, there to prosecute his studies with the same vigour as formerly, or rather greater. Quickly after his arrival, he gave his father a large account of his journey, and of the kind reception Mr. Roper gave him when he waited on him at his chamber; and then, after a little College-news, goes on thus: "Though I could not but be perfectly satisfied with, and very happy in, the many kindnesses I received from my mother

and

and you in the country, for which I return many and hearty thanks; yet methinks I receive more than ordinary satisfaction in being returned to this pleasant seat of the Muses, where I find my books, and all things in a very good condition, and myself happy at the ethic-table at morning lectures in the Hall. And I think myself in duty bound on this day (Nov. 6) on which I was elected scholar, to give annual thanks to the Almighty, for having most graciously afforded me so comfortable a subsistence, and such powerful patronage, to enable me so happily to promote, not only my temporal but eternal welfare, in this learned and religious foundation. The hopes of being some way assisting to the preservation of your health (added to the great satisfaction I always receive in seeing my dear relations), for the continuing of which I earnestly beg of you to listen to the frequent good motions of my dear mother, will be the only allurement to draw me hence." At length he concludes thus: "Now that God of his infinite mercy would preserve you and my mother in health and happiness, and all your children in their duty to you both, and love to one another, and bring us all to eternal happiness, with all our good friends hereafter, is the earnest prayer of, &c."

Though almost every hour of his time was already taken up with the public prayers and exercise of the house, with his tutor's lectures, his private studies and devotions, and the necessary care of his health; yet, considering how useful the understanding the French tongue would be to him for the reading those many excellent books which are daily published in that language concerning all sorts of learning, he betook himself to the study of it after the Christmas holy-days were over, under the direction of a French master; and was so good a proficient, that in a short time he could read a French author; and having purchased the Bishop of Cambray's Telemachus, and Boileau's Works, he had read more

than five books of the former before his second journey into Surrey.

He had a younger brother, who, if he had succeeded at Merchant Taylors, was to have followed him that way to St. John's in Oxford; but now was designed by his father to be sent to him to Cambridge, so soon as there should be a vacancy for him in the chamber he was in. Having about this time a prospect of it by his chamber-fellow's taking his degree, with a design of leaving the College quickly after, he immediately gave his father notice, but withal desired leave for the admission of a third (the chamber being capable) a very sober studious lad, who was become also a constant communicant, and, being troubled with a bad chamber-fellow, was very desirous to be with him, that so they might both avoid worse company *.

* To this proposal his father made the following objections, in a letter dated Feb. 4, 1711: "I thank you and your tutor for the promise of the chamber for Phil; and think there may be some conveniences in admitting a third: but there may also be some inconveniences, which I shall lay before you: by the grace of God this lad may continue very good, and your society may contribute towards it; but, should it be otherwise, you will not know how to get clear of him again. Besides, if he be not exactly of your principles, though he be otherwise very good, it will be very inconvenient; and you cannot at all times converse so freely with your brother, as it will be necessary you should. I had hopes that your brother might share with you in Mr. Roper's favour, and fear this third chum may be an obstacle to that. Another thing is, if Phil should have the small-pox, there will be no room for you to set up a bed for that time; and you know I do not care you should lie with any other but your brother. If this lad has never had that distemper, he may unhappily bring the infection into your chamber. Besides, I should not like him for a chum for you if his dialect be ungenteel, for fear that infection should reach you, as well as your brother. Yet, after all, I have a great concern for so hopeful a lad as you describe him, and wish you might enjoy each other's society in the day-time, though you sleep not together; neither am I against that, if you can make me easy as to the foregoing particulars."—To which in his next young Bonwicke gave the following answer: "As to your first objection, I hope there is no fear of his falling back, since the admitting him will, I am pretty well assured, be the best precaution against it. Ill company (I know by sad experience) is the most enticing snare in this place, and will never fail

In the Easter-week his brother arrived, being sent very young, that he might grow up under his care,

fail to be a great trouble, even to those who are no worse sufferers by it. Now, as for my brother and self, I hope we shall be so far from being a snare to him, that we shall be a means to prevent his being taken by others; and so will he, I doubt not, be to us, which for my own part, I am sure, will not be unnecessary for me. But, supposing the worst, I doubt not but when it is so, we shall easily get rid of him, seeing he himself will certainly in that condition be willing to leave us. For I find, by much experience, that to be (almost without exception) true, which you acquainted me with in relation to myself, in your third letter to me hither; *viz.* that the lewder sort, when they know me, will care as little for my company as I do for theirs. But it is almost a crime to fear this, since he acts upon no sudden, but firm, well-weighed, and fixed resolutions. In the next place, by frequent conversation for some time, I find a great likeness of tempers and studies betwixt us. And should he not exactly agree as to the principle I suppose you mean, it could not any way hinder my freedom of conversation with my brother; for though we shall be often, we shall not be always all three together. But I believe there is but very little disagreement between us in that point, for —— You need not doubt of my brother's sharing with me in Mr. Roper's favour, nor fear the other's being any obstacle to it; because I shall acquaint Mr. Roper with it; and, if he thinks it inconvenient, to be sure he will tell me so. Besides, if a chum will be a hindrance to the gaining his favour, how should I have got it, and kept it so long, having (you know) had always a chum and a neighbour too, both far more deserving than myself? If my brother should have the small-pox, we must both remove: by staying with him, and then coming at meals, &c. into the company of others, we spread the infection. So that we shall not need to lie together at all, but go into different chambers, or some one together that happens to be empty. He has had the small-pox, and I think is genteel enough in his dialect, being neither a Northern nor Western lad, out of which two quarters bad dialects usually come. I am very glad you have the same concern with me for so hopeful a lad; and therefore must again beg of you (hoping you will be satisfied with what I have now offered) to admit him; for, to my sorrow, I have too often found, that by means of a bad chum or his acquaintance, one is not safe in the best chosen company, which therefore hinders our enjoying each other's society, as we would otherwise do, in the day-time. The best way therefore, I think, is to get as many sober lads together as we can, without being liable to any intermixture of others, which he certainly is who is troubled with a bad chum. It is true my brother and I should, I hope, be free from this by ourselves: but then three are better company than two; and besides, I would not for all the world my friend should be spoiled for want

and the influence of his good example, which was lately strengthened by the conjunction of a suitable chamber-fellow. He was happy also in Mr. Roper's favour and protection, who upon his arrival told him he should follow his brother's example, and he would do well enough; and the Master upon his admission gave him the same advice *.

Among other necessary affairs which took up part of his time, was that of writing letters, of which he writ near seven score while he was at Cambridge, in which it appears he had still at heart the glory of God and the good of mankind, and as occasion offered promoted both. Particularly in those which he writ to his brothers and school-fellows in the country, he encouraged them to diligence in their studies †.

want of my bearing with a few inconveniences (supposing there were any) whereby I might prevent it."—This was urged so handsomely, and with such affectionate concern for his friend, that his father immediately gave his consent; and about the latter end of this month they were settled together to their mutual satisfaction.

* In the letter he writ the next day after his brother came, he thus expresses himself: "I shall use my utmost endeavours, and all that little discretion I am master of, to render my dear brother innocent and good in his morals and conversation, diligent in his studies, and decent and handsome in his carriage and behaviour. But, alas! knowing my many defects in all, I cannot depend upon my own endeavours, but rather on your and my dear mother's united prayers; which therefore as I thank you for, so I heartily desire the continuance of them; and hope your commands (as also a desire of not falling short of that good opinion the Master and Mr. Roper have conceived of me) to set my brother a good example in all particulars, will perfect me in some degree at least in each of them." And concludes thus: "I pray God of his infinite mercy long to preserve you and my dear mother in health and happiness, as the greatest blessing on earth to all your children; and that he would give us all grace to see our happiness in being comforts to you both, which you are pleased to reckon as a very great blessing to you. Be pleased, sir, to accept also the humble duty and thanks of your most obedient and dutiful son, A. Bonwicke."

† One especially which he wrote to one of them after he was bound apprentice, deserves a place here, wherein he supposes himself to need the good advice he gives his friend, and so artfully applies it to both. It is as follows:

"Dear

Having obtained leave from his father, he made him a second visit, taking his brother along with

"DEAR COUSIN, *St. John's Cam. Sept.* 14, 1712.

"THE great acquaintance we had at school, and all the while I lived with your mother, emboldens me to write first to you, who have not been so kind as to let me hear from you all the time I have been here; and, to encourage you to correspond with me, I shall endeavour to make the nature of this my first letter to you such as may really be for your advantage. At this season of the year you cannot expect news, nor ought you at any time to expect idle tales from a philosopher. Let us mount higher than such frothy trifles, and encourage one another in such things as may bring us in substantial pleasure. All persons that hope to live creditably here, or happily hereafter, must apply themselves diligently to some sort of business, art, or science. You have, I presume, to one; I to another. But this must be laid down as a self-evident axiom for both of us (if we design to make any proficiency in one or the other) that the first step to be wise is, to obey wise counsel, to practise the advice of our best friends; without this we shall never do any good, for by experience I know (as, if ever you have the misfortune to try, you will too) that young heads are neither fit nor able to chuse for themselves. This being premised, it necessarily follows, that above all we are obliged to respect our parents, and obey their counsels; because it is morally impossible, it is contrary to the dictates of nature, that they should do or chuse what is opposite to our interest. But all young persons (as for my own part I too often have) are apt to think quite otherwise, forgetting all the while the sanction of the fifth commandment, which only of all others denounces shortness of life, and therein all temporal calamities to those who disobey it by despising their parents. It were needless to reckon up the many dreadful examples of grievous punishments inflicted miraculously on such offenders; all histories (which in your business you have the opportunity of often reading) are full of them. But, were there not this command, our interest, as you may perceive by what I have said before, would naturally oblige us to respect and obey our parents, since, without following their advice and directions, we must almost inevitably be rakes and beggars in this life, and eternally miserable in that which is to come. Next after our parents, if we would be masters of our trades, if we would prosper and be happy, which is the end all rational creatures propose to themselves; I must love and obey my tutor, you your master, being those who are to teach us those arts, which we hope by God's blessing will afford us a comfortable maintenance. This we must do, chiefly because it is a duty included in the fifth commandment, and also because by our civil and meek deportment, we may reasonably hope they, out of love and affection, will be more careful and hearty in instructing us, than they otherwise would, or, in justice, were bound. As I have thus

laid

him*. And having for almost a quarter of a year, in the severest time of it, been very serviceable, not

laid before you, dear cousin, what I at this time think seasonable, I desire you, as you see fitting, to take the same liberty with me; and do not take ill what I have here said, which flows from a sincere desire of your welfare, and from gratitude to your good mother, from whom I acknowledge myself to have received so many favours. Let me beg of you not to contemn these lines at the first reading, but give them a second. I have endeavoured to make them plain to you, and it will be your own fault afterwards if you do not profit by them. However, if all my poor endeavours fail, whether you think well or ill of me for this real kindness, I shall continue always to beg of God, that both you and I, and all who bear any relation to us, may increase in all goodness, but especially in loving, honouring, and obeying all who are set over us, particularly our dear parents; that so, after a long and happy life here on earth, we may be made partakers of a blessed immortality in Heaven. I think I need say no more at present, since the freedom I have used with you will sufficiently assure you, that I am your true and hearty friend, as well as your affectionate cousin and humble servant,

AMBROSE BONWICKE."

* In about a year's time from his return from Headley to the College, he had read over Whitby's Ethics, Thirlby against Whiston, Burgersdicius's Ethics, Curcellæus's Ethics, Puffendorf "De Officio Hominis et Civis," Sanderson "De Obligatione Juris et Conscientiæ," the four last books of the Æneis, Eustachius's Ethics, and a second time as far as the Passions, the greatest part of Collier's Essays, the eight last Pythian odes of Pindar, and the six first Nemæan, half Vossius's "Partitiones Oratoriæ," Grotius "De jure Belli et Pacis," Ray's "Wisdom of God in the Works of the Creation," Allingham's "Use of Maps," Euripides's Medea, and 357 verses of his Phœnissæ, Milton's Paradise Lost, 122 epigrams of Martial, a chapter out of the Greek Testament every day for eighteen weeks, 39 Hebrew Psalms, all Sallust, "Thomas à Kempis," "Brome of Fasting," "Whole Duty of Man;" and Nelson, all a second time, on Sundays and other holidays; Suetonius, Caligula, and Claudius, five books of Pliny's Epistles a second time, and three more added to them; more than five books of "The Adventures of Telemachus" in French, mentioned before, p. 131; about a third part of Hierocles's "Comment on Pythagoras's Golden Verses," the prologue and first satire of Persius, the two first Catilinarian orations, that for Milo, and the two first Philippics, the first volume of Echard's "Roman History," Howell's Epistles, Tyrrell "of the Law of Nature," and against Hobbes, part of Clerk's Physics and Cheyne's "Philosophical Principles of Religion;" with other books. During which time he also made 26 Greek or Latin themes, 11 copies of verses, 6 theses, 6 Latin epistles, two declamations, 6 epitomes, a great many arguments in ethics and physics for disputations; and

only in instructing the boys as formerly (in which he was sometimes relieved by his brother) but in calling them up early, and condescending to any other assistance he was capable of giving the family; he returned before Lent, with his brother, to the college; and by a letter dated Feb. 17, 1712-13, gave his father an account of their safe arrival, and of the extraordinary care and concern of Mr. Roper for them. After which he thus goes on: "I am returned very luckily for lectures; for on Saturday our sub-tutor, Mr. Newcome, begun Taquet's Euclid to us, and yesterday he began to read us Rohault's Physics. I am very glad I brought the De Chales; it will help me, I hope, in mathematicks, which I find somewhat difficult. Besides our best friends, that little acquaintance I have made among my equals, I find, to my comfort, more and more civil to me; and can never enough adore the goodness

and added to the former excerpta in his Adversaria many observations and phrases out of the afore-mentioned authors. He had likewise, according to his former method, turned part of the version of Musæus into Greek verse. And for Demosthenes's oration *de Rep. ordinanda* he did something more, first translating above half of it into Latin; and, dividing his paper-book into three columns, he wrote that version in the middle, and then, turning it again into Greek, writ that on one side of his Latin version, and Demosthenes's Greek on the other side. After the same manner he translated part of Quintilian's first oration *de Pariete palmato*, and part of Tully's Offices into English, in which sort of translations he was generally very happy, and then returned them into Latin, opposing them to the authors in his paper-book. The same method he made use of for mastering the French, turning part of Telemachus into English, and back again into French, and then comparing his version with the author. Besides all this, he had, at the motion of his best friend, undertaken the translating a small tract of Bp. Henshaw's into Latin. The title of it is, "Spare Hours of Meditations." The good man giving him the book, took occasion from hence of advising him not to suffer even such parts of his time as came under that denomination to pass away useless; and he, who paid the greatest deference to all the counsels of so prudent and so kind a patron, gratefully accepted the book and the advice, and immediately applied that little spare time he had left to this translation, and by this time had gone through 45 pages, for the most part very well, though some places were difficult.

of

of God, for the manifold supports, comforts, and favours, he hath showered down on me in this place *.

His conscience was very tender, and he preserved that tenderness by the daily examination of himself; so that the sins of omission, which generally are so little regarded notwithstanding that procedure of the last day, which our blessed Lord gives us in the 25th of St. Matthew, goes wholly upon them, could not be endured by him, but were as duly repented of as those of commission; and upon any

* After this, though he had honestly earned the best entertainment that could be given him at his father's, yet he thus expresseth himself: "And now, sir, should I begin to return ordinary thanks to my dear mother and you, for those many and great favours I received in the country, I might seem to intimate, either that these were the first I had received from you, or else that I had made some competent recompence for what kindness I had before been obliged by. Both which I so well know to be utterly false, that I am, on the contrary, deeply sensible of my being too ungrateful, or rather (I hope) too incapable of making any recompence for those numberless obligations you have laid on me ever since I had being, for from you, my dear parents, I gratefully acknowledge, I have received all that could be expected, either from the most indulgent parents, best friends, or kindest benefactors, to whom, next under God, I owe all that little virtue, learning, and fortune that I am master of. In gratitude therefore, and out of a due sense of my own and all our future interest, I think myself bound humbly to advise and press you, not to let slip Lady-day before you have fixed your removal. If nothing else, let the interest your children have in your life, quicken your search; and be assured I (and I doubt not all my brothers and sisters will agree with me) shall be very glad to abate much of that plenty you have, by God's blessing, always maintained us in, if we could but thereby add one day to either of your lives, or any little augmentation to either of your healths. Some small decrease of your school, therefore, may be doubly useful; help you sooner to a house, and enable you to live longer in it. I know you will so far remember my constant readiness to make good my words by my obedience, as not to think these mere compliments †," &c.

† For the better understanding this it must be observed, that Headley was a very good air for young persons, but too sharp for his father, which made him often think of removing into some warmer place; and this son of his had so tender and affectionate a concern for him, that he was often pressing him to it. One objection against it might be, the loss of some of his scholars upon a removal, which he here handsomely turns to an argument for it.

difficulty

difficulty he had recourse to his good friend and neighbour Mr. Roper, who was able and willing to give him satisfaction. His father was at a greater distance, and therefore he could not so readily consult him; but, as we find him once before advising with him about the observation of the College Statutes, so in a letter about this time he proposes a case to him, which shews his great concern to do the utmost of his duty, and not to be guilty of any sinful omission *.

* The letter bears date May 20, 1713; wherein, after some other matter, he thus proceeds: "I wish you all the good success you can desire in finding a fit place to remove to; and must again beg you not to be too solicitous about a great deal of room for lads, the trouble of which may, perhaps, hinder the good effects of a warmer region; or if (as you know best) we cannot well subsist without such a maintenance, let me prevail with you to take either me (who shall soon have kept all my terms) or some other to your assistance. Let not any fears of hindering my preferment here, make you backward in being helped by me; for I shall willingly sacrifice my present satisfaction (which I own is not little in a College life) and future hopes to your welfare; and doubt not but I shall be better rewarded for dutifulness to my parents herein by God, than I can be by any other, for any endowments which by his blessing I may acquire. I thank God we are both in good health, and can never hear too often that you are so. I desire your advice in this particular case: At St. Mary's there is a sacrament every month, and their time for receiving is after the University-sermon is over, between 11 and 12 o'clock. I have of late, upon seeing the holy table prepared, had some doubts whether I am not obliged to communicate there, though I have done it but three hours before in our own chapel. My main argument, with which I think I have pretty well satisfied myself that there is no such obligation incumbent on me, is the practice of the Apostles and Primitive Church, whom I never read to have communicated twice a day, unless with a sick person, or on some such extraordinary occasion, and whom I take to be the best judges of the extent of our Saviour's command, and best to understand his institution of the Holy Sacrament; and therefore hope that in me, who have received but just before, it is no criminal turning my back on the altar Besides, I do not take St. Mary's to be the proper place for scholars to receive at, who must be supposed to have sufficient opportunities in their own chapels. Be pleased to let me know if you think these arguments sufficiently grounded; and if you have any others to add, pray let me have them; or if on the contrary I am in an error, and am obliged to receive the second time, pray let

His brother being on the 10th of July elected scholar of the house, on the 14th he wrote thus to his father*.

let me know it." In his father's answer I find no more than this: "As to the other point, I think you have determined it very well, and have nothing to add."

* "HONOURED SIR,

"As you on the occasion of my being elected scholar began to me, so now do I to you on account of my brother's being upon the same level with me, *Te Deum laudamus*, &c. I shall never any more doubt the power of Mr. Roper, especially when united to that of Mr. Browne, by which, under the blessing of God, he has not only got us the scholarship, but also the firm promise of another exhibition, a full account of which you will have from my brother. These exhibitions too I find now (which is a great enhancement of their value and our friend's kindness) are kept till we are complete M. A. This good news will, I hope, make some amends for the tardiness of our letters to acquaint you with the receipt of the parcel, which came safe hither on Saturday last. Pray return mine and my brother's thanks to our dear mother and all her maidens for our linen; and, I hope, by God's blessing, we may one time or other be able to make the junior part some amends, though my mother, I am persuaded, we never shall. All our endeavours, all our successes, be they never so great or surprising, will be too weak, too insufficient, to make her any returns for this, or any other of her troubles endured for, or kindnesses shewn to us. Having found the Almighty so wondrously gracious in his singular care of and providing for us, I cannot in the least doubt but that he has ordered your stay at Headley for the best, at least at present, taking it for granted that you have used all the means you could at this time for removing. Though I was formerly so much against your stay, yet now I find some satisfaction in it, because it will give me an opportunity of shewing how desirous I am to make you what returns I possibly can for all your great favours, by taking part of your trouble upon me; and therefore earnestly desire you (or rather my dear mother, who, I believe, will be a more equitable judge of your case than yourself) as soon as ever you find yourself indisposed by the weather and cold, added to the too great fatigue of your business already, to send for me. I have kept so many terms that I am perfectly at liberty in that respect, and therefore beg of you and her to consider your own ease wholly. Last week Mr. Browne, whose character you must needs have heard, brought a young gentleman hither, who being put in a chamber without a chum, my tutor on Saturday morning sent to me (at Mr. Browne's request) to be acquainted with him, and accompany him a little at first. Accordingly I went, and, as I was going, met Mr. Browne. He told me, though he was not personally acquainted with you, he had a very great respect for you; and, appearing to be informed of our character, asked how

He had, for about eight months from his return out of the country, kept very close to his studies, though I cannot give so full an account of them as I have given for the two former years *.

Being desirous of seeing his friends in Surrey again, and of assisting his father in that time of the year when he apprehended he would most need his assistance, he made them the third and last visit. It was in the beginning of October, while the coaches continued to go through in a day. On which account he got up by 3 o'clock, and was not in London till past 7, and by that means caught some cold, which turned afterwards to an ague, a distemper to which he was too subject. Yet, notwithstanding the fatigue and disorder of his journey, he went to God's house that night, and joined in the public service; and, according to his constant prac-

how my brother did, and desired the favour of us to be acquainted with the little gentleman, to whom he was too favourable in his commendations of us. He recommended him, a very pretty, modest, genteel young man, to mine and my brother's acquaintance, and that of my friends, and to my care, in Mr. Roper's name, his very good friend. Had not Mr. Browne's character, and a desire of preserving any young gentleman from ill company, obliged me sufficiently to him, Mr. Roper's name, you may be sure, would have that influence upon me as to make me lose some little time in his company till he were a little settled; and this occasioned my not writing before. He acquainted the Master also in what hands he had put his friend, who, he said, was pleased with it."

* I find extracts out of Suicer's "Compendium Philosophiæ," Rohault's Physics, Derham's "Boyle's Lecture Sermons," Mr. Hughes's edition of "St. Chrysostom de Sacerdotio," and Dr. Hammond on the New Testament, in which last he read very often. The extracts out of him relate chiefly to the use of the Greek words, and are entered in an alphabetical order among those out of other Greek authors, Hammond's English being turned into Latin. He read also at the same time Sir Norton Knatchbull. He had likewise, for his improvement in the French, translated the beginning of Mons. Boileau's Latin into English, which remains in one of his paper-books; and in those others in which he kept the first draughts of his exercises, I find 16 Greek or Latin themes, 2 theses, 4 copies of Latin verses, 2 Latin epistles, and one declamation, within the aforesaid space of eight months.

tice,

tice, was twice a day at church while he continued in town, except only one evening when he was sick in bed. Being got to his father's, he betook himself heartily to the business of the school, notwithstanding his illness, which it pleased God in a short time to deliver him from. But, though he recovered of his ague, he was often indisposed, which yet hindered him not in his duty either to God or man. Nay, he seemed always more concerned for his father's indisposition than for his own; and though he too much neglected himself, yet would look upon him at such times with the greatest tenderness, and put him upon taking something, or using some diversion, that might make him better. The same unfeigned love and respect for him he shewed upon another occasion which offered itself during this time of his being at Headley. One of the boys deserving punishment, was called out to it, which he not complying with, his father took him by the hand, and he making shew of resistance, this most dutiful son, immediately, uncalled, ran with the greatest zeal and eagerness to his father's assistance, as not being able to bear any thing that looked like an insult on his person or authority.

I find by his papers about this time he took up the custom on Sundays, and other holy-days, of singing Bp. Ken's morning hymn as soon as he awaked, after which he got up to his devotions. And this, no doubt, he did in the same devout manner he was always observed to join in that seraphic Prelate's evening hymn, which used to be sung at his father's on Sunday nights. He was always very strict in keeping that day holy, and would not allow himself so much as to write a letter on it without necessity, but prepared on the Saturday what was to go by that day's post. He was generally first of the whole family ready for church, whither he delighted to go, and was troubled when the badness of the weather obliged his father to perform the service at home. Besides his constant attendance on the public service either at church or in

the

the family, he often retired to his private prayers, usually four times in the day, and sometimes more, to which he joined reading the Holy Bible, or some other good book. Part of the business of that day likewise was, writing into a paper-book he kept for the purpose, what he remembered of the sermon, either preached at church, or read to him at home. This exercise he had been a good while used to while at school, and continued it at the University on holidays, not having leisure for it on Sundays, as he had in the country. And he left behind him four volumes of such abstracts of sermons, beginning July 1, 1705, and ending with two resurrection sermons on Easter Monday and Tuesday 1714, as preparatory to his own dissolution. In this he was arrived to a wonderful perfection, being able to write down the main of the sermon, not only as to the matter, but even the very words of it, with which on Sunday evenings he entertained the family, and set a noble example for the young gentlemen to imitate, by which some of them improved to a very great degree, though they were never able to equal it.

While he was preparing himself for the Holy Sacrament on Christmas-eve, he wrote in a loose paper the examination of his whole life, beginning it thus: "When I consider my life, I find a continual wonderful providence and care of God over me in every stage of it; and therefore the greater ingratitude in me, in that, &c." And this memorandum in his *Officium Eucharisticum*, Dec. 24, 1713: "It will be useful at all times to avoid doing what I have once condemned, till I am fully satisfied to the contrary; and to be constant in Friday's examinations, especially in the country, unless great necessity hinder; not to put off noon devotions, nor lazily mis-spend spare times, and not trust too much to my present thoughts."

A little before his return to Cambridge on Jan. 21, in the parish of Great Bookham, not far from his father's, there was a great quantity of Roman coins found.

found. As the countrymen were ploughing, the plough struck against a large urn, and broke it, and discovered the coins. They were about half a peck of them, all copper. As soon as his father and he heard of it, they went to view the place, and get what they could of them. There were none among those that they saw older than Gallienus, or later than Dioclesian. The little while he staid after this, when the toil of the day was over, he assisted his father in cleansing those coins they had procured, discovering the impresses, and in reading and transcribing the inscriptions. Feb. 8, being Shrove-Monday, he walked to Epsom, in order to go from thence by coach to London; his father accompanied him part of the way, acknowledging the good service he had done him, and thanking him for it, and at parting, with his blessing, gave him two kisses, little thinking they were the last he should give him in this world. He went to church that evening at London, and so morning and evening constantly as formerly, till he left the town. He gave his father an account of his safe arrival at Cambridge in a letter by his brother, who hastened to supply his place at Headley; and acquaints him that the lads of his year, being apprised of his return, quickly took care that he might not lose his turn of disputing and declaiming; and, what he knew would be very grateful, that his brother brings along with him a coin of Constantine's, with a fair reverse,

SOLI INVICTO COMITI.

He had received no letter from Headley in above a month's time after he had left it, which gave him great uneasiness, of which he complained thus to his father *.

* "HONOURED SIR, *March* 15, 1713-4.

"AFTER a very tedious expectation, and many disappointing negative answers from the buttery-men, I received my brother's last Friday. Though I was in great hopes my brother would have given me an account how he performed his journeys, what success you had in getting more coins, &c. before the month was out; yet I bore being balked pretty well till Sunday

was

The time now drew near that the Lord would take him to himself; and as the philosophers have discovered an acceleration of the motion of heavy bodies in their descent towards the earth, the same may we suppose in the ascent of a pious soul towards heaven; the nearer it approaches to it, the more powerful is the attraction, and the more vigorous the motion. The Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesnesday in the Holy Week he eat nothing till suppertime, only once a few figs in the afternoon; Thursday, being the feast of the Annunciation, he dined as well as supped, and then watched with his Saviour the night that he was betrayed; in part of which he wrote the articles of his belief *, and the resolutions that day and the next.

Both Good Friday and Easter-eve he fasted till the evening, and on the latter of these days he rose

was sevennight. I had then been within a day of a month from Headley, without any letter, and could not help being uneasy from that time till Friday; because you were pleased to promise me at parting, that I should never wait longer than a month for a letter. Mr. Roper asked very frequently after you all, and wondered my brother sent no account, &c. When I reflect on what I have wrote, I almost fear you will think me too bold, in taking notice of that which I am sure your forgetfulness only of the exact time, or your depending upon my brother to observe it, was the cause of. Only this I know, you will put the best interpretation on my words, and judge (which is really the truth) that my desire of often hearing how you do, especially at my first being separated from your company after so long an enjoyment of it, makes me watch the time so exactly, and consequently so soon observe any failure in that respect."

* "*Good Friday, March* 26, 1714. In the name of God, Amen. Being moved (I hope) by the spirit of God, and excited by reading Bp. Beveridge's Private Thoughts, &c. after some days fasting, abstinence, watching, and praying for the particular assistance and direction of the Holy Ghost, I formed these articles of belief, from the Apostles' Creed, Bp. Beveridge, Mr. Nelson, &c. and the resolutions grounded thereupon; intending after to examine my evil ways, bewail and repent me of my sins, that so I might worthily partake of the holy eucharist at Easter, and also be enabled to lead the remainder of my life in true faith and obedience, without superstition, scruple, and doubtfulness." [For these well-digested articles and pious resolutions we must refer to the original publication.]

about half an hour after five, though, as we have observed, he had not slept the preceding night. He again examined his whole life past; and, that he might do it the more exactly, he made use of the Catalogue of sins at the end of his Nelson, as well as that in his *Officium Eucharisticum*. And from this time to the day of his death inclusive, I find the accounts of his sacramental examinations much larger, and more exact than formerly.

Understanding his mother was to be in London in the Easter-week, he wrote to her thither on Easter Monday; and this being his last letter to her, I shall give you part of it, that you may see how he took his leave of her *.

The last letter he wrote to his father is also copied below †; and on the receipt of it, his

* In the first place he hopes, before she leaves the City, she will trouble herself so far as to let him know how all his dear relations do; particularly how his father has borne up against the remaining part of the winter since he left him; and then, after a pretty deal of business, in which he was always very exact, towards the conclusion he proceeds thus: "My business generally leading me to write to my father, but having now an opportunity to do it to yourself, I should seem unmindful of those particular and affectionate kindnesses you have been all along pleased to shew me, more especially when I was last with you, did I not return you my hearty thanks for them. Though at present I have no great prospect of it, yet I trust God will some time or other so bless with success my earnest endeavours of making myself fit for the support and comfort of my dear parents, that I may make returns of gratitude in my actions, rather than my words. But, however he pleases to order that, be assured, madam, I shall never want the will to do it, so long as any sense of duty remains in me, which, as it has had so many additional helps of kindnesses from you to fix it in my breast, will (I have great reason to hope) never be rooted out thence."

† "HONOURED SIR, *St. John's Cam. May* 2, 1714.

"UPON seeing the date of this, you will be apt to think something more than ordinary has happened, I having not used to write on a Sunday. The occasion of it is this: On Friday was sevennight, just as I was lain down in bed, before I had put out my candle, a tickling cough seized me, which causing me to spit, I was surprized to find it blood; so taking up my pot, I continued spitting in that manner and coughing, by reason of the sharpness of the taste of the blood, for a little time; designing to ask Mr. Roper's advice the first opportunity, which happened

father concluded him in a very dangerous condition, and hastened away his brother to him,

pened not to be till Tuesday last, when I was taken with my coughing and spitting blood again, much more than the first time, occasioned, I believe, by winding up the clock a little eagerly. Giving Mr. Roper an account of what happened (and that, though some overstraining myself might cause this, yet no such could be the occasion of my first seizure, I being then perfectly easy, and having been sitting an hour or two in my study, and going to bed too in good time) he advised me, if I was taken thus again, to be let blood, and to take some styptic electuary, because he could not easily tell whether it proceeded from my lungs, or fell down from my head thither (which is the apothecary's opinion), and to avoid straining myself on any account. Accordingly I have since got a boy to wind up the clock for me. But on Wednesday night, with only laughing heartily and suddenly, my cough and spitting came on me again, but not so much as the night before. The next day was not thought proper to be blooded in, because of my exercise in the schools; nor Friday last, because it was very wet and cold. That night, foolishly going to help the boy in the easiest part of winding up the clock, I was, in doing it, again taken with my cough, &c. though but a little; but the same night, as soon as ever I had laid myself down in bed, which was in good time, and without any emotion or hurry, having been quietly half an hour in my study, I was seized worse than ever before, coughing and bringing up for near half an hour a great quantity of thick fresh blood; upon which I resolved next day to keep up and be blooded, as I accordingly was by Mr. Roper's advice; though the day was not so good as might have been wished, but I kept a fire in my chamber, and have staid within ever since; though I thank God I am now so well, that I believe I shall, with Mr. Roper's leave, go to chapel this evening. I did not faint in the least at bleeding, though I was somewhat afraid of it before I felt it. Mr. Roper tells me my blood is too good, yet bids me have a care of eating salt meats, or drinking strong drinks; and, by my being subject to bleed at the nose, as my brother also is, he is apt to believe we have too much blood in our vessels, which he thinks has occasioned my illness. I beg you and my mother not to be concerned, for my good friend takes as much care of me as possibly can be. He was twice with me yesterday; he tells me I should take ground-ivy-tea, and plantain, and other styptic herbs he mentioned, of which I shall have an electuary from the apothecary to take two or three times a day, and to go abroad with, which shall staunch the blood, and heal any thing that may be out of order. I hope I shall have no more returns of my spitting blood; if I have in any considerable degree, you shall be sure to hear. Mr. Roper says, I must then be blooded again, and take the advice of a Doctor.

with orders, that, if he were able to bear the journey, he should come home, where during a lingering sickness (as he thought it would prove) he might find that tender care and attendance which his constant duty and affection had so well deserved. His brother accordingly began his journey on Ascension-day, presuming the charity of it would excuse his travelling on so great a festival. He had promised to write from Cambridge the very next post; but his father was very much surprised to receive a letter, which, by the superscription appeared to be neither his nor his brother's*; and the very next post came a letter from his brother†.

"P. S. About 4. I have been at church, and am come down now into public again by Mr. Roper's advice, who was with me after dinner. He bid me be sure not to fright you, because he hoped all was very well. But he said I must avoid all straining myself, and taking cold, which Dr. Wagstaff had told him after bleeding was of ill consequence, though little regarded. Our letters are not yet come in from London; but if I receive any this post, you may expect to have it answered, and a farther account of my health, the latter end of this, or the beginning of next week."

* "REVEREND SIR, *May* 9, 1714.

"I AM extremely concerned that I am obliged to acquaint you with the most afflicting news of a very great loss. It has pleased God to take to himself one of the best youths that I ever knew in this College, and for whom every body here had the greatest value. Mr. Roper will write to you next post, and give you the particulars of the manner of his death. In the mean time I know I need not pray you to bear this loss with a suitable resignation; nor, after the character I have mentioned, is it necessary to say it is your son that we have lost. Your younger son is very well recovered of the great surprise he was in on his first hearing the sad news. Every thing in relation to a decent funeral shall be taken care of by, Sir, your most afflicted friend and servant,

"CHRISTOPHER ANSTEY ‡."

St. John's, May 11;
† "HONOURED SIR, *a ground-chamber.*

"I MUST intreat you to cease your grief for my dear brother's untimely, yet happy departure out of this world; for he is now (in the judgment of all that knew him) much happier than we; and, when you hear the circumstances which preceded it, you will, I am confident, agree with me in that phrase I used

‡ At that time a tutor at St. John's; see vol. I. p. 221.

just

Next day (being *St. John Port Lat.* one of their *Foundation-days* as they call it, as well as just now of happy departure. This therefore that follows, you may depend upon as certain, for indeed I cannot affirm any thing of myself, who did but set out from home the morning next to that fatal night. He was in company with *Sir Newton* that night till about 8 o'clock, and then retired, telling him he had business at home (which was to prepare himself for the blessed Sacrament next morning, this being Ascension-eve). Accordingly having examined himself (as was found by a paper of his own writing) and prayed for devotion in celebrating those mysteries (as may be seen by the books that were found open on his desk), it pleased Almighty God then and there to take him to himself, and that he should die such a death, as he had (I doubt not) often desired, in that prayer of Dr. Whichcot, which I wrote for him into his Nelson; when he was neither unprepared, nor his accounts unready; when he was in a perfect renunciation of the guise of this mad and sinful world, and not being tormented by a lingering sickness; for in all probability he was taken away in an instant, having not made the least noise, not even so much as to be heard by his good neighbour Mr. Roper. The time he died, happy for him, unhappy for all that knew him, is supposed to be about 9 or 10 o'clock on Wednesday night. His body was interred in the chancel of Allhallows church on Friday night, and his funeral very decently performed the Sunday night following. There was within the College-walls a very great attendance of Fellows and Scholars, yea, and Fellow-commoners too (who are generally negligent at these times), but a much greater multitude expected the bier at the gates; for, having the week before performed public exercise in the schools with great applause, his death was more universally taken notice of, and sadly lamented too, as may be seen by the ingenious elegies which people so freely made on this occasion; some of which, I hope, will ere long be sent you. The Master, when I was with him yesterday to write my *Redit*, told me, he hoped I should continue in health, though he could not but own the great loss befallen both myself and the College; so, enquiring after your health, dismissed me. After which I went to Mr. Baker, who desired me to give his service to you, and tell you that he joined in bewailing the loss of such an ornament to the College; whither (though I was in the town on Friday in the afternoon) I came not before Saturday, but no nearer the chamber than Mr. Roper's door, and cannot find in my heart to go any higher. I have, indeed, no relish for the College, and should not abide it, were it not for some good friends, whom I am very much obliged to. But after six weeks I shall have kept my term; and then I hope to see you again, and take a little school-burthen off from you; which, I am sure, must lie heavy, when such a sad addition comes to it; and whatever alterations I find in myself, I am pretty sure they are

Holy Thursday) his death was not so soon discovered as otherwise it might have been. He was then alone, his brother and his other chamber-fellow being in the country; and though he was asked after by several, because missed at the public communion that day, where all were obliged to be present; yet it passed off without farther enquiry till after evening prayer, when his dear friend (with whom he had last conversed, and very cheerfully, as he said, though he complained his head was out of order) asked the bed-maker whether he lay at home that night; and she answering no, he, knowing his constant regularity in that and all other particulars, bid her go and tell Mr. Roper, whose mind immediately misgave him; and going up and forcing open the study-door, he found him sitting in his chair, cold and stiff, and so leaning back that the chair lay against the door, his candle by him unlighted (as was supposed) that he might be the more retired and undisturbed; his *Officium Eucharisticum* open before him, with a paper in it, containing the abstract of that week, from Sunday-morning to the end of that day, Wednesday; his Nelson, Common Prayer-book, and others lying by it.

He had left papers in three several places of his Nelson, which shewed what parts he had last made use of; the first was at the prayers for Trinity Sunday, the second in the preparation for death on Easter-eve, and the third in the examination of

are in no less degree at home on such an occasion. Pray, Sir, give my duty to my mother.

"Your obedient son, PHILIP BONWICKE.

"P. S. Mr. Roper desired me to give his service to you, and beg your pardon for not writing according to promise, for he is in no condition to do it. On Wednesday night he received an account of the death of Dr. Turner, president of Corpus Christi, Oxon. his best friend in the world; and on Thursday had the shock of finding my dear brother's dead body in his study. He desired me also to tell you, that he thinks his death proceeded from an extravasation of blood upon his lungs, occasioned from winding up the clock that day, which he had not done for a week before."

himself

himself on all Fridays in the year. That he had finished his sacramental preparation according to the method of the *Officium Eucharisticum*, may be gathered from his having consecrated (as it appeared he had) and set apart what he designed for the Offertory the next day; which is one of the last things to be done according to that book, that charity may crown the devotions of the day. And in such charities, out of his little stock, he had expended in three years and about eight months, the whole time from his admission at St. John's to his death, about 4*l*. Nor did his charity exert itself only in alms-giving, but in all the other branches of it, particularly in that of hoping the best, and judging the best of others. Of which, among other instances that might be given, take this of July 7, 1713; which being a State Holy-day, he absented himself from the public prayers; but his brother was present at them. However, for this he condemned him not, but thus charitably expressed himself in a letter to his father that day: "I dare say my brother would not have gone, had he thought he could not lawfully."

He shewed his great charity for souls, in the care he took to instruct some of the meanest College-servants in the principles of religion and piety, and helping them to good books for that purpose; a charity which exceeds all corporal ones, as much as the soul is superior to the body *.

* He continued the same early riser, that he had been all along, to the last day of his life; and the Sunday before his death, when he was obliged to keep in on account of his illness, and having been let blood the day before, he was found rising at half an hour after 6, though sick at that very time, and immediately betaking himself to his prayers. And indeed it is wonderful to consider, that he who had such an infirm body, so often ailing, would not indulge in that ease, which any one but himself would have judged necessary. He went on in this time in reading "Echard's Roman History;" "Dr. Hammond on the New Testament," whom by this time he had gone almost quite through; Terence, Tully, and Hebrew psalms. He read also "Fontenelle's Plurality of Worlds," "Appian's Roman History" in Greek, "Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity," (as appears by the abstract he made out of each) and Whiston's Astronomy. He made

The Cambridge Muses were not wanting in their condolence on this promising young man's death. Several copies of verses were transmitted to his father. Of the two which are here selected, the first was printed, in the former edition of this Work, from the original MS. preserved by Mr. Bowyer.

ODE *on the Death of* AMBROSE BONWICKE.

I.

Dearest of all my friends, and best of men,
Accept the offering of a grateful pen.
Somewhat extremely kind I fain would say:
But, through the tumult of my breast
With too officious love oppr[illegible],
My feeble words want strength to force their way.
But why this formal speech from me?
If I am eloquent in sighs,
It will suffice
Thee, my friend, my better part;
Partner of every secret of my heart.

II.

Unhappy youth! what shall I say?
Shall I intreat relentless Fate in vain?
Shall I complain
That thou art immaturely snatcht away?
Alas! what have I said?
In virtue thou 'rt mature, though not in age:
And blessed are the dead:
Blessed it is to quit this earthly stage.
I 'm the unhappy, who remain
Fast link'd to earth with a corporeal chain.

III.

I who groveling lie
In darkness and obscurity:
Whilst thou, let loose, dost roam the realms above,
And view'st in brightest day the wondrous works of Jove.
Those things from thee no longer hidden are,
Which rack the brain of the Philosopher.

made one Greek theme, one copy of Latin verses, two theses, one Latin, and one Greek declamation, besides the public exercises at the school, which his brother in his letter took notice of.

Oh!

Oh! what discoveries
Make thy enlighten'd eyes!
Thou now those riddles art able to explain,
Which thou and I have found too hard for mortal man.
Thou now canst understand, how God
Created heaven and earth, and all things with a nod.

IV.

Thou now canst understand
How all events are rul'd by the Almighty hand.
Thou pity'st, when I try
To fathom deep Eternity.
Alas! too deep the pit,
For Reason's plummet, and the line of Wit;
Too light the plummet, and too short the line,
To search into the Power and Will Divine.

V.

Thou shalt no more
Be lost upon the boisterous seas
Of trouble and of woe,
Common to all below:
Thou 'rt safely landed on the shore
Of everlasting happiness and ease.
Thou with a pitying eye
Shalt see
Thy friends wade through a vale of misery.
Thus a happy mariner
(The Gods have seal'd for good)
Brought safe to shore by some propitious star,
Beholds his comrades sinking in the flood.

VI.

But art thou for ever gone?
Must thy dear flesh be eaten by the worm?
Will neither prayers nor tears atone
For thy return?
And must thy head,
With arts and learning so well furnished,
No distinction have,
But moulder in the grave,
Together with the vile and ignominious slave?
Shall I no more converse with thee?
Shall we no more dispute?
Shall we no more the subtle Locke confute?
Shall I no more partake of thy philosophy?

Yes,

Yes, we shall meet again, my friend,
In a far more happy state,
Where our joys shall know no end,
Where Death shall have no power to separate.

LANCELOT NEWTON*, B.A.

On the Death of my pious Friend and Schoolfellow,
AMBROSE BONWICKE.

With honest tears to praise the virtuous dead,
Is the best office men to men have paid.
So the great patterns of past ages slept,
And so our great forefathers nobly wept.
The good, the young, the lovely, and the great,
Have always by the Muse been laid in state,
And in immortal verse surviv'd their fate.
The list'ning crowds with glorious heat were fir'd,
And strove to be what they so much admir'd.
Wing'd by the Muse, whene'er the Hero dies,
He takes possession of his native skies.
The pious Monarch who adorn'd his throne,
And made the cares of all mankind his own,
The purple he deserv'd must ever have;
His fame, his worth, his honour, know no grave.
If but a Swain, a sighing Daphnis dies,
The murm'ring rivers to new sorrows rise;
The mourning spreads through all the echoing hills,
And Rhodope complains in weeping rills;
The frozen Hebrus bursts with heaving sighs,
And pours new streams of pity from his eyes;
The morning lours, the sun itself looks pale;
The flowrets hang their heads, and birds bewail.
And shall no tears, no tributary verse,
In lonely strains attend our present hearse?
Must all be swallow'd in the gulf of Death,
And shall his fame fly from us with his breath?
Will no kind Muse revive the sinking youth,
Adorn'd with letters, constancy, and truth;
Dress'd in the piety of silver hairs,
Finish'd in virtue, though a youth in years;
Who died in life's gay prime and spring of joy,
Who in the prime of life was fit to die?

* See vol. I. p. 418.

Ah!

Ah! no, my friend, a thousand ties invite,
Worth, education, friendship, all unite,
And say it is my duty now to write.
Condemn my verses, but applaud my love,
Virtue like yours 'tis virtue to approve.
Fain to thy merit would my sorrow raise
A strong, a well-built monument of praise;
Such soft complainings as sweet Cowley sung
When his sad harp to Harvey's name he strung;
Harvey, whom all the fields of Cambridge knew,
On ev'ry tree the sacred friendship grew,
Till the dull morn "drave on th' unwilling light,"
As conscious what was done that dismal night.
Pangs sharp as his, fair youth, for thee I feel;
More beautiful his verse, not more his zeal.
Forgive my want of power to commend,
Unlike the Poet, though alike the Friend.
Ah! hapless youth! by what mistake of fate,
The sun which rose so bright, so soon should set?
Why wast thou torn from Nature's happiest bloom,
From life's fair dawning hurried to the tomb?
Thy rising virtues were with pleasure seen,
And Nature shew'd us what thou might'st have been;
But, while we gaz'd, and lov'd the heav'nly boy,
The grasp of death chill'd thee and all our joy.
So the fair product of the flowery bed,
Which rais'd above the rest its painted head,
The garden's glory, and its master's pride,
Bedeck'd with beauteous lights on ev'ry side;
Struck by a sudden blast dissever'd lies,
And all its colour, all its beauty dies.
But, ah! we think amiss, and wrong his fame:
His race was shorter, but his prize the same.
We talk of deaths and dark untimely graves,
And blame the happy providence which saves.
We dress the pious youth in our own fears,
And count the age of Saints by common years.
While he serenely happy sits above,
Smiles at our sorrows, and forgives our love.
What is long life? What all the shine of courts?
What is the world, its business, or its sports?
The seat of danger, error, and mistake,
Where we adore and fear the things we make.
He view'd the gilded toys with other eyes,
Who while on earth convers'd above the skies.

He

He reach'd the goal, ere others had begun,
And rested sooner, who had faster run.
Tell not his days, his age of virtues tell;
He liv'd a length of time, who liv'd so well.
Hail! happy youth! discharg'd from flesh and blood,
And from the very power of not being good.
Hereafter when we wash with tears thy urn,
Tis not for thee, but for ourselves we mourn,

LAWRENCE JACKSON *, A. B.

There was a monument erected for him in the chancel of Allhallows, near the place of his burial, with the following inscription, made by Mr. Jackson, the author of the foregoing verses:

"Respice paululùm,
si sincera fides, si candida veritas,
si flos juventæ redolens virtutem
ad quod respicias habet:
Hic jacet quod post se reliquit
impatiens terræ AMBROSIUS BONWICKE,
egregius multi nominis juvenis,
majoris multò postea futurus.
Qui perbreve vitæ emensus stadium,
magnum virtutis circulum feliciter complevit;
et satis vixit.
Recepit pia Sancti Johannis ædes,
nec magis piam alluit Camus ædem,
castumque formavit juvenem sinuque fovit,
nec magis castum fovit unquam juvenem,
educens bonam in frugem semina,
quæ ludus olim jecerat literarius,
cœlestis irrigaverat favor,
sincero ipse excoluerat pectore.
Obiit Maii 5, 1714; ætatis suæ 23.

† PHILIPPUS BONWICKE,

Ejusdem ædis alumnus, fratrem charissimum ut pietate, ita et morte quàm proximè secutus est. Ob. enim 14 *Mar. ejusdem anni* [1714-15], *ætat. suæ* 18."

* See vol. I. p. 418.

† "This small addition was made to the inscription on the death of his brother, who died of the small-pox, and was buried close by him; by whose death the preceding account of the life of Ambrose lost much of its perfection. But, such as it is, it may

No. VI.

DR. WILLIAM RICHARDSON.

(See vol. II. p. 35.)

WILLIAM RICHARDSON, son of Samuel Richardson, B. D. youngest son of Mr. John Richardson *, was born at Wilshamsted in Bedfordshire, where his father was vicar, July 23, 1698. He was educated at Oakham and Westminster schools, and at Emanuel college, Cambridge; B. A. there 1719; M. A. 1723. In 1726 he published, from Mr. Bowyer's press, the "Prælectiones Ecclesiasticæ" of his learned uncle John Richardson, B. D. well known by his masterly "Vindication of the Canon of the New Testament," against the artifices of Mr. J. Toland, in his Amyntor. In 1730 he published four Sermons on the necessity of Revelation; and in 1733 an occasional Sermon preached at the consecration of the new parochial church of St. John, Southwark, being at that time lecturer of the parish church of St. Olave. There he married, in 1728, Anne, only daughter and heir of Mr. William Howe, of an antient family in the county-palatine of Chester, and Elizabeth his wife, only daughter and heir of Mr. Humphrey Smith, of Walton-upon-Thames, Surrey.

Having undertaken, at the request of the Bishops Gibson and Potter, to publish a new edition of "Godwin de Præsulibus," he returned to Cam-

may be depended upon as faithful, having been chiefly made up out of his letters which his father had preserved, and those other private papers which were never designed to see the light, but by his sudden death had the good fortune to outlive him.

W. BOWYER."

* See Calamy, vol. II. p. 451.

bridge

bridge in 1734 for the convenience of the Libraries, and in 1735 proceeded D. D. After the death of Dr. Savage he was chosen, Aug. 10, 1736, master of Emanuel college, of which he had never been fellow, a rare and almost unprecedented compliment to a man of letters. He published at Cambridge, in a splendid folio volume, his valuable edition of "Fr. Godwin de Præsulibus Angliæ Commentarius;" with a continuation to the present time, in 1743. He served the office of Vice-chancellor in 1738 and 1769. He became Præcentor of the cathedral church of Lincoln in 1760; that dignity being an option of his late learned friend and patron Archbishop Potter, which was recovered from his Grace's executor Dr. Chapman, by a decree of the House of Lords*, after the reversal of a decree of the Lord-keeper Henley. He was chaplain to their Majesties from 1746 to 1748; when he retired†; but was called forth at an advanced period of life, by the friendship of Sir John Cust, to preach before the House of Commons, on Jan. 30, 1764; this sermon is also printed.

He died March 14, 1775, and was buried in the same vault with his wife (who died March 21, 1759), under the litany desk in the chapel of his College.

He was many years an honour to the Society of Antiquaries; and left in MS. many valuable collections relative to the constitution of the University of Cambridge; many biographical anecdotes preparatory to an *Athenæ Cantabrigienses*‡, which he once intended to publish, and an accurate alphabet

* His carrying his option-cause by appeal into the House of Lords was entirely owing to Mr. Yorke, who insisted upon it, offering to plead it *gratis*.

† Dr. Richardson's attachment to Frederick Prince of Wales occasioned that sarcasm in the Capitade, "He prays for George, to Frederick's cause adheres."

‡ "I have heard of Mr. Richardson's design of *Athenæ Cantabrigienses*; cannot find from Dr. Newton that he has yet the use of the Registers; and it will hardly be safe to correct Mr. Wood without such helps." Baker's Letter to Hearne, 1734, in the Bodleian Library.

in

in his own writing of all the graduates * of the University from 1500 to 1735 inclusive.

His only son, Robert Richardson, D.D. F.R.S. and S.A. was prebendary of Lincoln, rector of St. Anne's, Westminster, and of Wallington, Herts. He was also chaplain in ordinary to the King; and chaplain to the Earl of Gainsborough, the fourth of the five persons of his name, mentioned in this article, who have held that honourable connection with the family of Noel. The rectory of St. Anne† was given to him by the Bishop of London; and that of Wallington by Sir Joseph Yorke, with whom he had resided as chaplain many years at the Hague‡. He died Sept. 27, 1781, aged 50, at his house in Dean-street, Soho, of a most uncommon and distressing complaint §.

* Dr. Caryl did the same, and brought it down lower. The two Catalogues, it is much to be hoped, will be incorporated at the expence of the University. The last edition of the printed Graduates, though continued to 1800, goes no further back than 1659.—Lyndford Caryl, D.D. prebendary of Canterbury, Lincoln, and Southwell, master of Jesus college, Cambridge, and formerly registrar of that University, died June 18, 1781, at Canterbury, aged 75; and was buried in the chapel belonging to Jesus college.

† In 1781 the value of this rectory was 550*l.* resulting from a beneficial glebe (then worth 200*l.* a year), and an annual parish rate of 100*l.* in addition to the Easter offerings and surplice fees.

‡ Whilst in that employ, the papers on both sides, previous to the trial of the great cause, Douglas against Hamilton, being sent over to his Excellency, the Doctor, for his own curiosity, digested them, and drew up the state of the question, which was printed in quarto, and so well approved of by the gentlemen of the profession, that it was put into the hands of the counsel for the party he espoused as their brief; of which perhaps there never was a similar instance. The Doctor had the happiness and honour to see the opinion he supported confirmed by the almost unanimous suffrages of the House of Peers, with this rare circumstance, that two of the ablest Law Lords that ever met in that place, whose political opinions generally divided them, appeared ably and warmly on the same side of the question. Nor would any thing have been wanting to make the triumph complete, had Mr. Andrew Stewart never committed his thoughts to print. However, so due a sense was entertained of the Doctor's services, that after the trial he was offered 400*l.* in the handsomest manner, which he was advised, I can't tell why, to refuse." *T. F.*

§ Gent. Mag. 1781, vol. LI. p. 490.

No. VII.

DR. WILLIAM WEBSTER.

(See vol. II. p. 36.)

WILLIAM WEBSTER, grandson to Dr. Sparrow, ("a Bishop of great learning and piety, whose family were Gentlemen generations before he was a Lord*"), was born in December 1689; and, having been admitted a student of Caius college, Cambridge, he there took the degree of B. A. 1711; M. A. 1716; and D. D. 1732.

In 1715 he was made curate of St. Dunstan in the West; and in 1723, published "The Life of General Monk, late Duke of Albermarle; from an original Manuscript of Thomas Skinner, M. D. Author of 'Motus Compositi'; in which is a particular Account of that most memorable March from Coldstream to London, the Preparations for it in Scotland, and of the happy Consequences of it in England. To which is added a Preface, giving an Account of the Manuscript, and some Observations in Vindication of General Monk's Conduct," 8vo. This volume he dedicated to the Countess Granville, and to John Lord Gower, who were descended from the Monks.

His next production was, "The Clergy's Right of Maintenance vindicated," 8vo; which is also inscribed to Lord Gower, who was afterward his patron.

In 1729 he published "Two Discourses; the first concerning the Nature of Error in Doctrines merely speculative, shewing that the Belief of such Doctrines may be required of us as necessary Terms

* Dr. Webster's own words are here used.

of

of Salvation; wherein also the Case of positive Institutions is considered. The second, shewing that the Doctrine of the Trinity is not merely speculative. In Answer to the Arguments of Mr. Sykes and Mr. Chubb. With a Preface, containing some Remarks on the present Times, particularly in relation to the Clergy." In 1730, "The New Testament of our Saviour Jesus Christ, according to the antient Latin Edition, with Critical Remarks upon the Literal Meaning in different Places. From the French of Father Simon," 2 vols. 4to; and in the same year, "The Duty of keeping the whole Law; a Discourse on St. James, ii. 10, wherein are some seasonable Remarks upon the Deists," 8vo.

In 1731 he was removed from his curacy at St. Dunstan's; and published in that year, "The Fitness of the Witnesses of the Resurrection of Christ considered; in Answer to the principal Objections against them," 8vo; and also "two shilling-pamphlets and a letter in a news-paper" in defence of Bp. Hare, who had been attacked by Mr. Gordon, the translator of Tacitus, on some passages in a 30th of January Sermon; for which he received the thanks of Bp. Hare, but "no preferment, nor one farthing of reward." He was after this period a year and a half out of employment; and living all the while upon credit, or (to use an expression of his own) he "must have died in obscurity like a poisoned rat in a hole." In this situation his eldest brother was at the expence of obtaining for him, in 1732, his Doctor's Degree in Divinity; soon after which, he was kindly noticed by Bp. Gooch, who gave him in August that year the curacy of St. Clement East-cheap, with a salary of 70*l.*; and in Feb. 1732-3, he was presented by a relation to the rectory of Deptden in Suffolk, worth 102*l.* a year.

In 1723, Mr. Bowyer printed for him "A Vindication of Eustace Budgell," and "Proposals for printing F. Simon's Critical History;" and in that year he began "The Weekly Miscellany," under

the fictitious name of "Richard Hooker, Esq. of The Inner Temple." This undertaking, which, he says, "was more approved of than supported, procured him nothing but great trouble, much ill-will, and abuse of all sorts, great expence, and much difficulties." From being crowded with religious essays, the news-paper soon acquired the quaint appellation of "Old Mother Hooker's Journal."

In 1734, if his own account may be credited, he rejected an offer of 300*l.* a year, besides preferment, offered him by Lord Palmerston, if he would have turned the Miscellany into a ministerial paper.

In 1737 he published a Sermon under the title of "The Sin of being ashamed of our Religion;" and in 1738, "a Sermon preached at St. Edmond's Bury, March 21."

On the translation of Bp. Sherlock to the see of Salisbury (1738), Dr. Webster * flattered himself with the hopes of obtaining a prebend in that church, which happened to be vacant; but was mortified with a positive denial.

In 1740 he was editor of a pamphlet concerning the Woollen Manufactures, intituled, "The Consequences of Trade to the Wealth and Strength of the Nation. By a Draper of London, 1740." Mr. Webber, who had carried on a considerable trade in wool in the country, and who had been ruined by his endeavours to prevent the running of that valuable commodity, furnished the materials, which were methodized by the Doctor. The copy, which made a six-penny pamphlet, was given to Mr. Henry

* On his first coming to St. Dunstan's, he had the honour of an intimacy with Dr. Sherlock, for whom he frequently preached at the Temple; "and this kind intercourse," he says, "continued till the Dean of Chichester was made Bishop of Bangor, when his Lordship made me great professions of friendship;" which no occasion offered of putting in practice. When the Bishop was afterwards removed to London, his old acquaintance applied to him at Fulham for charity; and received "a reprimand for going about the country in that manner, without being asked to *drink*, though he had walked all the way from London."

Woodfall of Little-Britain, who printed it at his own hazard, and sold 8000 or upwards. "I published," he says, "a pamphlet, and spent a great deal of money, in the pursuit of a scheme to prevent the exportation of unmanufactured Wool. This pamphlet was in such great reputation all over the kingdom, that, without knowing who was the author of it, it was said that he deserved to have his statue set up in every trading town in England." When the demand for it began to subside, the Doctor, who was not unacquainted with the arts of trade, wrote an answer to it, under the title of "The Draper's Reply, 1741," which went through two or three editions. In 1741 he resigned his rectory and curacy, on being presented, by the recommendation of Abp. Potter, to the vicarages of Ware and Thundridge, by the master and fellows of Trinity college, Cambridge. In 1742 he published "A Sermon preached before the House of Commons;" in the same year, "A Sermon on the Fast at Ware;" in 1745 two Sermons preached at Ware; a volume of "Tracts, Sermons, Discourses, and Letters," 8vo; and a second edition, enlarged, of "An Appeal to the Laity on Tithes."

He was in this year, 1745, recommended by Earl Gower (to whom he had 20 years before dedicated two of his earliest productions) to the Earl of Chesterfield, then Lord-lieutenant of Ireland; for which kingdom he was about to depart, when the noble Earl's recall, to take upon him the office of Secretary of State, put an end to that scheme, but not to the expectations of Dr. Webster, who was called upon to defend Earl Gower against the Jacobites, and visited Trentham to obtain materials, which were afterwards digested, but never appeared in print, and for which he complains that he was not rewarded. He afterwards wrote a political pamphlet, of which the proof-sheets were corrected by Earl Gower, and which received the royal approbation; his Majesty doing him the honour to say, "it was a very good essay." In 1746, he published

"A Sermon preached at Ware on the Rebellion;" in 1748, "Two Sermons; 1. On the Duty of living peaceably; 2. Of Self-love and Benevolence;" in 1750, "An Essay on Anger and Forgiveness *," 12mo; in 1751, "Two Sermons on the Sabbath;" in 1753, "Two Discourses on Prayer; wherein are several things with great Impartiality recommended particularly to the Papists and Dissenters of all Denominations; with a becoming Freedom to the Infidels; with the most affectionate Esteem to the Clergy; with the highest Deference to the Nobility and Gentry. 2. On the Observation of the Sabbath. 3. On the Importance of Public Worship," 8vo. This book was inscribed to Abp. Herring, who honoured him with his patronage and correspondence; and on this publication he received the following short billet from the excellent Author of the Night Thoughts:

"Dear Sir, I have read over your discourses with appetite; and I find in them much piety, perspicuity, eloquence, and usefulness. God grant them all the success they deserve, you wish, and the world wants! Most assuredly, Devotion is the balm of life; and no man can go unwounded to the grave.

I am yours affectionately, ED. YOUNG."

In 1754, he published "The new Art of Contentment, contained in an Essay upon Phil. iv. 2." 8vo; and in 1757, "A Treatise on Places and Preferments, especially Church Preferments," &c. 8vo.

In this year he was under the necessity of petitioning the Archbishops and Bishops for charity; to whom he represented, "that he had been upwards of 43 years employed in parochial duties in the diocese of London, and 35 years a public writer; that he was a year and a half out of all business, which involved him in debt; and his distresses had been much increased by a fit of the palsy; and that the addition of 40*l.* or 50*l.* a year to his income would save him from great distress." That the Petition was of little effect, appears by "A plain Narrative

* Mr. Christopher Smart addressed an Ode to him on this work.

of

of Facts; or, the Author's Case fairly and candidly stated, by Way of Appeal to the Publick, 1758," 8vo. In this Narrative he acknowledged his great obligations to the Earl of Hardwicke, for a handsome present; to Mr. Plummer, knight of the shire, and his parishioner, for 50*l.* given at a time when he must have gone to prison; and to "another person, not less honourable for not being a gentleman, who is absolutely the greatest genius, the best and the most amiable man that I know in the world; I mean, *Mr. Richardson the Printer**. When I came to Ware, I was 90*l.* in his debt, though I had cleared off regularly, by quarterly payments, 50*l.*; and never could save any thing out of my income, ever since the change of my livings, towards getting out of debt. As soon as I was possessed of Ware, or rather as soon as Ware was possessed of me, he sent me a kind letter; told me, that any sum of money that I wanted was at my service; and when he saw that I lived as frugally as possible, he forgave me the whole debt. I forbear to enlarge upon his character, because I know not how to do it justice."

In the close of life, Dr. Webster represents himself as "incapable of doing his duty, and incapable of hiring people to assist him;" and "his parishioners at Ware (some good people excepted) as more ready to defraud him of his right, than to bestow favours; to make his life as uneasy as possible, instead of rendering it comfortable." A great part of his living depended on voluntary contributions; and "for several years Trade and Religion had declined together. The people had less money, and less inclination to part with it." The publication of this Narrative he survived but a few months, as he died Dec. 4, 1758.

It is not at all surprising that a writer who employed himself so indiscriminately on all topics should have been honoured with a niche in the Dunciad; where we find him coupled with the celebrated Arch-methodist:

* See farther in these Essays, No. XIV.

"Or

"Or such as bellow from the deep Divine;
There, Webster! peal'd thy voice; and, Whitefield*!
thine."

On which the learned Commentator remarks, "The one the writer of a news-paper called the Weekly Miscellany, the other a Field-preacher. This thought the only means of advancing Religion was by the New-birth of spiritual madness; that by the old death of fire and faggot: and therefore they agreed in this, though in no other earthly thing, to abuse all the sober Clergy. From the small success of these two extraordinary persons, we may learn how little hurtful Bigotry and Enthusiasm are, while the Civil Magistrate forbears to lend his power to the one, in order to the employing it against the other."

In the Preface to "The Divine Legation, 1740," Dr. Webster is also thus pointedly noticed: "The attack was opened by one who bore the respectable name of a Country Clergyman, but was in reality a Town-writer of a Weekly Newspaper; and with such excess of insolence and malice as the publick had yet never seen on any occasion whatsoever †."

* Of whom see particulars in vol. II. pp. 98, 122.

† Bishop Warburton's opinion of Webster (which Mr. Maty has communicated to the publick among his "Literary Curiosities") is too important to be omitted. It is extracted from various Letters to Dr. Birch, preserved in the British Museum.

'I do not know what you think in Town of the Miscellany Papers; but, I protest, the surprising absurdity made me think that people would imagine I got somebody to write booty, had not the equal virulency shewn the writer to be in earnest.—I hope you read my last; you might perceive I was in a passion against Webster when I wrote; but his last letter against me has cured me of it, and I design to take no manner of notice of him in the preface of my Sermon. You will wonder at this odd kind of cure. But there is a certain point, at which when any thing arrives, it loses its nature; so that what was before only simple calumny, appears now to be madness; and I should have an ill-office to endeavour the cure of it."—"It is a great pleasure to me that such judges as you approve of my Sermon, and almost as great that my enemies are such as Webster. As I am resolved for the future, not only not to answer, but even not to read, what that wretch writes against me; his putting his name to what he does will be of use to me. I wish you could contrive that that should

Some farther particulars of him may be gathered from the following extracts from his letters to Dr. Zachary Grey, of which I have several in MS.

"I sent a pamphlet to your bookseller, and hope it came safe. I have not yet heard from Mr. Clarke,

should come to his ear."—In the same letter, which (as Mr. Maty observes) is no *Warburtoniana*, but the *Ana* of every man who ever lived, "I have not seen Webster's circular letter. Pray, when you go by Mr. Gyles's shop, desire him to send it me."—"What a happy thing it would be if we could send over on a mission some of our hot zealots, to cool themselves in an Indian Savannah! Don't you think Venn and Webster would make a proper as well as pleasant figure in a couple of bear-skins! Methinks I see them march in this terror of equipage, like the Pagan priests of Hercules of old,

"Jamque sacerdotes, primusque Potitius, ibant
Pellibus in morem cincti, flammasque ferebant.

"The fanaticism of some of these missionaries gave birth to a very serious thought, which you will find in the second edition of the Divine Legation, now printing; therefore I shall not repeat it here. You see I have published a second edition of my first volume; there are several additions in support of my scheme, and reasonings on it, which I hope will not displease you, as likewise several omissions of passages which were thought vain, insolent, and ill-natured, particularly that against the author of the Enquiry into the Demoniacks, which I hope will less displease you.—Mr. Gyles has sent me word, that Webster has published all his letters; and thinks it proper to do the same by those news-papers wrote in defence of me. I have returned answer, that it was a matter of the utmost indifference, but that, if he thought it worth his while, I gave my consent; so I have left it to him to do what he thinks proper.—To think I will ever enter into a controversy with the weakest as well as wickedest of all mankind, is a thing impossible. This I shall do indeed, in a short preface to the second volume. I shall hang him and his fellows as they do vermin in a warren, and leave them to posterity to stink and blacken in the wind; and this will I do, was the Pope himself their protector. Other business with them in the way of argument I shall never have any."—"I mentioned the second volume: it is now in the press, I have received two sheets, two more are coming, and they cry out for more copy. *Inter nos*, I only write from hand to mouth, as they say here; so that an East wind, a fit of the spleen, want of books, and a thousand other accidents, will frequently make the press stand still. This will be an inconvenience to Mr. Gyles; but I told him what he was to expect; and his hands are so full of great works, that I may well be spared, amongst the first-rate of the fleet, and cruise at my leisure on a lee-shore, safe from Webster, and the rest of these *guarda-costas*."

your

your curate. I think myself much obliged to him for his assistance in disposing of so many books; but, if he could conveniently have remitted the money sooner, the obligation had been greater, because curates have but little credit with stationers or printers. It is now above a year since the book was published, and I have not sold enough to pay charges, which is hard upon me, since a great part of my maintenance depends upon the success of such undertakings. I am now without any settled business, the vicar of St. Dunstan's * having put another curate over my head in such a manner that I should have had some of the lowest offices, at the rate of 20*l.* a year, after 16 years servitude in the parish, and with such a character from the Bishop as ought to recommend me to other treatment. Aug. 19, 1731." His parishioners at St. Dunstan's (the Dissenters not excepted) were very kind to him, and subscribed 25 guineas a year toward the daily prayers. He was at that time particularly noticed by Judge Price and Lord Palmerston.—"I must desire you to send me a parcel of your own MS sermons for the supply of my new cure [East-cheap] where I preach two sermons in a week in the same church. I have been so much employed upon other things, I am but ill-stocked with sermons; and my last undertaking will take up almost all my time. Sept. 7, 1732."—"Having but little time, I can afford none for ceremony; so to the point. Saturday the 'Miscellany †' comes out; and I shall send 30 copies to Dr. Waterland, to whom you may apply for one. I have received my bookseller's proposals to Mrs. Moss; which I think are fair, and better than you will get from any of those with whom you are in treaty. For one impression of 1000 he offers, for two volumes of Sermons, 40 gui-

* William Grant, M.A. prebendary of Rochester, &c. published two sermons 1704, 1707; and died in 1736, after living to the advanced age of 80, and enjoying the vicarage of St. Dunstan's in the West 59 years.

† See vol. II. p. 36.

neas;

neas; and if you think of publishing the MS. against the Rights of the Christian Church, with the Quakers' Bill *, he will give 10 guineas for that, in all 50; and would willingly treat farther with you for the future impressions of the whole. If Mrs. Moss accepts this offer, it will be proper to come out while the Parliament is sitting; and I believe you would think it most proper to have them printed in London, where they are *much more expeditious* than the Cambridge presses. Dec. 14, 1732."—"Neal is like the rest of his tribe, a writer never to be trusted. May you live long, and continue to be what you ever was; useful to the world, kind to your friends, and agreeable to all that know you! Sept. 22, 1733."—"You may well wonder that you have not heard from me so long; and that, after so long a silence, I should have the assurance to ask any thing of you. Variety and hurry of business must be the only excuse for the first, and necessity for the second. Through the indefatigable industry of Infidels, Hereticks, and Dissenters, and the indolence and inactivity of our friends, the proprietors of the Miscellany are quite discouraged, and last week resigned their shares; so that I am not able to support the paper, unless I can get 3 or 400 fixed customers. I have therefore opened a subscription, and have met with encouragement; several subscribing for six papers every week. As I know you wish as well as any man to the cause of Christianity and the Church of England, I have taken the liberty to desire you to do something in this way, and to propose your example to your friends. It would be great glee to the enemies, if a design of this kind should not have friends enough in the kingdom to support it. Some have all their papers sent them, and some leave me to give them away at public-houses. Sept. 18, 1735."—"I received the favour of your kind compliment, and will read it as soon as my business will permit. I make no doubt but it is substantially done, and I shall take

* "Atterbury's Epistolary Correspondence, 1789," vol. II. p. 144.

the

the first opportunity to let you know in the Miscellany what I think of it. Have you communicated my letters to the squires? I ask no more of you than barely to shew the letters, which you may do without injuring your friends. Desire Mr. Burrough * to give me a letter as soon as he knows what to say to me; and such a letter as I may shew to his Grace of Canterbury. I was with him on Sunday night, and he asked me whether I had heard any thing from College. March 22, 1736."—"When I received the favour of your kind letter, I could not answer it because I was going into the country, and had no opportunity of waiting on the Bishop of London; but yesterday I was with his Lordship, and acquainted him with your generous offer, which is accepted with great thankfulness. My Lord and Dr. Madox † are truly sensible how

* James Burrough, of Caius college, Cambridge; B. A. 1734; M. A. 1738. He was the senior Esquire Beadle in 1754; and in that year, Feb. 25, was elected Master of his College, on the death of Bp. Gooch; and in 1759, being then vice-chancellor, was knighted, on an address to the King, when the Prince of Wales, his present Majesty, came of age. He died Aug. 7, 1764.

† Dr. Isaac Madox (who at that time was Dean of Wells) was born at London of obscure parents, whom he lost while he was young; and was taken care of by an aunt, who placed him in a charity-school, and afterwards put him on trial to a pastry-cook; but, before he was bound apprentice, the master told her that the boy was not fit for trade; that he was continually reading books of learning above his (the master's) comprehension; and therefore advised that she should take him away, and send him back to school to follow the bent of his inclination (see Dr. Nowell's "Answer to 'Pietas Oxoniensis, 1768," p. 49). He was on this sent, by an exhibition of some Dissenting friends, to one of the Universities of Scotland; but, not caring to take orders in that Church, was afterwards, through the patronage of Bp. Gibson, admitted of Queen's college, Cambridge, and was favoured with a Doctor's degree at Lambeth. After entering into orders, he first was curate of St. Bride's, then domestic chaplain to Dr. Waddington, bishop of Chichester, whose niece he married; and in 1731, was promoted to the rectory of St. Vedast in Foster-lane, London. His other preferments are pointed out, in his character at large, in the epitaph transcribed in p. 171, from the Historian of Worcestershire. In 1733 he published the first part of the "Review of Neal," under the title of "A Vindication of the Government, Doctrine, and Worship of the Church of England, established in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth;" and this

much your accurate remarks contributed toward the perfection and credit of his reply; and unles

this tract is a lasting monument of his diligence and discernment; but we injure his character, if we consider him only as an advocate for our establishment: he was an ornament to it. In his retirement he was condescending, hospitable, open-hearted; in his public station, a patron of merit, and a warm friend to every scheme of useful charity. He was a great benefactor to the Royal Hospitals in London, and the first promoter of the Worcester infirmary in 1745, which has proved of singular benefit to the poor, and a great advantage to medical and chirurgical knowledge in that neighbourhood. He was also a great encourager of trade, engaging in the British Fishery, by which he lost some money. He likewise was a strong advocate for the Act against vending Spirituous Liquors. A gentleman once dining with him at Hartlebury, after a handsome entertainment came some tarts; he very much pressed the company to take his pastry, saying pleasantly, "that he believed they were very good, but that they were *not of his own making*." This was a joke he was fond of repeating. His monument in the South transept of the great aile in the cathedral of Worcester consists of a female figure of white marble, leaning with her right elbow on a sarcophagus of black marble, on which is the story of the merciful Samaritan, in white basso-reliero. In her left hand she holds an inverted torch behind which rises a pyramid of grey marble, about twenty-four feet in height, as a back-ground; on the top of which are the arms of the see of Worcester. On a tablet is the following inscription:

"May this marble record to future times
the excellent endowments and beneficent virtues
of Dr. ISAAC MADOX, Bishop of this Diocese.
An exact knowledge of the constitution
of this National Church,
and an active zeal for its support and prosperity
manifested in a variety of occasions,
and especially in writing a judicious Vindication
of the plan of the Reformation adopted by Queen Elizabeth,
eminently qualified him for the Prelacy;
all the extensive and important duties of which function
he perfectly understood and conscientiously discharged
with fervor, prudence, and integrity.
The love of his country
(the ruling passion of his truly English heart)
urged him to promote, with unwearied care,
loyalty, industry, sobriety,
and whatever might secure and increase the public welfare.
A father to his Clergy—
he directed them by his counsel,
supported them by his authority,
and assisted them by his liberality:
a rare example!
After many other bountiful donations,
he assigned 200*l. per annum*, during his life,

for

you suffer the second volume to have the same advantage, I am sure it will not have the same suc-

for the augmentation of the smaller benefices of his diocese.
A guardian of the poor,
he abounded in private charities,
and encouraged every public one.
Long may the sick and impotent bless the patron,
and those of this county the institutor, of Infirmaries!
Hospitality and generosity,
enlivened with cheerfulness, affability, and good nature,
were the distinguished virtues of the man and the friend;
and the piety and fortitude of the Christian
were brought to the test, and stood the trial
in two most afflicting circumstances—
the death of a lovely daughter,
in whom at 11 years of age
all the graces of the mind, dwelling in the most elegant form,
not only began to dawn,
but seemed to be hastening to maturity;
and the death of a most accomplished son, at the age of 17,
whose virtuous disposition, and uncommon attainments in learning,
deserved and received the favour and applause
of Eton and Christ Church.
Conjugal and maternal affection,
weeping over the mingled ashes
of her much honoured and much lamented Lord
and of her dear children,
erected this monument to their memory.

He was born July 27, 1697; was appointed clerk of the closet to Queen Caroline 1729; was made dean of Wells in 1733; was consecrated Bishop of St. Asaph in 1736; and was translated to the see of Worcester in 1743-4. He married in 1731, Elizabeth daughter of Richard Price, of Hayes, in the county of Middlesex, esq.; and died Sept. 27, 1759, leaving to a tender mother's care one surviving beloved daughter, since given in marriage to the honourable and reverend Mr. Yorke, dean of Lincoln," [and late Bishop of Ely.]

Bp. Madox was much admired as a preacher; and published the following Sermons: 1. For the Propagation of the Gospel, 1734; Tit. ii. 11—13; 2. "The Love of our Country recommended," preached before the Societies for Reformation of Manners, at St. Mary le Bow, Jan. 17, 1737," Ps. cxvi. 6; 3. Before the Trustees of the Westminster Infirmary, 1739, Matt. xxv. 26; 4. Before the House of Lords, on the King's Accession, 1739," Ps. cxi. 4; 5. At the Anniversary Meeting of the Charity Children, 1741, Job xxix. 16; 6. At the Anniversary of the Sons of the Clergy, 1742, Ruth ii. 20; 7. Before the House of Lords, May 29, 1742, Ezra ix. 9; 8. "The Duty and Advantages of encouraging Public Infirmaries," preached for the London Infirmary (when Bishop of St. Asaph) 1743, Ps. xli. 1; 9. Another for the London Infirmary (when Bishop of Worcester) 1744, Luke xi. 2; 10. At the Cathedral of Worcester, on

the

cess, and do the same good service to the Church of England. My good friend, though I mention the interest of our common cause as what will weigh most with a person so well affected to it as you are, yet it is not with any intention to discharge myself from the obligation which you have laid me under by the particular kindness intended me. I think myself singularly obliged to you for so great an instance of your respect and affection for me, and return you my most hearty thanks; but, as the undertaking is in the hand of a gentleman who performed so well in it, it would be both a piece of impertinence and vanity in me to offer to interfere with him; wherefore I hope you will direct your farther observations to me, with leave to convey them to Dr. Madox." (No date.)—"I have not sent your MS. to Madox. A parcel of scrubs! Why should we help them to credit, when they will neither return the civility, nor own it? They did not so much as acknowledge your assistance. Your MS. (with a Preface) will make a volume; and as you intended me a kindness, what think you of publishing them without a name?" (No date.)—"My friendship and obligations, my approbation of your undertaking, and regard for the cause, all conspire to

the Thanksgiving after the Rebellion 1746, Ps. lii. 1, 2; 11. For the Worcester Infirmary 1748, Gal. vi. 9, 10; 12. For the Irish Protestant Schools, 1749, Isaiah xi. 13; 13. "The Expediency of preventive Wisdom; a Sermon preached before the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Governors of the several Hospitals of the City of London, at St. Bridget's church, on Easter Monday 1750; with a Dedication, and an Appendix concerning Spirituous Liquors;" Job v. 16.—This was an excellent Discourse; and in the Dedication to the Lord Mayor the learned Prelate pathetically expatiates on the evils which the common people had drawn upon themselves, and consequently on the whole Nation, by excessive drinking; and warmly presses for the taking some measures to put an effectual check to the progress of that destructive and general vice. 14. At St. Andrew's, Holborn, March 5, 1752, before the President and Governors of the Hospitals for the Small Pox and Inoculation, Isaiah lviii. 7; 15. At the Chapel of the Foundling Hospital, 1753, Ps. xxvii. 12. See an anecdote of Dr. Madox, whilst clerk of the closet to Queen Caroline, in Lord Orford's "Reminiscences," in his Works, vol. IV. p. 306.

dispose

dispose me to do every thing in my power; but your equity and candour, in judging of my capacity, will make proper allowances for the necessity I am under of recommending my own books. I will talk with our Booksellers about it, and let you know what they say. I wish you had told me what my friends think of my last Letter upon Warburton, and what you hear of him. July 15, 1738."—"I am very sorry for your constant residence in Bedfordshire, because it deprives me of the pleasure of seeing you in my visits to Cambridge, which is now an easy day's journey for me. I presume you have seen it in the papers, that his Grace of Canterbury [Dr. Potter] has given me the vicarage of Ware, and Thundridge adjoining to it; which I was obliged in prudence to accept, though they add but little to my income, and put me to considerable expences. I was forced, in a little time, to lay out 70*l.* upon two old houses, and had no more than 20*l.* allowed me for dilapidations. The house at Ware is very large, six rooms on a floor, two coach-houses and a stable that I can make little use of; about 300 feet of paling, between 5 and 6000 feet of tiling, and a large expensive garden, to be kept in constant repair, not an acre of glebe land, and I myself in a more expensive situation than when I was a curate in London.—After some time, I recovered the arrears of an augmentation, payable to the small living of Thundridge; but, then, my former living being a rectory, and I quitting it just before harvest, the loss of all the corn, and the dilapidations which I paid my successor, balanced that account.—His Grace is not willing that I should drop the Miscellany; and, in order to carry it on, I am forced to get more help than otherwise I should want at my livings, if I could be constantly there to do all the parochial duties; I must keep a lodging in town, and a horse always in the stable; besides unavoidable expences in going backward and forward every week. All together the Miscellany will cost me at least 40*l.* a year; which is a charge that I cannot possibly support till I can get some addition to my income.

income. You know, before the paper could be established, it brought me in debt to my printer [Mr. Richardson*] 140*l.* ninety of which is still unpaid. To encourage my present printer to undertake and propagate it with industry, I insured to him all the profits that he could make it bring in, preserving to myself nothing but the power of conducting all the labour of supporting the design. To drop so good a design, and give the enemy such an occasion of triumph, I cannot bear the thoughts of; and therefore I am soliciting, amongst the friends of the paper, a half-yearly subscription, the first payment to be made at the time of subscribing. You, my good friend, are quite out of this question, because you do handsomely already, and as much as can reasonably be expected; but, if you would represent the case to some others, I should thank you. If I give up so much of my time and pains, which I could employ more profitably to myself, though not so usefully to the publick, those who are in better circumstances cannot think much of joining to support the expences it puts me to. There is a worthy Lord (Trevor) in your neighbourhood, who, if the case were justly represented to him, would readily do something. He has the Miscellany every week, and is a hearty friend to it. Now, the Archbishop having given a sanction to my character, I shall get something else; and as soon as I am made a little easier, as to my circumstances, I shall no longer desire any help, but at present I am terribly embarrassed; and the more by the great expence of coming into these livings." (No date.)—"I suppose you saw my dying speech in the Miscellany, and are convinced, without a coroner's inquest, that I did not lay violent hands upon myself, though I died an untimely death. I am coming out with a pamphlet, but cannot afford to make presents. I never was so distressed as now. My last preferment has absolutely ruined me," No date. [1741.]

* See before, p. 165.

No. VIII.

(Vol. I. p. 419.)

REMARKS ON STEPHENS'S THESAURUS.

"The old impressions of this great and valuable work, particularly that of Lions 1573, being exceeding scarce, the publick is highly obliged to those learned gentlemen who have furnished us with a new edition, larger and more accurate than any of the preceding ones. We have the more reason to glory in the success of this noble and magnificent undertaking, which does honour to our age and nation, as several attempts of this nature have been heretofore made, and unhappily miscarried; particularly by Charles and Henry Stephens, by our own celebrated countryman Milton, by the Society of Baliol college in Oxford, and by Dr. Kuster, the excellent Editor of Suidas and Aristophanes.

This stately performance, after a very eloquent Dedication to his present Majesty, is introduced by a large Epistolary Preface, inscribed to the most ingenious Dr. John Hollings; containing a distinct and exact Account of the most considerable Latin Dictionaries which have appeared since the restoration of Learning, together with some Memoirs of the Compilers of them. Our readers will be pleased to see them as they stand in succession, and observe their principal characters; and the rather, as this is a piece of literary history, which has hitherto lain almost altogether uncultivated.

The first book of this kind that is mentioned, is the "Catholicon *" of John Balbus, frequently

* Of this very curious book, see "The Origin of Printing," p. 87.

styled

styled Joannes de Janua, or Januensis, from his country, being a Genoese. It was one of the first fruits of the press after the invention of the typographical art, being imprinted at Mentz in 1460. This original impression consisted of 372 leaves, without either signatures or numeration of the pages, neither of which were then in use. The character was rude in comparison of later types, but extremely polite if we consider the time of its appearance, in the very infancy of printing; when we have far greater cause to admire so vast and disproportioned a production of it, than to animadvert upon its imperfections. Each side was divided into two equal columns, either of which contained precisely sixty-six lines, with a margin and interval sufficiently spacious; the paper large and strong, but otherwise not beautiful. The Author of this antient Lexicon bestowed many years in compiling of it, and finished it, as he tells us himself at the conclusion of his manuscript, on the nones of March 1286. He was a man well versed in the liberal arts and sciences; of the order of Preaching Friars, and remarkable for his extraordinary sanctity.

There cannot indeed a great deal be said in commendation of this work, nor must the erudition of it be placed in competition with those of a more modern date; but, with respect to the age it was wrote in, it has not merited the contempt which Erasmus and some others have thrown on it. It led the way to those which afterwards outran it; and it should be remembered in its favour, that invention is at once a more difficult and a nobler instance of genius than improvement. It was for a long while the sole fountain from whence the Schools derived their knowledge in the Latin tongue: so that it is not to be wondered at, if a great many of the Literati exercised themselves in enlarging and embellishing it, and succeeding Glossographers imagined they ought to be intirely submitted to, and even applauded, wherever they could alledge the authority of the Catholicon in behalf of their opinions.

The pious Collector of it shewed a peculiar regard to such words as occurred in the sacred Scriptures, or especially related to them, and was careful to the utmost of his ability to discover, and even exhaust, the sense of them; an example of this we have under INTERPRES, where he has not only denoted the general meaning of it, but illustrated it by a short history of the several translations of the Old Testament out of the Hebrew into Greek, and out of either into Latin, "First by the Seventy, next by Aquila, a third and fourth by Theodotion and Symmachus; a fifth that was anonymous, and called the Vulgar Interpretation; besides a sixth and a seventh that were found by Origen, the last of which was of the Psalms only; and both which with immense labour and diligence he collated with all the preceding ones. The versions out of Greek into Latin were almost innumerable, as St. Augustin observes; for in the Western primitive Church, almost every man that got a Greek Bible into his hands, and was ever so little versed in that language, turned it into his own. St. Jerom, who was skilled in all the three tongues, was the only translator of the Scriptures from the Hebrew into the Latin immediately; his translation is very justly esteemed, not only for the elegance and perspicuity of it, but likewise for its strictness and fidelity."

Our Author was beholden to Papias for what he has said here in the explanation of this word; from whom, as well as Hugutius, he owns himself to have transcribed a great many articles.

All that I shall say farther of the Catholicon is, that although the edition of 1460 has neither Faustus's Colophon, nor the mark of a Calf's Horn in the paper, which Naudæus and some others have fancied to be a certain criterion for distinguishing the books which he printed, yet there is not the least reason to doubt its being the work of that incomparable artist. Nor is there any foundation for Trithemius's opinion, which the reputation of his great knowledge in antiquity has imposed on many,

many, of an edition of it antienter than this we are speaking of, printed upon wooden blocks, before fusile separate types, which this is undeniably done on, were invented. The blocks for this pretended original impression * must be some years preparing; and it is not to be imagined that, amidst the plenty of manuscripts then extant, the copies done off them could be so quickly disposed of, as to encourage or require the undertaking another almost immediately after the first was wrought off; for that must here be the case, considering there is an interval but of ten years, at the most, between the date of our edition and the very first offspring of the press. There cannot be a more improbable supposition; and indeed this prodigy of Trithemius's has never yet been found in the most copious libraries, or occurred to the most industrious enquiries of the Learned. But though the editions of this work did not succeed one another so swiftly in the primordial dawn of typography, as this Critick and his followers contend for, yet, in truth, it passed through several before the conclusion of that age, which was of all others the most propitious to learning. As, for instance, in the year 1483, there was an impression of it finished at Venice, corrected and amended by the care, and at the expence, of Herman Liechtenstein. Four years after, *viz.* in 1487, another was completed by the same person, and in the same city. The fourth edition of it was likewise at Venice, 1495, under the revisal of Boneti Locatelli. At the beginning of the fifth century, Petrus Ægidius, a man of great eminence in the canon and civil laws, very much enlarged it, and printed it at Lyons in 1506, a second time in 1514, and lastly in 1520.

Our Editors, having occasion (as we have seen in their account of the Catholicon) to make mention

* A smaller Catholicon, which was merely a Vocabulary for the use of Schools, was printed with wooden types by Geinsfleich. See "Origin of Printing," pp. 85, 86.

of Papias and Hugutius, as writers to whom the compiler of it has professed himself greatly indebted, have given us a brief history of them as authors, and settled the times in which they flourished. It not being possible for us to go through the subject now, we shall close this article for the present with an abstract of it.

Papias was by nation a Lombard. We know not when he was born, but he was undoubtedly more antient than Joannes Januensis, as appears by this latter's copying from him. It is surprising that any one should degrade him so low as the age of the Catholicon; and even Trithemius, Platina, Cornel à Beughem, and Jac. Phil. Bergomensis, are mistaken, in imagining him to be but one hundred years earlier; he was two at the least, as we are assured by Caspar Barthius in his Adversaria, who therein agrees with the Chronicon Albericum MS. where it is noted, that in the year 1053, being the 13th of the Emperor Henry, the son of Conrad, Papias set forth his book, intituled, ELEMENTARIUM DOCTRINÆ ERUDIMENTUM.

He was a man admirably versed in prophane literature, as celebrated a grammarian as any of his time, a complete master in the Greek and Latin tongues, and perfectly acquainted with the Scriptures, and the Works of the Fathers. He wrote a great many things both on divine and human subjects. Trithemius had seen only three, *viz.* "De Ordine Dicendi," "De Linguæ Latinæ Vocabulis," and "Epistolæ ad diversos." The second is that he is most known by. Scaliger indeed undervalues it extremely; he treats it as ignominiously as Erasmus does the Catholicon, and calls it *futile opus;* but others extol it as much, and set it out for a rich repository of learning: Barthius in particular expatiates in the praises of it. Perhaps it will be speaking the truth of it to say, that it was enriched with the spoils of all that had preceded it. It had several impressions; one at Milan in 1476, and four fol-

following ones at Venice, *annis* 1485, 1487, 1491, and 1496.

Hugutius, whom the Catholicon transcribed also, was a Pisan by birth, and Bishop of Ferrara. A man of conspicuous figure about the year 1196. I suppose the first preferment the Pope conferred on him was the coadjutorship of a monastery, in the library of which he met with Papias, and out of him in a great measure composed his Glossary, or Book of Derivations. Boccatius gives him a good character in his "Genealogy of the Gods." Whether he wrote the "Treatise of Animals" that is usually ascribed to him is uncertain, as there were others of his name contemporary with him famous for learning; particularly one, promoted to the purple 1191, who was reckoned the greatest Civilian and Canonist of that age. His Vocabulary has never been printed, and the manuscript copies of it lie hid only in a few collections. He has recorded his own name and country in the Preface of it, after the odd manner of those times. "If any one asks," says he, "who was the author or doer of this work, it may be answered, God. If it be demanded who was the instrument in performing of it, it may be replied, Hugutius of Pisa." He died about the year 1212.

Our Editors apologize for insisting upon these things so largely. The Latin tongue had afterwards otherguise patrons to glory in than those they have now mentioned; but it is the established fate of Literature to grow up to maturity by slow degrees, from the most inconsiderable originals: and they wonder very justly at the ungrateful severity of Erasmus, and some other philologers, towards these primitive nurses, who first took care of the language in the very infancy of its reviction. If it received from them a stronger nourishment, and under their tutelage advanced to perfection, that cannot excuse their deriding or calumniating those who administered their best assistance at its

new

new birth, and preserved it from perishing, till it was provided with more able guardians *.

"To that weak and abject state of the Latin tongue, which our former article on this subject was employed in giving an account of, we may refer Joannes de Garlandia an Englishman, who lived in the reign of Harold the Dane, and made some considerable figure about the year 1040. He shone, not only in the character of a grammarian, but likewise of a chemist, a mathematician, and divine. His "Synonyma et Equivoca, or Book of Synonymous and Equivocal Terms," passed through the press at Cologn so soon as 1490; and was again printed at London, in quarto, by Richard Pynson 1496. This edition, as I judge by the title of it, was improved, not only by Galfridus's Exposition on the Synonyma, but by digesting the Equivoca into an alphabetical order; which circumstance seems to have been otherwise in the original.

It may suffice (to keep up the Series) barely to mention here a few others of the same inferior class with the foregoing writers. Such as, Simon de Janua, author of a Physical Lexicon; Marchesinus of Reggio, also near Modena, of the order of Minor Friars, who composed a Dictionary of the words used in the Scripture and Liturgies; it was, I presume, something of the same nature with Pasor's Lexicon of the New Testament, which we have now: its first appearance in print was at Mentz 1470. Nic. Jenson printed it next at Venice, in quarto, 1479. It had other editions elsewhere. I pass over Gemma Gemmarum, with other Vocabularies of like value; but Nestor Dionysius of Novaria, a Minorite, must not be entirely omitted; he flourished just upon the turn of Learning's fortune, when Letters began to shine, and one might sen-

* Republick of Letters, vol. XV. pp. 441—449.

sibly

sibly discern their progress towards that meridian splendour they soon after rose to. He awoke, as it were, just time enough to discover and laugh at the blind dreams of those that preceded him, though at the same time he appeared to such as followed him not very sprightly or clear-sighted himself. His Dictionary was first published in 1488. It was reprinted at Paris 1496; and at Venice that same year, by Phil. Pinzius; and afterwards in 1502 and 1507; and revised by Johan. Tacuinus.

Our Editors are at length come to a more auspicious period, when the Roman language had happily recovered its pristine lustre. They have now such men to celebrate as Erasmus, Valla, Longolius, and Linacer, with many others of like fame and ability; who were accurate grammarians, elegant translators of the most valuable Greek authors, and masters of all the purity and beauty of the Latin tongue. But their immediate concern is with those only who have distinguished themselves in the Republick of Letters under the character of Lexicographers.

The first taken notice of by them is Johannes Tortellius, a native of Arezzo in Tuscany; he was a favourite with two Popes. He was sub-dean and chamberlain to Eugenius the IVth, and afterwards the chief confident of Nicholas the Vth, his library-keeper, and an intimate companion of his studies. He was highly esteemed for his great knowledge and acquaintance with the Greek and Latin literature, and equally beloved for the engaging qualifications of a sweet disposition and venerable behaviour. Laurentius Valla, who was himself a most excellent grammarian, had an entire friendship for him, and paid such a deference to his opinion and judgment, that he dedicated to him his books "De Latinâ Elegantiâ." He was universally commended for his grammatical exactness in writing, as well as for the perfection of his style. His Dictionary is divided into two parts; the first, which is very short, treats of the invention, number, figure, pronunciation,

ciation, and joining of the letters of the alphabet. The second, which is much longer, contains an alphabetical catalogue of Latin words, chiefly derived from the Greeks; of which (says Bayle) he teaches, or endeavours to teach, the orthography. This work was printed at Tarvis, 1477. Its second impression was at Vicenza 1480. It had three editions afterwards at Venice, in the years 1493, 1495, 1504; and another at Vicenza again 1508, &c. Besides this great undertaking, our author wrote several Epistles, which were published. He likewise translated the Life of Athanasius by order of Pope Eugenius, and turned Appian's History into Latin, *verbatim*. Vossius thinks it was he, who, under the title of Archpresbyter of Arezza, compiled the Memors of St. Zenobius.

With Tortellius, our Editors join Junianus Maius, a Neapolitan; not merely because they were contemporary, but as they had nearly the same taste and biass in their studies. He wrote, besides Epistles and some other things, "De priscorum Verborum Proprietate." Trithemius gives him a very advantageous character; he extols both his genius and his elocution; and celebrates his skill in philology, divinity, philosophy, and rhetorick. He was indefatigable in investigating and noting the peculiar force and significancy of certain words and phrases. His Dictionary, under the abovementioned title, was inscribed to Henry de Lunguard, an Archbishop, and Confessor to Ferdinand King of Naples. He tells that Prelate, in the Preface of it, "That he may in that book see what the antient and modern Grammarians have written of the power and virtue of words, in separate pieces, collected and digested into a regular method. He intimates as though the work were not originally begun by him, but that he had found a plan and part of a superstructure raised by some other hand, which, at a mighty expence of labour and contrivance, he had new-modelled and completed; retrenching what he saw superfluous in the first design,

sign, and enlarging it in other instances where he perceived it to be scanty and deficient: making considerable additions to it, not only from Laurentius Valla and Tortellius, but also from Servius, Donatus, Porphyrion, Acron (those approved Commentators on Horace, Terence, and Virgil); together with Macrobius, Aulus Gellius, Strabo, Nonius Marcellus &c. He complains of its being hastened out of his hands by some people's eagerness, before he could methodize it so accurately as he desired, or enrich it with that affluence of words which he intended to collect from Pliny, Vitruvius, Columella, Celsus, and Varro." There were four impressions of this book in folio; the first at Naples 1475. The two following ones at Tarvisa in 1477 and 1480. The last again at Naples, 1490.

After Maius follows Johannes Reuchlinus or Capnio, a German, born of honest and genteel parents, on the 28th of December 1454. He was exceedingly well versed in the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin tongues; and happily promoted the restoration of them in his own country. Erasmus styles him the Phœnix of those three languages. He was sent ambassador from the Palatine Court to Rome, where he closely attended the Hebrew Lectures of Abdias a Jew, and the Greek ones of Argyrophylus. This latter observing his eager thirst after the Grecian Literature, enquired whence he came, and being told he was of Germany, and not entirely ignorant of that Learning which he was a professor of, he desired him to read and interpret a paragraph or two of Thucydides; which when Reuchlin immediately did, pronouncing it aright, and translating it not only justly but elegantly, Argyropylus cried out in a kind of transport and amaze, "Our banishment has transported Greece over the Alpine mountains." This excellent person had the felicity to be loved by princes, and applauded by all the Literati: his talents for negotiating their most arduous affairs with expedition and success recommended him to the former, and the praises of the latter were a tribute he deserved

for

for his unwearied endeavours to promote their fame and interest.

He was the author of a Latin Dictionary, which some have highly commended; but, to speak impartially, as that tongue was not quite refined and reduced to its sterling purity at the time he compiled it, he admitted a great many foreign and even barbarous terms to creep in, that have much debased and undervalued it: for which reason, as well as because the succeeding age produced much better performances of the same kind, this has for a long while been of little or no value, and almost entirely forgotten: Reuchlin was but very young when it came out of his hands, and he presented it to the learned world as the *primitiæ* of his studies. Melchior Adam (in his Life) suggests as if he undertook it at the instance of the younger Amerbachs*, about the time of their setting-up for themselves: that is not improbable; there were none readier to excite or employ men of letters than those illustrious brothers. But our Editors think him mistaken in supposing it was first printed by them in folio at Basil; they are positive it was by their father, a man of incomparable learning and virtue†. There were prefixed to it some small grammatical and orthographical pieces, *viz.* a little tract of Guarinus Veronensis of the true writing of Diphthongs; a Dialogue on the Art of Pointing; a Discourse of Accent, &c.

* See Mr. De Missy's very curious Anecdote of Bruno and Basil Amerbach's Polyglott Psalter, in "The Origin of Printing," p. 126.

† Some perhaps will wonder at these epithets, who only reflect on their unsuitableness to the artists of our age and country, but these they are applied to here were really deserving of them. We must no more rate the Amerbachs right to these titles by that of Printers now, than we would judge of the rank and dignity of Raphael or Michael Angelo, of Leonard de Vinci, or Titian, by the merit and figure of the English Painters. *Sola nobilitat Virtus*, though generally a very improper motto, where it is most commonly placed, is yet true enough to make a maxim, and might very properly have been engraven on the monument of these learned and noble Typographers.

Indeed

Indeed the whole book is much in the same way and character with these Prolegomena. The Printer of it tells us in the Preface, "That all the terms relating to Divinity, and both Canon and Civil Law, are clearly explained in it: that great regard has been had to the orthography of them: that the diphthongs are rightly expressed; and the proper syllables duly accented." I do not find it had ever any more than one impression.

Nicolaus Perottus succeeds Reuchlin. He was of a noble family, and became Archbishop of Siponto. He was a person of extraordinary ingenuity and great reading; and not undeservedly accounted, after Tortellius, the chief restorer and support of the Roman tongue. He studied the Greek learning at Rome with indefatigable industry, under the munificent patronage of Cardinal Bessarion, a true Mæcenas of Literature. While he was a very young man he translated Polybius so elegantly into Latin, that the interpreters of that time never mentioned him but with the highest encomiums. It is true, there were some few who were emulous of his reputation, and endeavoured to diminish it; but their very detraction involved in it the most delicate compliment: they pretended, the Version he published was not his own, but a very antient one he had some-how surreptitiously obtained, and, concealing the true author, unjustly assumed to himself the honour of it: but how glorious to him was the ground of their defamation! It was no other than this: Thucydides, Diodorus Siculus, Plutarch, and Appian, had been severally translated by the most excellent modern hands, who had strove to surpass one another in their performances; but this of Polybius, it seems, so far transcended them all in purity of diction, in equality and sweetness of style, that it could not be the product of any inferior to the Augustan age. All the writers that take any notice of him have agreed in extolling his singular abilities in the Greek and Latin languages, the idioms of which he could so entirely transmute one

into

into another, that he erased all mark of their primitive character. The beauty of his Polybius likewise is universally acknowledged, but the fidelity of it is not so unquestionable: we must confess, he is accused by Casaubon and Huetius of taking very unjustifiable liberties with that writer, and deviating vastly from his original in a multitude of instances. Be that as it will; the world was highly obliged to him for his curious and useful collection of the purest and most genuine Latin. His large and elaborate Commentaries on Martial, which he intituled "Cornucopia," were of unspeakable service to young scholars, for whose benefit he wrote them: he has therein laid open the treasures of the Latin tongue; explained the nature and genius of it; shewn the peculiar signification of its words, and crowned all with so copious an index of them, that it might well serve for a Lexicon of that language, as it really did for a long while after.

Perottus entered upon this work at the importunate request of Pomponius Fortunatus; but having finished it he laid it by, nor would he allow it to be printed during his life, on account of the obscenity and filthiness of several passages of the Author he illustrated. But, having lent the manuscript to many who had requested the favour of consulting it, some ungrateful plagiary had stole its principal beauties, and decked a meaner offspring of his own with them, after the decease of their true parent. This obliged the friends of Perottus, who were concerned for the honour of his memory, to publish this posthumous piece, that the learned might no longer attribute to others what they were indebted only to him for.

Our Editors have not ascertained the date of the first edition of it: it was some time between 1482 and 1486, and not in 1470, as Du Cange supposed. In less than ten years, *viz.* 1492, it was printed again in folio at Venice. Its next impression was, by Aldus Manutius, in 1499. The year following there came forth an edition of it at Paris, printed by

by Gering and Rembolt. This was indeed a most beautiful one, and very carefully corrected by Joannes Pompeius Cornianus. But the noblest of all was that of Aldus, at Venice, 1513. This, besides the most diligent emendations, was enriched by the edition of Varro, Festus, and Nonius Marcellus; which last was in this edition of it exceedingly improved and enlarged by J. Jucundus, a man of infinite erudition, whom Scaliger respected as his master, and was used to style a library of all the antient and modern arts and sciences. After this the most learned Valentin. Curio published an accurate edition of our author and his associates, Varro, &c. at Basil, annis 1526 and 1532. Besides all these, the "Cornucopia" had several other impressions, *viz.* in 1504. At Paris, in 1506. In 1521 at Basil; and again in 1536. In short, all the Literati of that age admired and commended these Commentaries of the renowned Perotti.

The business of Lexicons was about this time indeed so mightily in vogue, that, as our Editors observe, some of the greatest rank and capacity in philology and criticism thought it no diminution of their dignity to employ themselves in amending, enriching, and embellishing the labours of others in that way; and this they did with a care and application equal to any they bestowed on the most valued authors of antiquity. Not one of the moderns had more respect paid him of this sort than our Perotti; first of all, by Ludovicus Odaxius; then by Polydore Vergil, who was at the pains of collating the first impression of the "Cornucopia" with an authentic copy in the Duke of Urbino's library, by which he minutely corrected all the errata of it: after him, as we have seen, the modeling, augmenting, and adorning it, was undertaken by no meaner hands than those of Cornianus, the most excellent Aldus, and that rich treasury of knowledge Valentinus Curio. It would be superfluous to add here the testimonies of Gesner, Ludovicus Vives, Trithemius, and others, in honour of this noble work: Paulus

Jovius

Jovius supposed its intrinsic merit and serviceableness would render it immortal; and our Editors remark he judged rightly, as it has been taken into the composition of every subsequent Dictionary.

After this exalted character of Perotti, it is some displeasure to descend to that of Calepin, who follows him in the list of Lexicographers. Ambrosius Calepinus was a native of Calepio near Bergamo, and of the order of Augustin Friars. He lived to a great age, and died at Bergamo, anno 1510, where some say he was born, and where he lies buried in the Augustin Church, without any monument to distinguish him. He left the world no legacy but his Dictionary; which has, indeed, more by good fortune than any merit, sufficiently aggrandized his memory. Erasmus, Ludovicus Vives, Borrichius, Scioppius, Hieronimus Magius, and other very competent judges, all concur with our Editors in speaking very contemptibly of him. They represent him as not ashamed of transcribing from Perotti what Perotti was ashamed to publish; as incapable of supplying the deficiencies of those authors, whose labours he only injudiciously heaped together; as a person altogether ignorant of Greek, and scarce tinctured with human learning. They characterise his Dictionary as meanly, and load it with the most disgraceful epithets. It is jejune and sterile; barbarous and fulsome; dry, inaccurate, and throughout erroneous: and, after all the amendments and improvements of better hands than the first compiler's, it remains an insipid performance, and worse than any that preceded it.

But, after all this accumulation of disgrace, our ingenious Editor has picked up a single testimony in Calepin's favour; but seems to wonder how it could drop from the pen of the celebrated Jacobus Philippus, after he had read that Writer's Dedication of his Dictionary to the Senate and People of Bergamo, and his Poetical Address to the Work itself, at the beginning of it. Philippus says of him; "that he was of a sweet disposition and behaviour."

haviour." And as for his book, he calls it "a great and valuable collection of the lucubrations of innumerable learned men, gathered with prodigious labour and industry, and sorted with the nicest accuracy and judgment." He is pleased likewise to style the Epistle the author prefixed to it, a very learned and elegant thing. Perhaps Philippus would have passed a less favourable judgment on Calepin's performance, if he had not been his countryman; of the same age and order with himself; and at the same time his most dear and intimate companion.

It is surprizing that a work so mean and despicable should surmount such an universal contempt, pass through such a number of editions, and employ the pains of so many learned men to revise, enlarge, and adorn it, as this of Calepin did. It grew under every posthumous impression; and such vast additions were made to it by a variety of hands, after the author's decease, that, though it still retained his name, it soon became a quite different thing from what he left it. There were but two editions of it in his life-time. The first was at Reggio in Lombardy, in 1502, in folio, upon a very fine letter. It is become extremely scarce. Our Editors have seen it (which is what few can boast of), and have inserted in their Preface the "Allocutio ad Librum" which is prefixed to it, and which does not appear in any of the following editions. As that has nothing but its rarity to recommend it, I chuse to omit it here; and observe, that the pages in this first edition were not numbered, but we know they amounted to fifty-five signatures, of four sheets each. The second edition was printed at Venice in 1509, by Liechtenstein: neither Gesner, nor the diligent and inquisitive Borrichius, who saw this, had ever light upon the former one. Our Editors have set down the dates of eighteen editions more that this Dictionary has passed through since the death of Calepin; and suppose several others might be discovered, if it were worth an enquiry.

Amongst

Amongst the many contributors to the fame, as much as to the materials of this Lexicon, one of the most eminent was Johannes Passeratius, Regius Professor in the University of Paris. Our Editors have collected a great many encomiums on him, celebrating the politeness of his genius, the purity of his style, and the elegance of his writings: the most accomplished wits of his own time were even ambitious of praising him; always excepting the ill-natured Scaliger, who treats him opprobriously. He was certainly a man of the justest taste, and of a nice discernment, but too difficult to please, very seldom approving the works of others. He was so delicate in this respect, that he could not bear the apprehension of his bones being loaded (as he termed it) even after his death, with inelegant epitaphs and eulogiums. This sentiment is finely expressed in the following one, composed by himself upon the very brink of the grave, and designed, as I suppose, to be inscribed on his sepulchre:

"Hic situs in parvâ Janus Passertius urnâ
Ausonii Doctor Regius eloquii;
Discipuli memores tumulo date serta magistri,
Ut vario florum munere vernet humus.
Hoc culta officio mea molliter ossa quiescent,
Sint modo carminibus non onerata malis."

He died at Paris, 1602, in the sixty-eighth year of his age, and was buried in the church of the Dominicans, under a monument erected to his memory by Jo. Jac. Memmius, who styles him his dearest preceptor. This was probably some near relation of the most noble Henricus Memmius, who had been always Passeratius's bountiful patron, and at whose recommendation he was promoted to be Regius Professor of Eloquence in the University of Paris. Our Editors have quoted the inscription on his tomb, but are not entirely satisfied with the style of it. His death was universally lamented; the Literati covered his hearse with their panegyricks: the truth is, in that age they were very liberal

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of them; they spoke of nobody indifferently; if they did not utterly degrade a man, they were sure to extol him above measure; there was rather too much of the Gascon in their compliments. "Our Passeratius was no less than the last of the Roman writers; the chief of all the grammarians and rhetoricians of his age; the principal pillar of the Parisian academy; the glory of polite learning; the Phœnix of Eloquence, and another Varro." The additions to Calepin's Dictionary generally ascribed to him were so superficial and indigested, so unworthy of, and unsuitable to, the account here given of his great abilities and erudition, that our Editors most readily assent to the opinion of very competent judges, that he had really no hand in that Lexicon at all; and that the imputing a share of it to him was only a trick and knavish device of the booksellers, who had the copy-right, to enhance the reputation of their book, and promote the sale of it. This memorable writer, however, left several genuine pieces behind him that justify his character. There are some beautiful poems of his extant in the third tome of the "Delitiæ Gallicæ;" but his most valuable work is a Treatise "of the Exchange and Affinity of Letters," printed at Paris 1606, in 8vo.

Our learned Editors observe very justly, that it would be endless to write particularly of all Calepin's benefactors: of Jac. Montanus, Paul Manutius, Laur. Chiffletius, Lud. de la Cerda, Conrad Gesnerus, Budæus, Ascensius, &c. all which were one way or other concerned in new-moulding or enlarging his Dictionary; for what we have now under that name is a great superstructure raised indeed by their hands, in which he had very little concern besides that of laying the foundation. But though they excuse themselves the task of pointing out these gentlemen's merit, they have allowed Gesner the liberty of setting forth his own, and commending himself. And he tells us, "that he had corrected the impression of Calepin set forth at Basil in 1544, in

innumerable places: that he had transplanted into it the four thousand words, which the last Venetian edition had been enriched with from the most approved authors: and which had been reckoned the chief ornaments of it; and had taken a peculiar care of what related to the Prosody; revising the whole for that purpose, and nicely distinguishing the quantities of the syllables in all the principal terms. That he had selected the proper names, which till then had been promiscuously dispersed throughout the work, and ranged them in a separate alphabet; adding to them as many others as he could find in the latest poetical dictionaries."

The next Lexicographer in order is Marius Nizolius, author of "Thesaurum Ciceronianum; or, Observations on Cicero, alphabetically digested, wherein the true Rules of the Latin Tongue are delivered, and the several Ways of distinguishing and diversifying the words of it clearly demonstrated by Examples drawn from the Writings of that famous Orator." Printed at Basil, 1530; afterwards at Venice, 1535, folio; and again there, 1541; with the addition of several words collected from Cicero after Nizolius by Zanchius. Hervagius published it again in 1548, with very great improvements by Cælius Secundus Curio; and a second time at Frankfort 1568. It had after these so many editions, that it would be tiresome to enumerate them. Our Editors have marked that of Lyons, 1608, folio, and that of Geneva, 1612, 4to, as the most correct and copious. At length this work, which at first sprung from Cicero alone, and was confined to him only, became more universal, and grew up to be in all respects a complete Lexicon. The finishing hand was set to it by M. Ludovicus Lucius, Professor in the University of Basil, who, in 1613, published it there in two volumes in folio, under the title of "Latinæ Linguæ Thesaurum bipartitum, &c. or, a Treatise of the Latin Tongue, in two Parts: the first consisting of Nizolius's Collections from Cicero only; the second, extracted from several other

other Authors, containing and copiously explaining the Terms made use of by the most approved Orators, Historians, Lawyers, Physicians, and Poets; with Rules for expressing them grammatically." Much of this latter part was undoubtedly borrowed from Stephens.

To return to Nizolius; our Editors observe, that, whether through his own modesty or ill-fortune, it happens that we have hardly any memoirs of him, and that very few particulars relating to him have been handed down to posterity. It appears indeed that he was happy in the friendship of some very considerable persons, whose bounty relieved the domestic poverty he seems by his own expressions to have laboured under.

Our Editors take notice of a book of his, "De veris Principiis et verâ Ratione Philosophandi, &c. printed at Parma, 1553." He likewise translated Galen's "Explanation of the obsolete Words in Hippocrates," which was published with the Works of Galen 1550. The "Thesaurum Ciceronianum" was his master-piece; but even that is now in no esteem with the Learned, who think it never was answerable to the time and pains he professes to have expended in the composing of it.

The last of all those that precede the immortal Stephens in the rank of Lexicographers is Basilius Zanchius of Bergamo. He has a title to this character, both as he contributed to Nizolius's Observations on Cicero, and as he added a great collection of words to Calepin, gathered from some of the best and purest authors. He was a canon of the order of Lateran, and resided for almost the whole of his life at Rome, beloved and honoured by the Literati of that city, which at that time were more than ordinarily numerous and eminent. He wrote "Observations on all the Books of Scripture," which were printed in 8vo at Cologn 1602; and "Questions on the four Books of Kings, and two of Chronicles," which he extracted chiefly from the works of Theodoret: likewise a "Treasury of

Latin Epithets," and some sacred Poems very much esteemed, especially the "Hortus Sophiæ," in heroic verse, inscribed to Cardinal Bembo. He was made Keeper of the Vatican Library; filled that post with dignity and applause; and died at Rome in 1560*.

The name of STEPHENS is greatly reverenced in the Republick of Letters, and with good reason; since to this family it is indebted for the most correct and beautiful impressions of the best Authors, the antient Greek ones particularly.

HENRY STEPHENS, the first distinguished person of his name, was a Frenchman, and one of the best printers of his time. He died in 1520, and left three sons behind him, who carried the art of printing to perfection; and were, two of them at least, very extraordinary men, exclusively of their professional merit.

ROBERT, his second son, was born at Paris in 1503; and applied so severely to letters in his youth, that he acquired a perfect knowledge in the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew tongues. His father dying, as we have said, in 1520, his mother was married the year after to Simon de Colines, in Latin Colinæus; who by this means came into the possession of Henry Stephens's printing-house, carried on the business till his death, in 1547, and is well known for the neatness and beauty of his Italic character. In 1522, when he was nineteen years of age, he was charged with the management of his father-in-law's press; and the same year came out, under his inspection, a New Testament in Latin, which gave such offence to the Paris Divines, that they threatened to have it burned, and him banished. He appears to have married, and to have set-up for himself, soon after; for there are books of his printing dated so early as 1526. He married Perrete, the daughter of Badius, a printer;

* Republick of Letters, vol. XVI. pp. 14—31.

who

who was a learned woman, and undertood Latin well. She had, indeed, more occasion for this accomplishment than wives usually have: for Robert Stephens had always in his house ten or twelve correctors of his press, who, being learned men of different nations, spoke nothing but Latin; from whence there was a necessity that his domestics should know something of the language. He resolved from the beginning to print nothing but good books: he only used the Roman characters at first, but afterwards employed the Italic. His mark was a tree branched, and a man looking upon it, with these words, *noli altum sapere*, to which he sometimes added *sed time*. In some of his first editions, he did not use figures and catch-words, as thinking them of little importance. In 1539, Francis I. named him his printer; and ordered a new set of letters to be founded, and antient manuscripts to be sought after, for him. The aversion which the Doctors of the Sorbonne had conceived against him, on account of the Latin New Testament in 1522, revived in 1532, when he printed his great Latin Bible: Francis protected him: but this king dying in 1547, he saw plainly that there was no more good to be done at Paris; and therefore, after sustaining the efforts of his enemies till 1552, he withdrew from thence to Geneva. It has been pretended by some that Robert Stephens carried with him not only the types of the royal press, but also the matrices, or moulds, those types were cast in: but this cannot be true, not only because no mention was made of any such thing for above sixty years after, but because none of the Stephens's afterwards ever used these types: and if Robert was burned in effigy at Paris, as Beza in his Icones relates, it was not for this, but for his embracing Calvinism at Geneva, of which he was suspected before he left Paris. He lived in intimacy at Geneva with Calvin, Beza, Rivet, and others, whose works he printed, and died there Sept. 7, 1559. This eminent artist was so exact and solicitous after perfection, that, in a noble

a noble contempt of gain, he used to expose his proofs to public view, with offer of a reward to those who should discover any faults; so that it is no wonder his impressions should be as correct as beautiful. He was, like the rest of his family, not only a printer, but a writer; his "Thesaurus Linguæ Latinæ" is a work of immense learning, as well as labour; and he published also in 1552, when he went to Geneva, a Latin piece, in answer to the Paris Divines, who had abused his Latin editions of the Old and New Testament, which shews his parts as well as learning. He left his substance, which was very considerable, to such of his children as should come to Geneva, exclusively of the rest. He had a daughter who understood Latin well, which she had learned by hearing it talked in her father's family; and three sons, Henry, Robert, and Francis. But, before we take any notice of these, we must say a word or two of his brothers, Francis and Charles.

Francis, older than himself, we know no more of, than that he worked jointly with his father-in-law Colinæus, after Robert had left him; and that he died at Paris about the year 1550. Charles, his younger brother, though more considerable than Francis, was yet inferior to himself both as a printer and a scholar; nevertheless, Charles wrote and printed many useful and valuable works. He was born about the year 1504, and became so perfectly skilled in Greek and Latin literature, that Lazarus de Baif took him for preceptor to his son Anthony, and afterwards carried him with him into Germany. He studied physic, and took a doctor's degree at Paris; but this did not hinder him from following the profession of his father, and being printer to the king. In the mean time, he was more of an author than a printer; having written upwards of thirty works upon various subjects. He died at Paris in 1564, leaving behind him a very learned daughter.

HENRY,

HENRY, ROBERT, and FRANCIS, the sons of Robert, make the third generation of the Stephens's, and were all printers. It is necessary to be somewhat particular about HENRY. He was born at Paris in 1528; and, being most carefully educated by his father, became the most learned of all his learned family. He was particularly skilled in the Greek language, which he conceived a fondness for from his infancy, studied afterwards under Turnebus and the best masters, and became at length so perfect in, as to pass for the best Grecian in Europe, after the death of Budæus. He had also a strong passion for poetry, while he was yet a child, which he cultivated all his life, and gave in his tenderest years so many proofs of uncommon abilities, that he has always been ranked among the *celebres enfans*. He had a violent propensity to astrology in the younger part of his life, and procured a master in that way; but soon perceived the vanity of it, and laid it aside. It seems to have been about the year 1546, when his father took him into business: yet, before he could think of fixing, he resolved to travel into foreign countries, to examine libraries, and to connect himself with learned men. He went into Italy in 1547, and staid there two years; and returned to Paris in 1549, when he subjoined some Greek verses, made in his youth, to a folio edition of the New Testament in Greek, which his father had just finished. In 1550, he went over to England; and in 1551 to Flanders, where he learned the Spanish tongue of the Spaniards, who then possessed those countries, as he had before learned the Italian in Italy. On his return to Paris, he found his father preparing to leave France: we do not know whether he accompanied him to Geneva; but, if he did, it is certain that he returned immediately after to Paris, and set up a printing-house. In 1554, he went to Rome, visiting his father at Geneva as he went, and the year after to Naples; and returned to Paris, by the way of Venice, in 1556. This was upon business committed to him by the go-

government. Then he sat down to printing in good earnest, and never left off till he had given the world the most beautiful and correct editions of all the antient Greek and other valuable writers. He called himself at first printer of Paris; but, in 1558, took the title of printer to Ulric Fugger, a very rich German, who allowed him a considerable pension. He was at Geneva in 1558, to see his father, who died the year after; and he married in 1560. Henry III. of France was very fond of Stephens, sent him to Switzerland in search of manuscripts, and gave him a pension. He took him to court, and made him great promises: but the troubles, which accompanied the latter part of this king's reign, not only occasioned Stephens to be disappointed, but made his situation in France so dangerous, that he thought it but prudent to remove, as his father had done before him, to Geneva. Notwithstanding all his excellent labours, and the infinite obligations due to him from the publick, he is said to have become poor in his old age; the cause of which is thus related by several authors. Stephens had been at vast expence, as well as labour, in compiling and printing his "Thesaurus Linguæ Græcæ:" so much, in short, that, without proper reimbursements from the publick, he and his family must be inevitably ruined. These reimbursements, however, were never made; for his servant, John Scapula, extracted from this treasure, what he thought would be most necessary, and of greatest use, to the generality of students, and published a Lexicon in 4to, under his own name, which has since been enlarged and printed often in folio. By this act of treachery he destroyed the sale, though he could not destroy the credit of the Thesaurus; and, though he ruined his master, left him the glory of a work, which was then pronounced by Scaliger, and has ever been judged by all learned men, most excellent. He died in 1598, leaving a son PAUL and two daughters; one of which, named FLORENCE, had espoused the learned Isaac Casaubon in April 1586. He was

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the most learned printer that had then been, or perhaps ever will be: all his Greek authors are most correctly printed; and the Latin versions which he gave to some of them are, as Casaubon and Huetius have said, very faithful. The chief authors of antiquity printed by him are Anacreon, Æschylus, Maximus Tyrius, Diodorus Siculus, Pindar, Xenophon, Thucydides, Herodotus, Sophocles, Diogenes Laertius, Plutarch, Plato, Apollonius Rhodius, Æschines, Lysias, Callimachus, Theocritus, Herodian, Dionysius Halicarnassensis, Dion. Cassius, Isocrates, Appian, Xiphilin, &c. He did not meddle so much with Latin authors, although he printed some of them; as Horace and Virgil, which he illustrated with notes and a commentary of his own; Tully's Familiar Epistles, and the Epistles and Panegyric of the younger Pliny. But he was not content with printing the works of others: he wrote also a great many things himself. His "Thesaurus Græcæ Linguæ" has been already mentioned: another piece, which made him very famous, was his "Introduction à l'Apologie pour Herodote." This ran through many editions, and is a very severe satire upon popery and its professors.

Paul Stephens, the son of Henry, though inferior to his father, was yet well skilled in the Greek and Latin tongues. His father was more solicitous about his being instructed in these, than in the art of printing. He carried on the business of a printer for some time at Geneva; but his press had greatly degenerated from the beauty of that at Paris, and he afterwards sold his types to Chouet, a printer. He died at Geneva in 1627, aged 60, leaving a son Anthony, who was the last printer of the Stephens's.

Anthony, quitting the religion of his father for that of his ancestors, quitted also Geneva, and returned to Paris, the place of their original. Here he was some time printer to the king; but, managing his affairs ill, he was obliged to give all up, and

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to have recourse to an hospital, where he died in extreme misery and blindness in 1674, aged eighty years. Such was the end of the illustrious family of STEPHENS, after it had flourished for five generations; and had done great honour to itself, by doing incredible service to the Republick of Letters.

Three editions of the Thesaurus were published by Robert Stephens; in 1531, 1536, and 1543. Two others were undertaken whilst he was living: one of them in 1545 by Theodosius Trebellius, intituled, "Promptuarium Linguæ Latinæ;" another in 1551 by Marius Nizolius; and a third, increased in bulk but not in value, by Philip Tinghyus, a native of Florence, in four volumes, Lugd. Bat. 1573. The "Commentarii Latinæ Linguæ," by Stephen Doletus, an able French printer, 2 volumes in 4to, which are founded on the Thesaurus, was published in 1545.

Cælius Secundus Curio, an Italian, born in 1503, being persecuted for his religious sentiments, was driven to Basil, where he settled, was for more than two-and-twenty years a very celebrated orator, and died in 1569. He employed himself for a considerable time in correcting a work which came out in 1576, long after his death, under the title of "Thesaurus Linguæ Latinæ, sive Forum Romanum," in three volumes, folio.

Marcus Frid. Windelinus, published a "Medulla Latinitatis."

John Fungerus Frisius compiled a "Dictionarium Latino-Germanicum," which has passed through two or more editions.

M. Martinius, J. Norwegus Hessus, and John Gerard Vossius, are all commended by the editors of Robert Stephens, for their skill in etymology.

Robert Constantinus and Josephus Laurentius are also mentioned in very high terms, for their abilities in explaining the *Voces abstrusiores;* and G. Matthias Kœnigius, for having collected, in his "Gazo-

"Gazophylacium Latinitatis," a great number of words which were to be met with in no preceding collection. Peter Dasypodius was compiler of a Dictionary in common use in Germany; Morell, Gaudinus, and Petrus Danetus, were the Lexicographers of France: those of our own country, the following summary by Mr. Ainsworth will faithfully explain.

"Promptorium parvulorum sive clericorum," printed by Richard Pynson in the year MCCCCXCIX, in folio, is the first book of this sort I have ever met with. This consisteth only of one part, which exhibiteth the English words before the Latin, being destitute both of the Latin and historical parts. But these defects were in part supplied by

"Ortus vocabulorum, alphabetico ordine ferè omnia, quæ in Catholico, Breviloquio, Cornucopia, Gemmâ Vocabulorum, atque Medullâ Grammaticæ ponuntur, cum Vernaculæ Linguæ Anglicanæ expositione, continens," printed by Wynkyn de Worde in the year MDXXVI, in quarto. This is compiled in two distinct alphabetical parts, in the former of which the Latin words are placed before their explications in English, in the latter the English words are put before the Latin. The declensions and genders of Latin nouns, as well as the conjugations and preterperfect tenses of the verbs, are set down very particularly, both in the Dictionary before mentioned, and in the English part of this work.

The "Vulgaria Roberti Whitintoni Lichfeldiensis" printed in MDXXV, "Vulgaria Stanbrigi" in MDXXIX, and "Vocabula Magistri Stanbrigii" in MDXXXI, scarcely deserve to be mentioned in this place, being rather a sort of Vocabularies than Dictionaries of the Latin and English tongues.

Thomas Elyot also obliged our countrymen with the publication of a Latin and English Dictionary, printed at London in the year MDXLII, in folio, with the title of "Bibliothecæ Eliotæ," which seems to be much more copious than any of the former.

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This author was born of a knightly family in Suffolk, received part of his education at Oxford, then travelled beyond the seas, and on his return was introduced at Court. King Henry VIII. finding him to be a person of good parts, conferred the honour of knighthood upon him, and employed him in certain embassies beyond the seas, particularly to Rome about the divorce of Queen Katharine, and afterwards to the Emperor Charles V. during which last his great friend and crony Sir Thomas More was beheaded. He died in March MDXLVI, and was buried at Carleton in the county of Cambridge. But the Editors of the late edition of Stephens's Latin Thesaurus, for what reason I know not, say that Elyot was *primus qui has literas inter nos professus est.* Præf. p. 20.

Thomas Cooper, being sensible of several defects in the Dictionary published by Sir Thomas Elyot, took no small pains in improving it; for, besides giving a much fuller account of the different senses of the Latin words, "he added 33,000 words and phrases: the materials, for the most part, being taken from Robert Stephens's Thesaurus, and John Frisius's Latin and German Dictionary," saith Anthony Wood in the second edition of his "Athenæ Oxonienses" in MDCCXXI. This work passed through several editions; the first was at London in MDLII, which still retained the name of Elyot; but it was afterwards reprinted with large improvements in MDLXV, with the title of "Thesaurus Linguæ Romanæ et Britannicæ," &c. and again in MDLXXVIII, as also in MDLXXXIV, which last is esteemed the best. It may not be amiss to observe, that both Elyot's and Cooper's Dictionaries want the English part proper to assist younger scholars in translating English into Latin, though they have the historical and poetical part. This reverend author was born at Oxford, and afterwards elected into a fellowship of Magdalen College there. Queen Elizabeth had so great an esteem for him, on account of the service he had done to learning by the publication of this

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useful work, that she promoted him to the deanry of Gloucester in MDLXIX; to the bishoprick of Lincoln in MDLXX; and to that of Winchester in MDLXXXIV, where he ended his days 29 April MDXCIV.

Barret's "Alvearie," or quadruple Dictionary in English, Latin, Greek, and French, was printed at London in the year MDLXXX, in folio. The author of this work having been employed several years in the instruction of youth, and observing the Latin Dictionaries of his times to be very defective in giving proper assistance to younger students, chiefly for translating English into Latin, made a large collection both of words and phrases out of the classic authors to supply their defects in this particular, with a design to publish them to the world; but, being prevented by death, this work was afterwards published by a friend of the Author. As this hath gone through but one impression, so far as I can find, I need say no more of it, than that it seemeth to be a valuable performance for those times.

Thomas Thomasius, who was for some years printer to the University of Cambridge, and died 9 Aug. MDLXXXV, published also a Latin and English Dictionary, in quarto; which met with so favourable a reception, that it "underwent five impressions in the space of eight years, and bore in all fourteen impressions," say the editors of the last edition of Stephens's Thesaurus. I have not been able to procure a sight of the first edition of Thomasius, and therefore can neither determine the precise time of its first appearance in the world, nor ascertain the number of its parts when first published; but that some distinct parts were added to the following editions, will evidently appear by a recital of part of the title to the tenth edition thereof in MDCXV, printed by Legat, who succeeded him as printer to the said University; "Huic etiam (præter Dictionarium historicum et poeticum, ad prophanas historias poëtarumque fabulas intelligendas valdè

valdè necessarium) novissimè accessit utilissimus de ponderum, mensurarum, et monetarum veterum reductione ad ea quæ sunt Anglis jam in usu, tractatus. Decima editio superioribus, cum Græcarum dictionum, tum earundem primitivorum adjectione, multò auctior. Cui demum adjectum est supplementum, authore Ph. Hollando, med. doctore, nova aliquot dictionum millia complectens; unà cum novo Anglo-Latino dictionario." Hence we may observe, that how imperfect soever the former editions of this book were, yet this consisted of the three chief parts, into which most of the Latin and English dictionaries published since that time have been divided.

Philemon Holland, who made the said Supplement to Thomasius's Dictionary, was born at Chelmsford towards the latter end of the reign of King Edward VI.; educated in Trinity College, Cambridge; was afterwards, for about twenty years, master of the free-school at Coventry, after that practised physick in the same county, and departed this life 9 Feb. MDCXXXVI. This supplement is printed distinctly from the other parts of that book, and called Paralipomena, as containing such Latin words as the Doctor had gleaned from classic and other Latin authors, and were omitted by Thomasius.

John Rider, born at Carrington in Cheshire, educated in Jesus College Oxford, for some time minister of St. Magdalen Bermondsey in Southwark, then rector of Winwick in Lancashire, and promoted to the bishoprick of Killaloe in Ireland in the year MDCXII, where he continued to his death, which was in MDCXXXII, published a Dictionary, English and Latin, and Latin and English, at Oxford, in MDLXXXIX, in a large thick quarto. This, saith A. Wood, "was the first Dictionary that had the English before the Latin, epitomizing the learnedest and choicest Dictinaries that were then extant, and was beheld as the best that was then in use; but that part of it which had the Latin before the English was swallowed up by the greater attempts of Francis Holy-

Holyoake." But that Mr. Wood was mistaken in this case, if he means that Rider's Dictionary was the first which consists of an English and Latin part, as well of the Latin and English, plainly appeareth by what is said before in my account of the Promptorium, as well as of the "Ortus Vocabulorum," though, so far as I can find, Rider's was the first Latin Dictionary in which the English part was placed at the beginning of the book before the Latin part.

Francis Holyoake, who was born at Nether Whitacre in Warwickshire, educated at Queen's College at Oxford, afterwards kept a school in his own country, and was made rector of Southam there in MDCIV, took considerable pains in revising, correcting, and augmenting what Rider had published, especially with regard to the etymological part: this was first printed at London in MDCVI, in quarto, and was afterwards reprinted several times with enlargements. He died 12 Nov. MDCXXXII.

Thomas Holyoake, his son, who was born at Stony Thorp, near Southam before mentioned, educated in Queen's College Oxford, was rector of Whitnash in Warwickshire, and prebendary of the collegiate church of Wolverhampton in Staffordshire, made very large additions to the Dictionary published by his father, with a design to print them in a new edition; but dying 10 June MDCLXXV, the same was published by his son Charles, of the Inner Temple, London, in a large and well-printed folio, in MDCLXXVII.

Nicholas Grey likewise made some additions to Rider, which were several times printed at London, saith A. Wood; but the same author owneth himself at a loss as to the time of its first publication, and adds, "that a second or third edition of Holyoake's coming out prevented, as it is said, the farther publication of it." This gentleman was born in London, elected student of Christ Church, Oxford, from Westminster School, in the year MDCVI, and was afterwards the first master of the Charterhouse School in London; but, after some years, marrying,

marrying, against the statutes of that house, the governors thereof discharged him from that employment, by presenting him to the benefice of Castle Camps in Cambridgeshire. In January MDCXXIV he was admitted chief master of Merchant Taylors School in London, and in MDCXXXI chief master of Eton, out of which he was expelled in the time of the Civil Wars; but, being restored on the return of King Charles II. he died at Eton towards the close of the year MDCLX, and was buried in the Chapel there.

Christopher Wase, fellow of King's College in Cambridge, and afterwards superior beadle of law in Oxford, published likewise a Latin Dictionary, the second edition of which was printed in MDCLXXV. This is a compendium of Calepine; but "done with so much judgment," saith Dr. Littleton in his Latin Preface to his Dictionary, "that one can hardly find any thing in it which savoureth of barbarism." However, it seemeth to be rather designed for the use of those who have made some proficiency in the Latin tongue, than for such as are only beginning to learn that language.

Francis Gouldman, who was educated in Christ's College in Cambridge, was for some time rector of South Okendon in Essex, and died in MDCLXXXIX, published also a Latin Dictionary in quarto, in MDCLXIV, which was afterwards reprinted several times, and the Cambridge edition in MDCLXXIV much enlarged by William Robertson*. But Gouldman's design, according to the account of Dr. Littleton, his successor in this sort of learning, was "rather to make new editions than to correct the former mistakes," or to throw out the many barbarous Latin words which had crept into the dictionaries then extant. For this reason,

Dr. Adam Littleton undertook to reform it; whose "greatest aim," as he tells the English reader in his

* It was still farther enlarged, in 1678, by Dr. Scattergood. *J. N.*

Preface,

Preface, "was to carry the purity of the Latin tongue throughout, and not to take things or words upon trust, so as to transcribe others mistakes." This was first published in quarto in London in MDCLXXVIII, and hath met with such a general approbation, that the sixth edition thereof was published but a few months ago. He was a minister's son, of an antient and genteel family at Westcot in Worcestershire, elected student of Christ Church in Oxford in MDCXLVII, was some time an usher in Westminster School, and in MDCLVIII became second master of the same. After the Restoration he was chaplain to King Charles II. rector of Chelsea, and subdean of Westminster. He died in the beginning of July MDCXCIV, and was buried in Chelsea church *.

The Cambridge Dictionary in quarto, printed in MDCXCIII, with the title of "Linguæ Romanæ Dictionarium luculentum novum," is an improvement of Littleton, made by several persons whose names have been concealed from public knowledge. What plan the editors of this have proceeded upon may be learnt by their own preface; in which, after a grateful acknowledgment of the great assistance they had by the extraordinary pains of the reverend and learned Dr. Littleton as to the English Latin part, they principally set forth, that they have inserted several whole classes of words, which had been either omitted before, or were very lately introduced into our language; and that they have been more exact, more distinct and full, in noting the various significations of verbs and nouns; that in the Latin *classic* they began their collection by a careful perusal of several authors, as Lucretius, Terence, Cæsar, Phædrus, Gratian, Petronius, &c. some of whom, they observed, had scarce been named, or if sometimes quoted, often so very little, and sometimes to very bad purposes, in dictionaries of the same volume with theirs; that the second

* See also an account of Dr. Littleton in vol. II. p. 58.

edition of Robert Stephens's Latin Thesaurus lay always before them, and was constantly consulted by them; that they likewise used a manuscript collection in three large folios, digested into an alphabetical order, made by Mr. John Milton out of all the best and purest Roman authors; and farther, that the complete *indices* generally annexed to the Dauphin editions of most of the Roman writers had been very serviceable to them; that they had retrenched many far-fetched *etymons* in former Dictionaries, had given a larger account of the construction of verbs, had rejected all words and phrases, whose authors were either not to be found, or, when found, appeared in so barbarous and uncouth a dress as made them very unfit company for Tully, Cæsar, &c. And, finally, had distinguished the poetical Latin words by a flower † placed before them. Thus far they. Those who are desirous to have a more particular account of the difference between this Dictionary and that published by Dr. Littleton, as to the English and Latin part, may satisfy their curiosity by the comparison of a few sheets of each; but it is very manifest that these editors have made very large and useful improvements in the letters L, M, N, O, and P, in the Latin classical part, and augmented or corrected what had been done by Littleton (though neither in so large nor careful a manner as under the aforesaid letters) in most of the other parts of the work. The improvements made under the aforesaid letters, as also a large part of their title, as well as the preface, have been inserted in the several editions of Littleton (except the last, which hath a new preface, and hath been otherwise somewhat altered) printed since the publication of this work at Cambridge; but the other parts of Littleton in general remain as they were when first published *.

* See in Mr. Bowyer's Miscellaneous Tracts, 4to, p. 126, "An Essay on the different Ages relating to the Purity of the Latin Tongue."

Elisha

Elisha Coles published also a Latin and English dictionary in the year MDCLXXVII, designed chiefly for the use of scholars of a lower class. He hath indeed considerably enlarged the English Latin part, which containeth many more English words and phrases than any Latin Dictionary published before his time. But not a few of those words are now intirely obsolete, many of them interpreted in a wrong sense, and worse translated into Latin. And the Latin-English part is very defective, both with regard to the several senses of the Latin words, and the citation of the Roman writers proper to fix their authority. This work, however, being not half the price of Dr. Littleton's, hath gone through twelve impressions; the first whereof was printed in a small quarto, and all the following in octavo. The author of this work was born in Northamptonshire, entered into Magdalen college in Oxford in the year MDCLVIII, taught the languages to foreigners in the parish of Covent Garden in London, and was afterwards for some time an usher in Merchant Taylors School: after which, on some default, being obliged to quit that employment, he went into Ireland, where he continued till his death; but of the precise time thereof I have not been able to get any certain information. R. AINSWORTH *."

* Of this learned Lexicographer some memoirs will be found in a future page.

No. IX.

THE WESLEYS.

(Vol. II. p. 31.)

The elder SAMUEL WESLEY, whose labours on Job gave occasion to this memoir, was born at Winterborn Whitchurch in Dorsetshire, where his father (John Wesley) was vicar. He was educated, first at the free-school at Dorchester, and then in a private academy among the Dissenters, whom he soon left; and was admitted a servitor, at the age of 18, of Exeter college, Oxford, 1684. He proceeded B.A. 1688; and, taking orders, was rector of South Ormesby, co. Lincoln; and afterwards obtained the rectory of Epworth, in the Isle of Axholme, in the same county. He was chaplain also to the Marquis of Normanby, afterwards Duke of Buckingham, who recommended him for an Irish Bishoprick.

John Dunton, who was nearly related to Mr. Wesley by marriage, and who in other parts of his multifarious writings enters deeply into their family squabbles, gives him the following character:

"Mr. Wesley had an early inclination to poetry; but he usually writ too fast to write well. Two hundred couplets a day are too many by two-thirds, to be well-furnished with all the beauties and the graces of that art. He writ very much for me both in verse and prose, though I shall not name over the titles, in regard I am altogether as unwilling to see my name at the bottom of them, as Mr. Wesley would be to subscribe his own. Mr. Wesley had read much, and is well-skilled in the languages. He is generous and good-humoured, and caresses his friend with a great deal of passion, so long as his circumstances are any thing in order, and then he drops him; and I challenge the rector of Epworth

worth (for he is not yet *my Lord*, nor *his Grace*) to prove I injure him in this character; for that he was once glad of my friendship, none can question that reads the following letter (of which I have the original still by me):

'DEAR BROTHER, Epworth, July the 24th, 97.

"IT has been neither unkindness to you, with whom I have traded and been justly used for many years, much less unthankfulness to Mr. Rogers, for I shall own my obligations to that good man while I live, which has made me so long neglect answering your several letters; but the hurry of a remove, and my extraordinary business, being obliged to preach the Visitation Sermon at Gainsborough at the Bishop's coming thither, which is but just over.—Besides, I would fain have sent you an *Elegy*, as well as an *Epitaph*, but cannot get one to my mind, and therefore you must be content with half your desire; and if you please to accept this epitaph it is at your service, and I hope it will come before you need another *Epithalamium**. I am

'Your obliged friend and brother, S. WESLEY.'

"I could be very maggotty in the character of this conforming Dissenter (for so this letter shews him to be); but, except he farther provokes me, I bid him farewell till we meet in Heaven, and there I hope we shall renew our friendship, for (human frailties excepted) I believe Sam Wesley a pious man. I shall only add that the giving this true character of Parson Wesley is all the satisfaction I ever desire for his dropping an old friend. I shall leave him to struggle through life, and to make the best of it. But, alas!

He loves too much the Heliconian strand,
Whose stream 's unfurnish'd with the golden sand.

"I do not speak this out of prejudice to Mr. Wesley; for to forgive a slight (or undeserved slander,

* These were articles in which Dunton traded, and regularly sold them *ready made*.

invented

invented by S——t, to revenge the discovery I made of his wh—m, and whispered about by a reverend brother) is so easy to me, it is scarce a virtue. But this rhiming circumstance of Mr. Wesley, is what I learn from the poem called 'The Reformation of Manners,' where are these words:

"Wesley with pen and poverty beset,
And Blackmore vers'd in physick as in wit;
Tho' this of Jesus, that of Job may sing,
One bawdy play will twice their profits bring:
And had not both caress'd the flatter'd Crown,
This had no knighthood seen, nor that no gown."

Mr. Wesley was a very voluminous author; having published, besides other things, "Maggots, or Poems on several Subjects, 1685," 8vo; "The Life of Christ, an heroic Poem, 1693," folio; dedicated to the Queen, reprinted with large additions and corrections in 1697; "Elegies on Queen Mary and Archbishop Tillotson, 1695," folio; "A Sermon preached before the Society for Reformation of Manners, 1698," 8vo; "A Letter concerning the Education of the Dissenters in their private Academies, 1703," and "A Defence of it," 12mo; "The History of the Old and New Testament attempted in Verse, and adorned with Three hundred and Thirty Sculptures, engraved by J. Sturt," 3 vols. 12mo, 1704, addressed to Queen Anne in a Poetical Dedication. "A Treatise on the Sacrament;" and "Dissertationes in Librum Jobi*;" for which last, proposals were

* To this volume was prefixed an emblematical portrait; thus described by a Correspondent in Gent. Mag. 1785, p. 758: "A print in my collection represents Job in a chair of state, dressed in a robe bordered with fur, sitting beneath a gateway, on the arch of which is written 'Job Patriarcha.' He bears a sceptre in his hand, and in the back ground are seen two of the pyramids of Ægypt. His position exactly corresponds with the idea given us by the Scriptures in the book of Job, chap. xxix. ver. 7: 'When I went out to the gate through the city, when I prepared my seat in the street:' according to the customs of those times, of great men sitting at the gate of the city to decide causes. The subscription on a tablet beneath his feet, '*An. ætat. circiter LXX. Quis mihi tribuat?*' marks it out as the quaint device of a man in years who thought himself neglected. 'G. Vertue delin. & sculp.' is followed by no date of year. A former owner

circulated in 1729, and which was finished after his death, and published by his son Samuel, 1736. Mr. Wesley had collated all the copies he could meet with of the original, and the Greek and other versions and editions; and after his labours and his library had been burnt with his house (which it seems had suffered the like fate once before, about the year 1707) he resumed the task in the decline of life, oppressed with gout and palsy through long habit of study. Among other assistances, he particularly acknowledges that of his three sons, and his friend Maurice Johnson.

Mr. Pope, in a letter to Dr. Swift, April 12, 1730, says, "I shall think it a kindness done myself if you can propagate Mr. Wesley's subscription for his Commentary on Job * among your Divines (Bishops excepted, of whom there is no hope) and among such as are believers or readers of Scripture. Even the curious may find something to please them, if they scorn to be edified. It has been the labour of eight years of this learned man's life; I call him what he is, a learned man, and I engage you will approve his prose more than you formerly could his poetry. Lord Bolingbroke is a favourer of it, and allows you to do your best to serve an old Tory, and a sufferer for the Church of England, though you are a Whig, as I am."

His poetry, which is far from being excellent, incurred the censure of Garth; but he made ample

owner has written underneath with a pencil, 'Westley.' Mr. Walpole, in his 'Catalogue of Engravers,' 4to, 1763, seems unacquainted with the allusion intended by this print, as, upon referring to his list of Vertue's works, I find 'Job Patriarcha' in class 12, among the foreigners. L. L."

* "Poor Job! It was his eternal fate to be persecuted by his friends. His three Comforters passed sentence of condemnation upon him; and he has been executing *in effigie* ever since. He was first bound to the stake by a long *Catena* of Greek Fathers; then tortured by Pineda; then strangled by Caryl; and afterwards cut up by Wesley, and anatomized by Garnet. Pray don't reckon me amongst his hangmen: I only acted the tender part of his wife, and was for making short work with him. But he was ordained, I think, by a fate like that of Prometheus, to lie

amends for it by the goodness of his life. He died April 25, 1735 *, and left an exceedingly numerous family of children; four of whom are not unknown in the annals of English literature;

1. Samuel; of whom presently.

2. and 3. John † and Charles ‡ Wesley, the two celebrated founders of the sect of Methodists; the former admitted at Lincoln college, the other at Brazen-nose college.

4. Mrs. Mehetabel Wright, authoress of several Poems printed in the Sixth Volume of the "Poetical Calendar."

SAMUEL WESLEY §, the eldest son, was first a scholar, and afterwards nearly 20 years usher of Westminster-school; whence, in 1711, he was elected as a king's scholar to Christ Church, Oxford. He was author of two excellent Poems, called "The Battle of the Sexes," and "The Prisons opened;"

lie still upon his dunghill, and have his brains sucked out by owls. One Hodges, a Head of Oxford, now threatens us with a new *Auto de fe*." *Mr. Warburton to Mr. Hurd, Dec.* 23, 1749.

* See more of him in "Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses," vol. II. p. 963; and Birch's "Life of Tillotson, p. 307, 343, second edition.

† Of John, see a more particular account in p. 221.

‡ Charles Wesley was born at Epworth in 1708, admitted a scholar at Westminster in 1721; and elected to Oxford in 1726. He published two single Sermons, 1. Preached before the University 1742; 2. On the Earthquake 1753; and died March 28, 1801.

§ "Anthony Wood, speaking of Samuel Wesley, the father of John, says: 'The said Sam. Westley is grandson to .... Westley, the fanatical minister sometimes of Charmouth in Dorsetshire, at what time (1651) the Lord Wilmot and King Charles II. had like to have been by him betrayed, when they continued *incognito* in that county.' Ath. Oxon. 2d. edit. vol. II. col. 963.—The story to which Wood alludes is told in a very lively manner by Dr. Geo. Bate, in the second part of his *Elenchus Motuum nuperorum in Angliâ*, ed. 1676, p. 255. I would transcribe the whole narrative, but it is rather too long, and Bates's book is by no means uncommon. The tale is also related by Lord Clarendon, and indeed by most of the historians and annalists of those times. Clarendon does not mention Wesley's name; but says the man was 'a weaver, who had been a soldier'."

and

and of another, called "The Parish Priest," a poem upon a Clergyman lately deceased, a very dutiful and striking Eulogy on his wife's father; which are all printed among his poems, and several humourous tales, in 4to, 1736, and after his death in 12mo, 1743. He was a member of the Philosophical Society at Spalding; and gave to their Museum an amulet that had touched the head of the three Kings of Cologne, whose names were in black letters within. He died Nov. 6, 1739, aged 49, being at that time head-master of Tiverton-school; but never presented to any ecclesiastical benefice. He was buried in the church-yard at Tiverton; and his epitaph may be seen at the end of his life, prefixed to his Poems, 1743.

Thus far the history of the Wesleys is nearly the same as in the former edition of these Anecdotes; which I should have enlarged by further researches, had not the following most satisfactory account of the whole family been transmitted to me by the late excellent scholar and critic, the Rev. Samuel Badcock, in a letter dated from South Molton, Dec. 5, 1782; and, as an abridgment would be an injury to the publick, as well as to my late worthy friend and correspondent, it is here preserved entire; and the rather as it produced some good-tempered corrections from the late Rev. John Wesley, which shall also be preserved.

"Mr. Samuel Wesley, of Epworth, was the grandson of Mr. Bartholomew Wesley, who was ejected by the Act of Uniformity (in the year 1662) from the living of Charmouth in Dorsetshire. He practised physick after his ejectment; but the death of his son John Wesley so affected him, that he did not survive him long. This John Wesley (of whom see a very minute account in Calamy's Continuation or Supplement to the Abridgement of Baxter's Life, vol. I. p. 437—445) was ejected by the same rigorous act from the living of Whitchurch, near Blandford. Samuel Wesley (the son of John) was sent to the University; there he imbibed all the orthodoxy

of

of the High Church, and forgot the Nonconformity of his ancestors. He was the author of several large works; the merit of which was by no means thought proportionable to their bulk. An heroic poem, called 'The Life of Christ,' excited the ridicule of the wits, particularly of Garth*, in his Dispensary, and Swift in his Battle of the Books.

"In one of the earlier editions of the Dunciad this Mr. Wesley was honoured with a niche in the temple of the 'Mighty Mother.' He was placed by the side of a respectable companion, Dr. Watts.

Now all the suffering brotherhood retire,
And 'scape the martyrdom of jakes and fire;
A Gothic library of Greece and Rome
Well purg'd; and worthy Wesley, Watts, &c.

[See the learned Commentator's note, by way of apology, as well as explanation.] They were afterwards deprived of this distinction; and I have heard that Mr. Pope substituted other names to fill up the chasm, on a very serious, though gentle, remonstrance made to him by Dr. Watts†. 'I never offended Mr. Pope," said the amiable Doctor, "but have always expressed my admiration of his superior genius. I only wished to see that genius more employed in the cause of Religion; and always thought it capable of doing it great credit among the gay or the more witty part of mankind, who have generally despised it because it hath not always been so fortunate as to meet with advocates of such exalted abilities as Mr. Pope possesses, and who were capable of turning the finest exertions of wit

* "Had Wesley never aim'd in verse to please,
We had not rank'd him with our Ogilbys:
Still censures will on dull pretenders fall,
A Codrus should expect a Juvenal."

I have seen a MS poem of Wesley's, in which he thus retorts on the Satirist:

"What wonder he should Wesley Codrus call,
Who dares surname himself a Juvenal?"

† I received this intelligence from my late worthy friend the Rev. Mr. Lamb of Dorchester; who had the information from Mr. Price, Dr. Watts's co-pastor, and with whom he was connected both in office and friendship, with an unbroken union, for thirty years.

and

and genius in its favour." The remonstrance had its effect; and Dr. Watts was no longer to sit in the seat of the Dunces. The removal of Wesley might possibly be owing to the interposition of his son Samuel Wesley, with whom Mr. Pope corresponded, and for whom he always expressed a very particular regard. I have seen very friendly letters of Pope to him, when he was an usher at Westminster school.

"Mr. Samuel Wesley the elder published a poetical version of the Old and New Testament; and at a very advanced age a voluminous work in Latin on the book of Job. This last work was presented to Queen Caroline by Mr. John Wesley (the celebrated father of the Methodists), who, in a letter to his brother Samuel, acknowledges the very courteous reception he was honoured with from her Majesty, who gave him *bows* and *smiles*—but *nothing for his poor father!* The work was never held in any estimation by the learned. The engravings seem to have been the first rude efforts of an untutored boy. Nothing can be conceived more execrable.

"Old Samuel Wesley married a woman of extraordinary abilities. She was one of the daughters of Dr. Samuel Annesley, a celebrated Nonconformist minister. Her letters to her children bear the marks of sublime piety and great sense; particularly one to her eldest son, on the principles of natural religion, which was some time in the possession of Dr. Priestley, with many others equally sensible and curious. This excellent pair had a very numerous offspring. Samuel Wesley, first an usher at Westminster-school, and afterwards head-master of Blundell's school at Tiverton, was the eldest; Charles, the Methodist preacher, was, if I have not been misinformed, the youngest.

"Samuel was a man of wit and learning: a High Churchman and a noted Jacobite. Sir Robert Walpole was the principal object of his political satires*;

* See one severe Poem by Mr. Wesley in Bp. Atterbury's Epistolary Correspondence, 1790, vol. III. p. 301; and two complimentary Poems to the Bishop, pp. 310, 312.

many

many of which remain unpublished, on account of their treasonable tendency; for, in the rage of Jacobitism, he was not scrupulous in the selection of characters, but poured out the very dregs of it on Royalty itself. He, however, published enough to render himself obnoxious to the Ministry; so that little was left him but that penitence which, arising from mortification, only vents itself in abuse. Time, however, had so far gotten the better of his fury against Sir Robert, as to change the satirist into the suppliant. I have seen a copy of verses addressed to the great Minister in behalf of his poor and aged parent. But I have seen something much better. I have in my possession a letter of this *poor and aged parent* addressed to his son Samuel, in which he gratefully acknowledges his filial duty in terms so affecting, that I am at a loss which to admire most, the gratitude of the parent, or the affection and generosity of the child. It was written when the good old man was nearly fourscore, and so weakened by a palsy as to be incapable of directing a pen, unless with his left hand. I preserve it as a curious memorial of what will make Wesley applauded when his wit is forgotten.

"Mrs. Wesley lived long enough to deplore the extravagances of her two sons, John and Charles. She considered them as under *strong delusions to believe a lie;* and states her objections to their enthusiastic principles (particularly in the matter of *Assurance*) with great strength of argument, in a correspondence with their brother Samuel*. He too exerted his best powers to reclaim them from their wanderings: but in vain! '*The extravagant* and *erring spirit*' could not be reduced to '*its own confine.*' It had burst its bonds asunder, and ran violently down the steep!

"Samuel Wesley married a woman of the name of Berry. Her father was a clergyman of the

* Samuel Wesley used to call them "*The Brethren of the New Assurance.*"

Estab-

Established Church, and rector of Watton in Norfolk. Her grandfather was a Nonconformist minister; and after his ejectment from East Down in the North of Devonshire, resided at Barnstaple, where some of his descendants continue to live in reputation.—Samuel Wesley left an only daughter, who married a Mr. Earle, an apothecary at the last-mentioned place. They had an only daughter, who married a gentleman of the name of Mansel. She died in travail for her first child.

"JOHN WESLEY, the Methodist, was born about the beginning of the 18th century. Dr. Priestley had in his possession a letter from Mrs. Wesley to her son Samuel Wesley, who was at that time a scholar on the foundation at Westminster. She begins the letter with lamenting the great loss the family had sustained by a fire that had happened a few days before at the parsonage at Epworth, by which they were all driven to great necessity. The house was burnt to the ground, and few things of value could be saved, the flames spread so rapidly. She thanks God that no lives were lost, though for some time they gave up *poor Jacky* (as she expresses herself); for his father had twice attempted to rescue the child, but was beaten back by the flames. Finding all his efforts abortive, he 'resigned him to Divine Providence.' But parental tenderness prevailed over human fears, and Mr. Wesley once more attempted to save his child. By some means, equally unexpected, and unaccountable, the boy got round to a window in the front of the house, and was taken out—I think by one man's leaping on the shoulders of another, and thus getting within his reach. Immediately on his rescue from this most perilous situation the roof fell in. This extraordinary incident explains a certain device in some of the earlier prints of John Wesley*, *viz.* a house in flames, with

* Engraved by Vertue, from a picture of Williams's, in the year 1745.

this

this motto from the prophet, 'Is he not a brand plucked out of the burning?' Many have supposed this device to be merely emblematical of his spiritual deliverance. But from this circumstance you must be convinced that it hath a primary as well as a secondary meaning. It is real as well as allusive.—This fire happened when John was about six years old; and, if I recollect right, in the year 1707.

"I need not expatiate on the abilities of this singular man. They are certainly wonderful! In the early part of life he discovered an elegant turn for poetry; and some of his gayer pieces in this line are proofs of a lively fancy, and a fine classical taste: I have seen some translations from the Latin poets, done by him at college, which have great merit. I once had an opportunity, by the favour of his niece, of inspecting some curious original papers, which throw great light on his genius and character. He had early a very strong impression (like Count Zinzendorf) of his designation to some extraordinary work. This impression received additional force from some domestic incidents; all which his active fancy turned to his own account. His wonderful preservation, already noticed, naturally tended to cherish the idea of his being designed by Providence to accomplish some purpose or other that was out of the ordinary course of human events. There were some strange *phænomena* perceived at the parsonage at Epworth, and some uncommon noises heard there from time to time, which he was very curious in examining into, and very particular in relating. I have little doubt but that he considered himself as the chief object of this *wonderful* visitation. Indeed, *Samuel* Wesley's credulity was in some degree affected by it, since he collected all the evidences that tended to confirm the story, arranged them with scrupulous exactness, in a MS. consisting of several sheets, and which is still in being. I know not what became of the Ghost of Epworth; unless, considered as the prelude to the *noise* Mr. John Wesley

Wesley made on a more ample stage, it ceased to speak when he began to act.

"The dawn of Mr. Wesley's public mission was clouded with Mysticism——that species of it which affects silence and solitude; a certain inexplicable introversion of the mind, which abstracts the passions from all sensible objects, and, as the French Quietists express it, perfects itself by an absorption of the will and intellect, and all the faculties into the Deity. In this "palpable obscure" the excellent Fenelon lost himself when he forsook the shades of Pindus to wander in quest of "pure love" with Madam Guyon! Mr. Wesley pursued for a while the same *ignis fatuus* with Mr. William Law and the *Ghost* of De Renty——A state, however, so torpid and ignoble ill suited the active genius of this singular man. His elastic mind gained strength by compression; thence *bursting glorious*, he passed (as he himself somewhere says) 'the immense chasm upborne on an eagle's wings.'

"His system of Divinity, indeed, was relaxed; or rather, I would say, it was made more commodious for general use. The speculations of the Mystics were too abstracted and too much sublimated for the conceptions of the gross herd of mankind. Refined maxims, that have little connexion with the general sentiments and habits of the human race, were not calculated to make proselytes by the common engines of hope and fear. The million could neither be amused nor alarmed by principles in which the heart could feel no interest. A few minds of a peculiar texture might possibly take a fancy to them. But Mr. Wesley's business was with minds of every composition; and though the Poet says,

Oderunt hilarem tristes, tristemque jocosi;

yet he employed himself to search for some common band, by which dispositions the most heterogeneous, and sects the most discordant, might have

have a centre of union. He studied mankind beyond the walls of his college; and the fellow of Lincoln became, in a certain sense, a man of the world. His penetration is wonderfully acute; and his dexterity in debate hath been so long known, that it is almost become proverbial. He was ever more attentive to reason and prudence than his great rival, George Whitefield. He was more calm in his address; more candid in his sentiments; and more reasonable in his doctrines. He had all Whitefield's zeal and perseverance, with double his understanding, and ten times more learning and science. Though prudence was his Pole-star, yet imagination was frequently his card. He gave it all the play that was necessary to establish the credit of his mission.

"Mr. John Wesley's prudence hath been frequently imputed to some sinister motives; and what appeared to his friends as 'the wisdom of the serpent,' was pronounced by his enemies to be 'the craft of the wicked one.' The zealots of the second house of Methodism speak this with a full mouth. I was at Bristol some years since, when the Hon. Mr. Shirley, by the order of my Lady Huntingdon, called him to a public account for certain expressions which he had uttered in some charge to his clergy, which savoured too much of the Popish doctrine of the merit of good works. Various speculations were formed as to the manner in which Mr. Wesley would evade the charge. Few conjectured right; but all seemed to agree in one thing; and that was, that he would somehow or other baffle his antagonist: and baffle him he did; as Mr. Shirley afterwards confessed in a very lamentable pamphlet, which he published on this redoubted controversy. In the crisis of the dispute, I heard a celebrated preacher, who was one of Whitefield's successors, express his suspicion of the event; 'for,' says he, 'I know him of old: he is an eel; take him where you will, he will slip through your fingers.'

"A poem

"A poem, intituled 'Religious Discourse*,' and published by him in one of his earlier collections, was pointed out to me, by his own niece, as a very striking delineation of his disposition and character. She said, her father regarded it in the same unfavourable light. I have some doubt of this; for I have the original copy † now before me, with marginal corrections (chiefly verbal) in the hand-writing of Samuel Wesley. Had he thoroughly disapproved of it, he would have drawn his pen across the whole. His correction of particular passages was a tacit acknowledgement of his approbation of the rest.

"At the beginning of the poem are these lines:

"But who must talk? not the mere formal sage
Who speaks the obsequious echo of the age,
To Christian lives who brings the Gospel down,
A Gospel moderniz'd by ————!"

"On this hiatus Samuel Wesley notes in the margin — 'If T——n, too hard.' —— Tillotson was undoubtedly meant. He was equally the object of dislike to Methodists and High-churchmen. His Theology was too rational for the former; and his Politicks were too moderate for the latter. The wonder is not that John Wesley should have shewn an inclination to insult the memory of a sober Divine; but the wonder is, that Samuel Wesley should have been disposed to shew lenity to a Low-churchman, and a Whig of the Revolution: especially when it is considered, that he himself hath made this same renowned and amiable Prelate the object of bitter satire, both in his 'Parish Priest,' and in a poem

* "This Poem was not written by any of the Mr. Wesleys, but by the late learned and mystic Mr. John Gambold (the very model, in person and mien, of the celebrated Dr. Samuel Johnson). He was one of the first clergymen at Oxford who joined the four or five others under the then ignominious name of *Methodists*; but, leaving that corps, he became a disciple and fellow-labourer with the late Count Zinzendorff, in Fetter-lane." *A Correspondent in Gent. Mag.* 1784, p. 353.

† An autograph of Mr. John Wesley.

'to the memory of Dr. South.' In the former his name is mentioned, and very invidiously contrasted with Stillingfleet's; in the latter he is plainly alluded to, as a secret abettor of 'Socinus and his followers;'

'And yields up points their favour to engage,
Transcribing *Episcopius* by the page.'

"The Archbishop hath been also charged with too free a use of the *Fratres Poloni*, the great Codex of the Socinians; though he never condescended to acknowledge the obligation to such obscure writers; for who ever heard of Schlichtingius, Pscipcovius, or Wolzogenius? In the oblivion into which they were sunk, he might fancy himself to be secure from detection. Or possibly he might think that whatever he could glean from their works, that had any intrinsic value in it, should be left to itself, to make its own way in the world, well knowing that it could receive no assistance or recommendation from the Brethren of Poland.

"But to return from this digression to the characteristic Poem of our sagacious and wary Apostle.

"There are passages in it which might give occasion to Mr. John Wesley's enemies to represent him as a man of more art than integrity; and perhaps it would puzzle the most subtle of his Proselytes to reconcile his maxims with that "child-like and dove-like simplicity" which he teaches, and they profess. As the poem is very curious, and but little known, I think you will be pleased with a few extracts from it:

'To the pert Reas'ner, if you speak at all,
Speak what within his cognizance may fall,
Expose not Truths divine to Reason's rack,
Give him his own belov'd ideas back.
Your notions, till they *look like his*, dilute;
Blind he must be, but save him from dispute.
But when we are turn'd of Reason's noon-tide glare,
And things begin to shew us what they are,
More free to such your true conceptions tell,
Yet graft them on the arts where they excel.

If

If sprightly sentiments detain their taste,
If paths of various learning they have trac'd,
If their cool judgment longs, yet fears, to fix,
Fire, erudition, hesitation mix.'

"It is this accommodating method which hath brought on Mr. Wesley the opprobrium of Jesuitism. I hope his ends were Catholic and disinterested; though I must acknowledge, that such means have the suspicious complexion of selfish and sectarian cunning.

'To positive adepts, *insidious* yield,
To gain the conquest, *seem* to quit the field.
Large in your grants—Be their opinion shewn,
Approve, amend, and *wind it to your own.*'

"The following lines have spirit and humour in them:

'There are who watch to adore the dawn of Grace,
And pamper the young proselyte with praise.
Kind, humble souls! they with a right good-will
Admire his progress—till he stands stock-still!
So fond, so smooth, so loving and so civil,
They praise the cred'lous saint into a devil?'

"Sectaries and enthusiasts of all descriptions have frequent opportunities of contemplating characters of this unsteady make. A religion that is founded more on passion than judgment; which applies its criteria to certain feelings which have no fixed principle in the understanding; a religion which consists of singularities that are beyond the habits of common life and general custom, will be ever subject to ridiculous and untoward vicissitudes.

"Dr. Warburton hath been thought profane in the ridicule he hath so repeatedly thrown on Mr. Wesley's account of 'the pains and throws of the second birth.' He considered the whole as a compound of credulity and imposture. The learned Bishop was not always delicate in the choice of his allusions. If his ideas were gross, he never gave himself the trouble to refine them down by the

niceties of expression. As he thought, so he writ; and seemed to imagine, that to polish a rugged sentiment was to weaken its force. "The Devil," says he, "acted as mid-wife to Mr. Wesley's new-born babes." In another part of his book, he takes occasion, from a concession of the Arch-Methodist, to declare, that 'Mr. William Law begat Methodism, and Count Zinzendorff rocked the cradle.' He allows Whitefield little credit; calls him 'the midder of the two:' but, considering him in a very inferior light to Mr. Wesley, almost passes him by unnoticed. Whatever good and laudable intentions the Bishop might have had; or how zealous soever he might have been to support the interest of sober Religion against the insults and encroachments of Fanaticism; yet, I think, it is pretty generally allowed that he was not perfectly happy in the means he chose to effect his good purposes. There is much acute reasoning, and much poignant and sprightly wit, in his 'Doctrine of Grace;' but there is in it too much levity for a grave Bishop, and too much abuse for a candid Christian *. If the subject was not unworthy of his pen, he should not have given such a representation of it as to make it look as if it was. Who begat, or who midwived, or who nursed *Methodism*, is a point I shall leave to the determination of others. Mr. Wesley's own account of this matter is seen to a better advantage in his

* Let us hear what the Bishop himself says on this head: "My Discourse on the Holy Spirit grows upon me, especially in the latter part, about the Methodists, which is the part I could have wished would have grown the least. But a wen grows faster than sound flesh." *Letter dated Dec. 27, 1761*, and addressed to Mr. Hurd; who had some months before thus given his advice. After observing, that the Bishop's "Discourse" would be "a seasonable reproof of the Methodists," and suggesting as a title-page, "The Trial of the Spirits of our modern Pretenders to Inspiration," he observes, "It would make an admirable tract on the subject. But the inconvenience is, that the Methodists would say that your Lordship had written against them; an honour, which, for their own sakes, one would not wish them." In 1676 Bishop Warburton says, "The Remonstrants in Rotterdam have translated my Book of *Grace*. They are over-run with Methodists among the Remonstrants."

poem,

poem, than in Bp. Warburton's extracts from his Journals. Excuse this quotation; it shall be the last.

'But, lest, reform'd from all extremer ill,
They should but civilize old Nature still;
The loftier charms and energy display
Of Virtue model'd by the Godhead's ray;
The lineaments divine, Perfection's plan,
The baseness and the dignity of man.
Commences now the agonizing strife,
Previous to Nature's death and second life.
Struck by their own inclement piercing eye,
Their feeble virtues blush, despair, and die.
They view the scheme that mimic Nature made,
A fancy'd goodness, and Religion's shade.
With angry scorn they now reject the whole,
Unchang'd the heart, undeified the soul,
Till indignation sleeps away to faith,
And God's own power and peace take root in sacred wrath.'

"Particular instances may be adduced, that in a detached view might render Mr. Wesley's understanding a very problematical thing. But an impartial and wise judge will not determine by a few particulars, but by the result of the whole. Mr. Wesley had a very important end in view; and it required a great degree of sagacity, as well as resolution, to plan and pursue the means that were necessary to effect it. These means considered in their joint dependance and operation were extraordinary, and called for an equal share of enthusiasm to actuate, and wisdom to superintend. Such schemes of reformation as were so extensive and complicated as his, were not the transient visions of an overheated fancy, but the deep projects of a subtle mind, and called for the most determined efforts of a warm, resolute, and yet cautious spirit.

"In one of Mr. Wesley's earlier publications, intituled, 'An Earnest Appeal to Men of Reason and Religion *,' he, in the strongest language, disavows

* 1743, 12mo, p. 48.

all

all pecuniary motives; and calls on posterity to vindicate his disinterestedness in one of the boldest apostrophes I ever read: 'Money must needs pass through my hands,' says he; 'but I will take care (God being my helper) that the Mammon of unrighteousness shall only pass through; it shall not rest there. None of the accursed thing shall be found in my tents, when the Lord calleth me hence. And hear ye this, all you who have discovered the treasures which I am to leave behind me; if I leave behind me ten pounds (above my debts and the little arrears of my fellowship) you and all mankind bear witness against me, that I lived and died a thief and a robber.' I doubt not but his pride, and something better than his pride, will prevent the stigma.

"At the age of fourscore, Mr. Wesley is still active and cheerful. His activity indeed hath always kept him in spirits, and prevented those fits of languor and despondency which generally overtake the indolent. He is an excellent companion; and, in spite of censure, I believe he is an honest man. The jealousy of the Tabernacle hath joined with the zeal of a higher house, to detract from the purity of his character; but the *arrow that flew in darkness* only recoiled on those who sent it.

"Mr. Wesley, after receiving the sacrament this last summer at the cathedral of Exeter, was invited by the Bishop* to dine at the Palace. There were some who thought his Lordship might have spared the compliment; but others considered it as only another proof, added to the many he hath already given, of his amiable courtesy, candour, and good-sense. How far he relaxed his zeal or his dignity by his condescension, may be a point to be canvassed by the scrupulous; but the wise and the good of every communion will settle it in a moment.

"The discourse at the table turned on a variety of literary topicks. At that time the publick was amused by the controversy about Rowley's Poems. Mr. Wesley said, that he had made enquiries about

* Dr. John Ross; of whom see vol. II. p. 184.

Chatterton;

Chatterton; and, from the information he could gather, he could scarcely believe him equal to such a complicated and ingenious piece of fraud. The subject introduced the name of Mr. Jacob Bryant. Mr. Canon Moore asked him, if he had ever read that gentleman's "Analysis." He said, he had not only read the two first volumes, but had actually abridged them. Mr. Moore lent him the third volume, which he intended to abridge likewise. These are instances of uncommon assiduity, as well as singular curiosity, in this "transcendant man," as Bishop Warburton denominated him, in a vein of mingled satire and irony; but posterity may, perhaps, apply the epithet to him without a jest.

"I could with pleasure enlarge on this subject; but I write in great haste, and have only time to add, that there was a sister of the Wesleys, called Mehetabel, who married a gentleman of the name of Wright. I have seen some good pieces of hers both in prose and verse. She was unfortunate both before and after marriage; as was another of her sisters, who married the famous Wesley Hall of Salisbury, who had the honour of being Mr. Madan's precursor in the great mission of Thelypthora! I am, dear sir, yours, &c. S. Badcock."

The preceding Letter was first printed in the "Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica," N° XX.; and, having afterwards been fully noticed by Mr. Maty, in his "New Review," it produced the following Remarks from Mr. John Wesley:

"1. A day or two ago the Review fell into my hands, which contains a letter from the Rev. Mr. Badcock. I have not the pleasure of knowing this gentleman; but I esteem him for his useful and ingenious publications; and I think it my duty to inform both him and the publick better, of some points wherein they have been misinformed.

"2. He says, 'Mr. Samuel Wesley, of Epworth, in Lincolnshire, *was sent* to the University.' This is not accurate. He was educated for some years at a Dissenting academy, from which he then privately

vately retired, and entered himself at Exeter college, in Oxford.—'His heroic poem, the Life of Christ, excited the ridicule of the wits.' His own account of it was, 'the cuts are good; the notes pretty good; the verses so so.'—'At a very advanced age he published a Latin work on the book of Job, which was never held in any estimation by the learned.' I doubt that. It certainly contains immense learning; but of a kind which I do not admire.

"3. 'He married a woman of extraordinary abilities, the daughter of Dr. Samuel Annesley.' (Dr. Annesley and the then Earl of Anglesea were brothers' sons.)—'Samuel, his eldest son, was a noted Jacobite.' Nay, he was no more a Jacobite than he was a Turk. And what amends can Mr. Badcock, or Mr. Maty, make, for publishing this egregious falsehood?—'Many of his political satires remain unpublished, on account of their treasonable tendency.' Here is a double mistake. For, 1. He never published any thing political, whether satirical or not. 2. He never wrote any thing of a treasonable tendency; he sacredly avoided it.—'In his rage of Jacobitism, he poured out the very dregs of it on Royalty itself.' No, never. He never wrote, much less published, one line against the King. I speak it from personal knowledge, having often heard him say, 'If it reflects on the King, it is none of mine.' His constant practice may be learnt from those lines, in "The Battle of the Sexes,"

'Forgive the voice that useful fiction sings,
Not impious tales of deities impure;
Not faults of breathless Queens, or living Kings,
In open treason, or in veil obscure.'

'Time, however, changed the satirist against Sir Robert, into an humble suppliant.' Nay, I do not believe, he ever wrote a line to Sir Robert, either in verse or prose *.

* See before, p. 219, the reference to Bp. Atterbury's Works. See also, in the Gentleman's Magazine for July 1809, p. 609, a Poetical Epistle from Mr. Pope to the Earl of Oxford.

"4. 'Mrs.

"4. 'Mrs. Wesley lived long enough to deplore the extravagance of her two sons, John and Charles; considering them as *under strong delusions to believe a lie.*' By vile misrepresentations she was deceived for a time. But she no sooner heard them speak for themselves, than she was thoroughly convinced they were in no delusion; but spoke *the words of truth and soberness.* She afterwards lived *with me* several years, and died rejoicing and praising God.

"5. I was born in June 1708, and was between six and seven years old, when I was left alone in my father's house, being then all in flames, till I was taken out of the nursery window, by a man strangely standing on the shoulders of another. Those words in the picture, *Is not this a brand plucked out of the burning?* chiefly allude to this.

"6. 'He had early a very strong impression of his designation to some extraordinary work.' Indeed not I: I never said so. I never thought so: I am guiltless in this matter. The strongest impression I had till I was three or four and twenty was, *Inter sylvas Academi quærere verum:*—and afterwards (while I was my father's curate), to save my own soul, and those that heard me. When I returned to Oxford, it was my full resolve to live and die there; the reasons for which I gave in a long letter to my father, since printed in one of my Journals. In this purpose I continued, till Dr. Burton, one of the trustees for Georgia, pressed me to go over with General Oglethorpe (who is still alive, and well knows the whole transaction), in order to preach to the Indians. With great difficulty I was prevailed upon to go, and spend upwards of two years abroad. At my return, I was more than ever determined to lay my bones at Oxford. But I was insensibly led, without any previous plan or design, to preach, first in many of the churches in London, then in more public places; afterwards in Bristol, Kingswood, Newcastle, and throughout Great Britain and Ireland. Therefore all that Mr. Badcock adds, of the

the incidents that 'gave an additional force,' to an impression that never existed, is very ingenious; yet is in truth a castle in the air.

"7. It is true, that for a while I admired the mystic writers. But I dropped them, even before I went to Georgia; long before I knew or suspected any such thing as justification by faith. Therefore all that follows, of my 'making my system of divinity more commodious for general use;' and of employing myself to search for some common bond, whereby the most dissonant sects might have a centre of union,' having no foundation to stand upon, falls to the ground at once. I had quite other work while I was at Oxford, being fully engaged, partly with my pupils, and partly with my little offices, being Greek lecturer, and moderator of both the classes.

"8. 'His dexterity in debate has been so long known, that it is almost become proverbial.' It has been my first care, for many years, to see that my cause was good: and never, either in jest or earnest, to defend the wrong side of a question. And shame on me if I cannot defend the right, after so much practice, and after having been so early accustomed to separate truth from falsehood, how artfully soever they were twisted together!

"9. If the poem on Religious Discourse 'delineates the disposition and character of the author,' it does not delineate mine; for I was not the author, but Mr. John Gambold. What becomes then of that good-natured remark?—'The wonder is not, that John Wesley should have shewn an inclination to insult the memory of a sober Divine; but that Samuel Wesley should have been disposed to shew lenity to a Whig of the Revolution.' Mistake upon mistake! 1. Those marginal notes were not wrote by Samuel, but Charles Wesley. He told me so this very day. 2. Both my father and all his sons have always praised God for the happy Revolution. ——I let Bishop Warburton alone. He is gone to rest! I well hope, in Abraham's bosom.

"10. 'Mr.

"10. 'Mr. Wesley had a very important end in view'——What end, but to save sinners? What other end could I possibly have in view? or can have at this day?—'Deep projects of a subtle mind.' Nay, I am not subtle, but the veriest fool under the sun, if I have any earthly project at all now! For what do I want which this world can give? And, after the labour of fourscore years,

No foot of land do I possess,
No cottage in the wilderness:
A poor, way-faring man,
I dwell awhile in tents below,
Or gladly wander to and fro,
Till I my Canaan gain."

The preceding Letter from Mr. Wesley, transplanted into the Magazine, was thus answered:

"MR. URBAN, South Molton, May 10, 1785.

"As Mr. John Wesley hath done me the honour of publicly noticing my paper respecting his family, I think it a piece of civility due to him, to notice his strictures in return.

"I am pleased that any 'publications' of mine should be esteemed 'ingenious and useful,' by a man so well qualified to judge of their merits. For his acquaintance with my name, as the author of the publications which I suppose he had in his eye, I am indebted to certain writers, who took the liberty of proclaiming it in pamphlets, letters, reviews, and advertisements, with the *very generous* intention (for they are all *benevolent* men) of injuring its credit. The attempt, however, hath operated contrary to their wishes; and, if I needed a testimony, Mr. Wesley's would serve instead of a thousand.

"My paper was drawn up in great haste; but it was drawn up under the impression of sentiments not hastily adopted. An opinion of Mr. Wesley's great abilities, and an esteem for qualities which he possesses of still greater account, have long been familiar to my mind. I have been conversant with his

his writings from my earliest youth; and, though never his disciple, have been always his admirer.

"I have already informed the publick by what means I became acquainted with some papers which relate to the more secret history of his family. Had they been papers of a *merely* family or personal concern, I would never have communicated any account of them to the publick. Had they tended to fix any reproach on the private characters of individuals, I would have suppressed them: and I was not conscious of doing an injury to the memory of Mr. Samuel Wesley when I called him a *Jacobite*. I called him, indeed, by a title which in politicks I abhor: but I have learnt to separate *political* from *moral* character; and have no doubt but a Jacobite may be as good a man, and as perfect a Christian, as even a Whig or a Presbyterian. I judge of no man merely by his opinions or prejudices; nor at all times would I judge of him by any improper bias, or influence, that they may give to his conduct. If I know the cause, I can account for the effect; and if I can excuse the former, surely I cannot want an apology for the latter.

"There are certain fundamental principles of conduct, in which all good men, with all their prejudices and partialities, are united. They are the common bands of society: the universal laws, which are independent of custom or country, sects and parties; and may be said to know no distinction between 'Greek or Jew; Scythian, barbarian, bond or free.'

"I have now given my *creed of charity*; which, for a *Calvinist* *, as I have been denominated, is

* "A denomination I should not blush to acknowledge, if I thought myself fairly entitled to it; though a very silly writer, following at an immense distance the great leader of a late controversy, hath brought it forwards in the shape of an accusation; as if to be a Calvinist were as disgraceful as to be a *mumper*, or as infamous as to be a *cheat*."

somewhat

somewhat free: and I would risk the credit of my orthodoxy rather than recal it.

"I esteem Mr. Wesley for the zeal he hath discovered in vindicating his brother from the imputation of Jacobitism; but, till I am convinced, I cannot retract: and my conviction of Mr. Samuel Wesley's antipathy to the House of Brunswick is founded on evidence too strong to be overcome by mere general assertions to the contrary.

"However, if there be an error in my account, let *me* be wholly answerable for it. Mr. Wesley should not have coupled Mr. Maty's name with mine; especially in such uncivil language. If I cannot prove what I have advanced, let the blame rest on my own head alone: he is guiltless.

"And, were I convinced that I had been guilty of a false accusation, no man would be more ready to acknowledge it. But as I cannot, in justice to my own persuasions, revoke what I have written, it is certainly due, both to the publick and to myself, to give some reason for what I have asserted.

"I would first, in general, observe, that when I called Mr. Samuel Wesley 'a *noted* Jacobite,' I only echoed back the voice of popular fame. His brother cannot be ignorant that he always bore this character; and his greatest friends, and most intimate associates in this part of the kingdom, made no scruple of applying to him a title, to which, I really believe, he had no dislike.

"His daughter often assured me, that he was strongly attached to the exiled family; and she once shewed me a small print of the Pretender, which, *she said*, had been presented to her father, and which he esteemed as a sort of a precious memorial. A late excellent and ever-honoured friend of mine, who was the pupil of Mr. Samuel Wesley, and who in his earlier days had imbibed a tincture from politicks of the same colour and quality (though his maturer wisdom dictated far different sentiments), frequently called his old master a Jacobite; and appeared to entertain no conception, that any one would

would question his right to an appellation, to which that good man affixed no moral turpitude or infamy, though a genuine '*Whig of the Revolution.*'

"Other pupils of Mr. Wesley have confirmed to me this account of his political principles; but my conviction hath not arisen from general or vague report, even though backed by the authority I have mentioned; but from evidence more particular and more decisive.

"Mr. Wesley says, in his Remarks on my paper, that 'he [*viz.* Samuel Wesley] never published any thing political, whether satirical or not.'—'He never wrote any thing of a treasonable tendency; he sacredly avoided it.'—'He never *wrote*, much less published, *one line against the King.*'

"Had Mr. Wesley read the poems which Mrs. Earle, his brother's only child, put into my hands, he never could have expressed himself in such unqualified language. Amid a number which I once possessed, I can at present only lay my hands on one, entitled 'The Regency.' It was written by Mr. Samuel Wesley, purposely with a view to raise a laugh at the expence of the King [George the First] in the choice which he made of the persons who were intrusted with the prerogative while he visited Hanover.—I will transcribe a few verses of this witty and sarcastic poem; and let our readers judge how far the author '*sacredly* avoided' what had a 'treasonable *tendency.*'

'As soon as the wind it came fairly about,
That kept the King in, and his enemies out;
He determin'd no longer his confinement to bear,
And thus to the Duchess his mind did declare.

Quoth he 'My dear *Kenny**, I've been tir'd a long while,
With living obscure in this poor little Isle;
And, now Spain and Pretender have no more mines to spring,
I'm resolv'd to go home, and live like a King.'

* The Dutchess of Kendal, the King's favourite mistress.

Quoth

Quoth Kenny 'Great sir! I approve your design,' &c.

And so Kenny ludicrously runs over the list of the Regents; estimates their several qualifications; and, by exposing them obliquely, laughs at the King himself.

"Of the Duke of Argyle she is made to say:

'And had not the stars been equally strong,
To keep him in the right, and you in the wrong,
It might have induc'd him such schemes to pursue,
As had made him be lov'd—full as little as you.'

"After lashing the Lords of the Regency all round, the Duchess says, in the conclusion,

'On the whole, I'll be hang'd, if all over the realm,
There are thirteen such fools to be put at the helm:
So for this time be easy, nor have jealous thought,
They ha' n't sense to sell you, nor are worth being bought.'

'Tis for that (quoth the King in very bad French)
I chose them for my Regents, and you for my Wench:
And neither, I'm sure, will my trust e'er betray;
For the Devil won't take you, if I turn you away.'

"Let these lines be glossed over by any art or refinement whatever, yet they can never be accommodated to that reverence which Mr. Wesley would acknowledge to be due to *the Lord's anointed*, let him be who he may.

"I cannot produce the poem Mr. Samuel Wesley addressed to Sir Robert Walpole in behalf of his father. I have only a general recollection of it; but a recollection sufficient to make me assert with confidence, that such a poem did really exist: and I particularly remember, that he intreated the great Statesman not to permit any prejudices, that he might have imbibed against himself, to stand in the way of his beneficence to his father.

"But I will not any farther urge a circumstance, of which I am utterly incapable of producing the proof that may be required to establish it.

"I was

"I was not acquainted with the later periods of Mrs. Wesley's life: I only spoke of what I knew. Her letters breathe a spirit of rational and enlightened piety; and she frequently deplored, in very pathetic language, the departure of her two sons from the simplicity of Christian faith, and their innovations on the order and decorum of the established worship. She adopted, it seems, very different sentiments of their principles and conduct several years before her death. To whatever society of Christians she united herself, I doubt not but she was an honour to them; and wonder not that a life, that had been so singularly pious and exemplary, should close, as Mr. Wesley says his mother's did, with a hope full of immortality.

"Her Letters to her daughter on the first Principles of Religion, together with some other curious papers, I communicated some years ago to Dr. Priestley; and when he expressed a desire to transcribe them, I saved him the trouble, by freely making him a present of the originals. One of the most valuable (and which, in a letter to me, he calls '*uncommonly curious*') he hath unfortunately lost. I took no copy of it myself, so that I am afraid it is irrecoverable.

"It is a kind of presumption to publish speculations about the state of another person's mind, and the different steps by which it acquires certain principles and habits; especially at a time when that person may speak for himself, and call all that you have advanced the fiction of your own imagination. And it would be the height of insolence and obstinacy to persevere in maintaining what he, who hath the best right to contradict it, positively disavows. '*For what man knoweth the things of a man, save the spirit of a man, which is in him?*'

"'Therefore,' (says Mr. Wesley) 'all that Mr. Badcock adds, of the incidents that *gave an additional force* to an impression that never existed, is very ingenious; yet is in truth a castle in the air.'

"Let

"Let my conjectures then be the mere dream of fancy. I will not dispute for what I cannot prove, nor have even a wish to maintain. I might have been deceived, when I talked of Mr. Wesley's enthusiastic impressions and prophetic notices. But, when I spoke of his admirable talents, his extraordinary exertions, his honest zeal, and his generous superiority to the world and its possessions, I am sure I was not deceived; I *built no castle in the air*, but raised a humble pillar to his fame on that ground where posterity will erect a nobler and more lasting monument. SAM. BADCOCK."

Mr. Wesley thus rejoined:

"MR. URBAN, City Road, Dec. 24, 1785.

"THIS morning a friend sent me the Gentleman's Magazine for last May, wherein I find another letter concerning my eldest brother. I am obliged to Mr. Badcock for the candid manner wherein he writes; and wish to follow his pattern, in considering the reasons which he urges in defence of what he wrote before.—1. Mr. Badcock says, 'His brother cannot be ignorant, that he always bore the character of a Jacobite; a title to which I really believe he had no dislike.' Most of those who gave him this title did not distinguish between a *Jacobite* and a *Tory*; whereby I mean, 'one that believes God, not the People, to be the origin of all Civil Power.' In this sense he was a *Tory*; so was my Father; so am I. But I am no more a *Jacobite* than I am a Turk; neither was my Brother. I have heard him over and over disclaim that character.

2. 'But his own daughter affirmed it.' Very likely she might; and doubtless she thought him such. Nor is this any wonder, considering how young she was when her father died, especially if she did not know the difference between a Tory and a Jacobite; which may likewise have been the case with Mr. Badcock's friends, if not with Mr. Badcock himself.

"3. 'Mr. Wesley says, He never published any thing political.' This is strictly true.—'He never

wrote, much less published, *one line* against the King.' He never *published one.* But I believe he did write those verses, intituled, *The Regency;* and therein, 'by obliquely exposing the Regents, exposed the King himself.' In this my Brother and I differed in our judgments; I thought, exposing the King's ministers was one way of exposing the King himself. My Brother thought otherwise; and therefore, without scruple, exposed Sir Robert Walpole, and all other evil ministers. Of his writing to Sir Robert I never heard before, and cannot easily believe it now.

"4. From the moment that my mother heard my brother and me answer for ourselves, she was ashamed of having paid any regard to the vile misrepresentations which had been made to her after our return from Georgia. She then fully approved both our principles and practice; and soon after removed to my house, and gladly attended all our ministrations, till her spirit returned to God.

JOHN WESLEY."

This extraordinary man was born at Epworth in 1703; and was entered a scholar of the Charter-house about 1713, where he continued for seven years, under the instruction of the celebrated Dr. Walker and Mr. Andrew Tooke, author of "The Pantheon," and contemporary with Dr. Kenrick Prescot, late master of Catharine-hall, Cambridge. Being elected off to Lincoln college, Oxford, he became there a fellow about 1725; took the degree of M. A. in 1726; and was joint tutor with the late rector, Dr. Hutchins. During his residence there, he was equally distinguished by application and abilities, and laid up those large and varied stories of knowledge which he directed, during his long life, to the best purposes. But what chiefly characterised him, even at the early age of 26, was piety. By reading the works of the famous William Law, he, his brother Charles, and a few young friends, entered into that strict course of life which marks their sect at the present day.

They

They received the sacrament every week; observed all the fasts of the church; visited prisons; rose at four o'clock, and partook of no amusements. From the exact method in which they disposed of each hour, they acquired the nick-name of *Methodists*, and are the only people who take to themselves a term first given in reproach. The ridicule and contempt which this singular conduct produced, John and Charles Wesley * were well qualified to bear. They were neither to be intimidated by danger, affected by interest, nor deterred by disgrace. But their honest zeal did not stop here. In 1735 they embarked for Georgia, in order to convert the Indians †; but returned to England in 1737, when the charges of enthusiasm, bigotry, and fanaticism, were urged with so much bitterness, and examined with so little candour, that they were forbidden to preach any more in the churches. This gave rise to field-preaching, in which George Whitefield was first; with whom the Wesleys had cordial friendship, though they separated their congregations on some differences in sentiments ‡. John Wesley embraced the mild and general views of Arminius, which, it must be confessed, are more benevolent in their nature, and practical in their tendency, than Calvin's. His abhorrence of the doctrine and the man occasioned long, bitter, and useless controversy; though he never treated his opponents with the ill-breeding and abuse that he received from them. He now appeared as a zealous reformer, and the great leader of a sect no way differing in essentials from the Church of England. His peculiar opinions were, justification by faith, and Christian perfection; of which it may be remarked, the former is to be found in our own Articles, and the latter, however he might enforce

* See a curious account of two sons of Mr. Charles Wesley (both eminent proficients in music) Gent. Mag. vol. XLIX. p. 443.

† See in Gent. Mag. vol. VII. pp. 318. 575, his Letter from Georgia, and his Conference with the Indians.

‡ See Gent. Mag. vol. XI. pp. 277. 321, 322.

its possibility, he always disclaimed having attained himself. In 1738 he visited, at Hernhuth in Germany, Count Zinzendorff, the chief of the Moravians. In the following year we find him again in England, and, with his brother Charles, at the head of the Methodists. He preached his first *field sermon* at Bristol, on the 2d of April 1738, from which time his disciples have continued to increase. In 1741 a serious altercation took place between him and Mr. Whitefield. In 1744, attempting to preach at a public inn at Taunton, he was regularly silenced by the magistrates *. Though he remained the rest of his days nearer home, he travelled through every part of England, Scotland, and Ireland, establishing congregations in each kingdom. In 1750 he married a lady, from whom he afterwards parted, and she died in 1781; by her he had no children. This separation, from whatever motives it originated, we have heard some of his followers say, was the only blot in his character. Others have observed on this head, that nothing could be more effectually disappointed than ambition or avarice in an union with John Wesley. In 1755 he published "Serious Thoughts on the Earthquake at Lisbon †;" and in 1771 seems first to have commenced politician, by publishing "Thoughts on Public Affairs;" which was followed by "Thoughts

* See Gent. Mag. vol. XIV. p. 51.

† Archbishop Herring, in a letter to Mr. Duncombe, dated Jan. 25, 1756, says, "Your judgment is right. Whitefield is Daniel Burgess *redivivus*; and, to be sure, he finds his account in his joco-serious addresses. The other author [Mr. Wesley], in my opinion, with good parts and learning, is a more dark and saturnine creature. His pictures may frighten weak people, who, at the same time, are wicked; but, I fear, he will make few converts, except for a day. I have read his "Serious Thoughts;" but, for my own part, I think the rising and setting of the sun is a more durable argument for Religion, than all the extraordinary convulsions of Nature put together. Let a man be good on right principles; and then, *impavidum ferient ruinæ*; so far Horace was as good a preacher as any of us. For myself, I own I have no constitution for these frights and fervors."—See more on this subject in Gent. Mag. vol. XLVII. p. 134.

on

on Slavery, 1774;" "An Address to the Colonies *, 1775;" "Observations on Liberty, 1776 †." His other writings it is not very easy to enumerate. Few men have written so voluminously; divinity, devotional and controversial, history, philosophy, medicine‡, politicks, poetry, &c. &c. were all, at different times, the subjects of his pen; and whatever may be the opinions held of his divinity, it is impossible to deny him the merit of having done infinite good to the lower class of people. Abilities he unquestionably possessed, and a fluency which was highly acceptable, and well accommodated to his hearers. He had been gradually declining for about three years: yet he still rose at four o'clock, and preached, travelled, and wrote, as usual. He preached at Leatherhead Feb. 23, 1791. On the 28th the first symptoms of his approaching dissolution appeared. The four succeeding days he spent in praising the God of his mercies; and departed on the morning of March 2, to receive the reward of a life spent in bringing "glory to God in the highest, and peace and good-will to men."

His remains, after lying in his Tabernacle in a kind of state, dressed in the gown and cassock, band, &c. which he usually wore, and on his head the old clerical cap, a Bible in one hand, and a white handkerchief in the other, were, agreeably to his own directions, and after the manner of the interment of the late Mr. Whitefield, deposited in a piece of ground near his chapel at the Foundery,

* See a long letter to him in Gent. Mag. vol. XLV. p. 561.

† A considerable portion of his Poems, Hymns, and Sermons §, may be traced in the General Index of Books Reviewed in the Gentleman's Magazine; where also his controversy with Gill may be seen, vol. XXIV. p. 581; with Thompson, vol. XXX. p. 145; with Hill, vol. XLII. p. 532; vol. XLVII. p. 540.

‡ A subject on which he totally failed, see Dr. Hawes's "Examination of the Rev. John Wesley's Primitive Physic."

§ Among his early Sermons that were published, was one in 1735, on the "Pleasures of a Religious Life;" a Funeral Sermon in the same year; and one in 1740, "On Free Grace." Several were collected into three volumes, 1746, 1748, 1750; but "The Preacher's Assistant" notices only three other single Sermons, though many were printed by him; 1. At Bethnal Green, 1775; 2. At a Collection for the Humane Society, 1757; 3. On laying the Foundation of the new Chapel near the City Road, 1777. To which may be added, one on the Death of Mr. Whitefield, preached Nov. 18, 1770.

Moor-

Moorfields, on the morning of the 9th of March, in the plainest manner consistent with decency, amidst the tears and sighs of an innumerable company of his friends and admirers, who all appeared in deep mourning on the occasion. A sermon, previously to the funeral, was preached by Thomas Whitehead, M. D. (one of the physicians to the London hospital), accompanied with suitable Hymns, &c. And on the 18th, the different chapels in his connexion in London were hung with black.

Where much good is done, we should not mark every little excess. The great point in which Mr. Wesley's name and mission will be honoured is this: he directed his labours towards those who had no instructor; to the highways and hedges; to the mines in Cornwall, and to the colliers in Kingswood. These unhappy creatures married and buried among themselves, and often committed murders with impunity, before the Methodists sprang up. By the humane and active endeavours of him and his brother Charles, a sense of decency, morals, and religion, was introduced into the lowest classes of mankind; the ignorant were instructed, the wretched relieved; and the abandoned reclaimed. He met with great opposition from many of the Clergy; and unhandsome treatment from the Magistrates, who frequently would refuse to check or punish a lawless mob, that often assembled to insult or abuse him. He was, however, one of the few characters who outlived enmity and prejudice; and received, in his latter years, every mark of respect from every denomination.—The political sentiments of popular men are of importance to the State. John Wesley was a strenuous advocate for Monarchy; and all his followers in America were firmly Royal. Those of Mr. Whitefield declared in favour of Independence. His personal influence was greater than, perhaps, that of any other private gentleman in any country. It was computed that in 1791 there were in the three kingdoms 80,000 members† of this society. He visited them alternately; travelled 8000 miles

† They are now (1809) at least 200,000.

every

every year; preached three or four times constantly in one day; rose at four, and employed all his time in reading, writing, attending the sick, and arranging the various parts of this numerous body of people.—Amongst his virtues, forgiveness to his enemies, and liberality to the poor, were most remarkable: he has been known to receive into even his confidence those who have basely injured him; they have not only subsisted again on his bounty, but shared in his affection.—All the profit of his literary labours, all that he received, or could collect (and it amounted to an immense sum, for he was his own printer and bookseller), was devoted to charitable purposes. Yet, with such opportunities of enriching himself, it was doubtful whether the sale of the books would pay all his debts. His travelling expences were defrayed by the societies which he visited.

The superintendency of his various chapels and societies he committed, about the year 1784, by a deed enrolled in Chancery (in trust for support of his preachers and their poor families), to an hundred travelling preachers, then in various parts of these kingdoms; and among the number was the Rev. Dr. Coke*, at that time in America, whose mission was supposed to have increased the converts in the West India Islands, and other parts of America, to near 50,000, after the conclusion of the war, and founder, in 1789, of a college in South Carolina, called Wesley college.

On a review of the character of this extraordinary man, it appears that, though he was endowed with eminent talents, he was more distinguished by their use than even by their possession. Though his taste was classic, and his manners elegant, he sacrificed that society in which he was particularly calculated to shine; gave up those preferments which his abilities must have obtained, and devoted a long life in practising and enforcing the plainest duties. Instead of being "an ornament to literature," he was a blessing to his fellow creatures; instead of "the genius of the age," he was the servant of God!

* Who is now (1809) the *Arch-Præsul* of the very numerous sect of Methodists in Mr. Wesley's connexion.

No. X.

EMINENT ANTIQUARIES,

THE FRIENDS AND PATRONS OF MR. BOWYER.

(See vol. II. p. 90.)

ROBERT AINSWORTH, born at Woodyale, in the parish of Eccles, in Lancashire, four miles from Manchester, in September 1660, was educated at Bolton in that county; and taught school in the same town. On coming to London, he opened a considerable boarding-school at Bethnal Green, where in 1698 he wrote and published a short treatise of Grammatical Institution, inscribed to Sir William Hustler, and reprinted in 1736, 8vo, under the title of "The most natural and easy Way of Institution, by making a domestic Education less chargeable to Parents, and more easy and beneficial to Children. By which Method, Youth may not only make a very considerable Progress in Languages, but also in Arts and Sciences, in two Years." Mr. Ainsworth soon after removed to Hackney, and successively to other villages near London, where he taught with good reputation many years; when, having acquired a moderate fortune, he left off, and lived privately.

About the year 1714, it having been suggested to some principal booksellers, that a new compendious English and Latin Dictionary, upon a plan somewhat similar to Faber's Thesaurus, was much wanted, Mr. Ainsworth was thought of as a proper person to undertake so long and troublesome a work; and how well he executed it, has been sufficiently shewn by the rapid sale of several large impressions.

Mr. Ainsworth was elected F. A. S. in 1724; and, besides the Grammatical Treatise above mentioned, he

he published, 1. "Monumenta Vetustatis Kempiana *, ex vetustis Scriptoribus illustrata, eosque vicissim illustrantia, in duas partes divisa: quarum altera mumias, simulacra, statuas, signa, luces, inscriptiones, vasa, lucernas, amuleta, lapides, gemmas, annulos, fibulas cum aliis veterum reliquiis; altera nummos materiâ modoque diversos continet. 1721," 8vo; 2. "Ισειον, sive ex veteris Monumenti Isiaci Descriptione Isidis Delubrum reseratum, 1729," 4to; 3. "De Clypeo Camilli antiquo, operis elegantissimi, et cum per tot sæculâ duraverat, integritatis planè mirandæ, è reliquiis Musei Woodwardiani, apud Cl. V. Ric. King, Trib. Mil. adservato, Dissertatio. Præmittitur ejusdem Monumenti argumentique limbo insculpti descriptio †, 1734,"

* The greatest part of this collection was originally made by Mr. John Gailhard, who had been governor to George the first Lord Carteret, so created Oct. 12, 1681, and sold to his Lordship for an annuity of 200*l*. After the death of that Lord, which happened Sept. 22, 1695, Mr. John Kemp bought a considerable part of the collection during the minority of John Lord Carteret (afterwards Earl Granville), and more after his death. Mr. Kemp died Sept. 19, 1717 (aged about 52); and, by his will, directed that Robert Earl of Oxford, or his son Edward Lord Harley, or one of them, should have his whole collection of antiquities, with the books belonging to them, for 2000*l*. But, this proposal not being accepted, that collection was sold by auction, at the Phœnix Tavern in Pall Mall, on the 23d, 24th, 25th, and 27th of March 1721, in 293 articles, for 1090*l* 8*s*. 6*d*. Henry Earl of Winchelsea saw them in Gailhard's hands at Angiers 1676, and afterwards improved at Paris 1683. Six antient inscriptions, bought at Mr. Kemp's sale by Dr. Rawlinson, are now at Oxford, and published among the "Marmora Oxoniensia." Several others purchased by Ebenezer Mussel, esq. were resold at the auction of his curiosities 1765. See Maty's Life of Mead; and Gough's British Topography, vol. I. p. 671.

† This article had before appeared at the end of "Museum Woodwardianum, or Catalogue of the Doctor's library and curiosities sold by auction at Covent Garden, 1728," 8vo. See Ward's Lives of the Gresham Professors, p. 291. "The latter part of this catalogue, or museum, was drawn up by Mr. Ainsworth, though the Doctor had himself described most of the statues, tables, and vases, and written large notes upon most of them." Ward, MS. p. 300. See the history of this famous shield, British Topography, vol. I. p. 700.—At the end of some copies of "Joannis Ker Selectæ de Linguâ Latinâ Observationes, Lond. 1729,"

4to; and 4. "Thesaurus Linguæ Latinæ Compendarius; or, a compendious Dictionary of the Latin Tongue, designed chiefly for the use of the British Nation, 1736," 4to.—"Whilst this work was preparing, the execution of it was attended with so many difficulties, that it went on very slowly for a long time, and for some years was entirely suppressed. But afterwards, on account of Mr. Ainsworth's advanced age, and a disorder that affected his eyes, I was desired to assist in reviewing the copy; and at his request, and the booksellers concerned, accepted of it, after about a dozen sheets had been wrought off." Preface to the Second Edition; which was published in 1746 by Samuel Patrick*, LL.D. usher to the Charter-house; with

1729," 8vo. occurs "An English-Latin Table, &c." to which small tract Mr. Ainsworth has put the initials of his name.

* Soon after the publication of the former edition of this work, I received the following note from an unknown friend: "Sam Patrick was my school-master; I went to him, I think, about 1740 or 41; and he died about 1748. He was a man truly inoffensive in his disposition, of great reading in the Latin Classics, and as great simplicity of manners. So inattentive and unsuspicious was he, that the boys frequently put the most ridiculous impositions upon him; such, among others, as tying a paper-bag to his wig, which, without ever being sensible of, he would walk about the streets with, till either he perceived the people laugh at him, or some kind person informed him of the trick. When he returned to school, he never seemed to recollect what had been done to him, or took any notice about it. When a Scotch University had given him a diploma of LL.D. he took very late in life sacred orders; but never, I believe, had any preferment; nor do I know that he ever preached. I have heard him read prayers, which I think he did pretty well. Upon Pope's writing an epitaph [for Shakspeare's monument in Westminster Abbey], and using the words *publicus amor posuit*, he objected to the propriety of the expression *publicus amor*, upon which Pope said humorously, 'he believed Patrick might understand the meaning of a single word as well as any man; but the power of judging properly of two words together exceeded his abilities.' By the bye, I think I recollect having seen in Ovid's Works *publicus amor* used in that sense. But, to my knowledge, he once criticized upon words; and, though I was at that time a mere boy, I have thought since, very justly. He was giving an account to a military gentleman, who understood not the least of languages, of some famous book published at that time, the author of which used, he was telling the

many additions and improvements; to which Mr. Ainsworth himself contributed, as did also Dr. Ward, who had given his assistance in the first edition*.

the gentleman, this improper expression, 'at this time various incidents arising.' It was highly absurd, he said, to use 'incidents arising,' when the word *incident* itself, from *in* and *cado*, signified *to fall*."

* In the second edition, however, Mr. Bowyer in MS. has remarked, that "There are many gross mistakes; particularly interpreting *genæ* [cheeks] to signify *the eye-lashes*, from a law of the XII Tables, *Mulieres ne radunto genas.* [*Radere; i. e.* unguibus, says Festus. On Ἐληξιομαχησα, 1 Cor. xv. 3, 4, &c.] And *projicit* [throws away, or lays aside] *ampullas et sesquipedalia verba*, Hor. Art. Poet. 97, he interprets *utters* and *makes use of*, contrary to the sense of the place, and of the constant use of the word; so προϊημι in Greek." It is, however, the best work of the kind that has hitherto appeared. Dr. Patrick dying soon after, a third edition was superintended by Mr. Kimber in 1751, with little or no variation; and in 1752 an edition, in two volumes folio, much improved, by Mr. William Young, a genius far superior to either of the preceding editors; and whose abilities, if he could have bestowed the proper application, would have enabled him to publish a better Latin Dictionary than any that has ever appeared. (Mr. Young, I may here observe, was the real Parson Adams of Fielding.)—An edition in two volumes 8vo, was published in 1758, under the inspection of Mr. Nathanael Thomas; who corrected a fourth edition in 4to, 1761.—In 1773, the very learned Dr. Morell, at the age of 70, corrected, for the third time, an edition of this Dictionary, as appears by his letter to Messrs. Longman and Johnston prefixed to it. "There are few names," he observes, "so great as to enhance the sale of any book whatever, if its own utility does not recommend it: and as to myself, not being a dangler, or in any way importunate, by constitution; since, after frequent dedications, by permission, by request, I can only say with my late friend Dr. Young, 'I have been so long remembered, I am forgot;' I was induced to inscribe this work to you, with whom alone I can boast a mutual obligation." This was the fifth edition in 4to. The learned Veteran superintended also an octavo edition in one volume 1774, and in 1780 another edition in 4to.—It appears by an authentic paper, intituled, "An Account of the Expence of correcting and improving sundry Books," 1776, folio, that Mr. Ainsworth received for the first edition of his Dictionary 666*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.* For the second edition his executors were paid 250*l.*; Dr. Patrick 101*l.* 11*s.* 9*d.*; and Dr. Ward 26*l.* 5*s.* Mr. Kimber had twenty guineas for correcting the third edition; and Mr. Young 184*l.* 10*s.* for his improvements in the folio. Besides these sums 218*l.* 8*s.* had been paid by the booksellers to Dr. Morell for correcting Ainsworth, and 26*l.* 18*s.* to Mr. Thomas. In the whole, 1730*l.* 10*s.* 3*d.* By the same paper it appears, that

He had likewise a turn both for Latin and English poetry, some single poems of his having been printed in each of those languages. In 1721 he communicated a curious grammatical observation to Mr. Chishull, who styles him "doctissimus R. Ainsworth, amicus meus et vicinus, ob singularem eruditionem et humanitatem inter paucos æstimandus*." Mr. Ainsworth was remarkably near-sighted; but a letter from him, exhibited at the Antiquarian Society in 1779, shews that he wrote an astonishingly neat hand.

In the latter part of his life Mr. Ainsworth used to employ himself very much in rummaging the shops of obscure brokers in every quarter of the town; by which means he often picked up old coins and other valuable curiosities at a small expence; and became possessed of a very fine collection of English coins, which he sold singly to several gentlemen a short time before his death, which happened at London, April 4, 1743, at the age of 83. He was buried, according to his own desire, in the cemetery of Poplar, under the following monumental inscription, composed by himself:

that Dr. Patrick had been paid 40*l.* Mr. Young 50 guineas, and Dr. Morell 200 guineas, for correcting the Greek Lexicon of Hederic; and that, in the space of about 40 years (to the very great credit of the proprietors) nearly 12,000*l.* had been paid to authors and editors of Dictionaries and other large works, over and above the original sum given to them for their copies.

Richard Hogarth, father of the inimitable Painter, may be added to the Latin Lexicographers. He came to London, from Westmorland, to seek his fortune, in company with Dr. Gibson, the Bp. of London's brother; and was employed as a corrector of the press, which in those days was not considered as a mean employment. He published in 1712, "Grammatical Disquisitions; or, an Examination of the Eight Parts of Speech, by way of Question and Answer, English and Latin, &c. written for the Use of Schools of Great Britain, by Richard Hogarth, Schoolmaster." He meditated also an improved edition of Littleton's Dictionary, and Robertson's Phrases; of which Mr. John Ireland has one volume, with numerous corrections, and above 400 pages of MS. closely written. Mr. Bindley has a second volume (the Latin-English part) in which no farther than the first two letters were completed.—Richard Hogarth died about 1721.

* Inscriptio Sigea, 1721, p. 28. Antiq. Asiat. 1725, p. 22.

"Rob.

"Rob. Ainsworth et Uxor ejus, admodum senes,
Dormituri, vestem detritam hic exuerunt,
Novam, primo mane surgentes, induturi.
Dum fas, mortalis, sapias, et respice finem.
Hoc suadent manes, hoc canit Amramides.
To thy reflection, mortal friend,
Th' advice of Moses I commend;
Be wise, and meditate thy end."
Deut. xxvii. 29.

There is a caricature etching, by Pond, in 1739, after Ghezzi, intituled, "Due famosi Antiquari," supposed to be intended for Sir Andrew Fountaine*

* Sir Andrew Fountaine, whose ancestors were seated at Narford in Norfolk so early as the reign of Henry III. was son of Andrew Fountaine, esq. by Sarah, eldest daughter of Sir Thomas Chicheley. He was born in 1675; and educated as a commoner of Christ Church in Oxford, under the care of that eminent encourager of literature, Dr. Aldrich. He at the same time studied, under Dr. Hickes, the Anglo-Saxon language, and its antiquities; of which he published a specimen in "Hickes's Thesaurus," under the title of "Numismata Anglo-Saxonica et Anglo-Danica, breviter illustrata ab Andreâ Fountaine, eq. aur. et Ædis Christi Oxon. alumno; Oxon. 1705;" in which year Mr. Hearne dedicated to him his edition of Justin the Historian. He travelled over most parts of Europe, where he made a large and valuable collection of pictures, antient statues, medals, and inscriptions; and, while in Italy, acquired such a knowledge of *virtù*, that the dealers in antiquities were not able to impose on him. He was knighted by King William, Dec. 30, 1699; and succeeded to the estate at Narford, on his father's death, Feb. 7, 1706, æt. 74. In 1709 his judgment and fancy were exerted in embellishing "The Tale of a Tub" with designs almost equal to the excellent satire they illustrate. At this period he enjoyed the friendship of the most distinguished Wits; and of Swift in particular, who repeatedly mentions him, in the Journal to Stella, in terms of high regard. In December 1710, when Sir Andrew was given over by his physicians, Swift visited him, foretold his recovery, and rejoiced at it: though he wittily says, "I have lost a legacy by his living, for he told me he had left me a picture and some books, &c." Sir Andrew was vice-chamberlain to Queen Caroline whilst Princess of Wales, and after she was Queen, and tutor to Prince William; for whom he was installed (as proxy) Knight of the Bath, and had on that occasion a patent granted him, dated Jan. 14, 1725, for adding supporters to his arms; viz. On either side a lion Gules, with wings erected Or, with the old family-motto of *Vix ea nostra voco*, and the antient arms of Fountaine, Or, a fess Gules, between three elephants

and Ainsworth; or, as others conjecture, for Baron Stosch and Sabbatini.

elephants' heads Sable. Sir Andrew likewise quartered the arms of 1. Walshe; 2. Harsicle; 3. Damme; 4. Briggs; 5. Beaupré; 6. St. Omer.—Elizabeth, his sister, married Col. Clent of Knightwick in Worcestershire.—By his skill and judgment he furnished the most considerable cabinets of this kingdom, to his own no small emolument; being a perfect connoisseur in medals, antient as well as modern. He lost many miniatures by a fire at White's original chocolate-house in St. James's-street, where he had hired two rooms for his collections (Walpole's Anecdotes of Painting, II. 21.) In 1727 he was appointed warden of the Mint, an office which he held till his death, which happened Sept. 4, 1753, aged 78. He was buried at Narford, where he had erected an elegant seat, and formed a fine collection of porcelane, a valuable library, and an excellent collection of pictures, coins, and many other rare pieces of antiquity. Amongst the portraits in the library were, those of Titian, Aretin, Inigo Jones, Palladio, Laniere, Rembrandt, Cornelius Jansen, W. Shakspeare, Ben Jonson, Waller, Cowley, Butler, C. Cotton, Dr. Aldrich, Earl of Montrose, Gustavus Adolphus, Pope Alexander VII. Prince Rupert, Sir Kenelm Digby, Sir John Maynard, Admiral Blake, Dr. Prideaux, Dr. Pococke, Cardinal Mazarin, Marshal Turenne, Duke of Devonshire, Archbishop Tillotson, Earl of Pembroke, Doctors Wallis, Mead, and Radcliffe. Among the antiquities was a Roman vase of bronze dug up in the hall-yard, the Romans being supposed to have had a station at Narford, where many of their bricks were found. There were also two fine sepulchral chests of white marble dug up at Rome, neatly carved, and inscribed,

D. M. SERVILLIO.
FORTVNATO.
SERVILLIA. ATTICILLA.
PATRONO. B. M. FECIT.

D. M.
FLAVIVS. CASTVS. CVRATOR. EQVES. SING.
AVCENN. VIXIT. ANN. XXXVIII. . . .
A . . . TI. CVST. SEVERINI. C. DOMITIVS.
ASCLEPIVS. H. B. M. F.

(See Blomefield's Norfolk, vol. I. p. 640; vol. III. p. 521.)

A portrait of him, by Mr. Hoare of Bath, is in the collection at Wilton House; and two medals of him are engraved in Snelling's "English Medals, 1776;" one of them, struck at Florence, inscribed, ANDREAS. FOVNTAINE. EQVES. AVRATVS. ANGLVS. 1715. Exergue, A. SELVI. F. The other, in London, in 1744; on one side, his bust finely executed, and inscribed ANDREAS FOVNTAINE. EQ. AVRAT. On the reverse (in allusion to his office in the Mint) this antient Roman legend, A. A. A. F. F. III. VIR. That is, Ære, Argento, Auro, flando, feriundo, Triumvir. Exergue, J. A. DASSIER; a young Engraver, whom he employed at the Tower.—To Brig Fountaine, esq. a nephew of Sir Andrew,

and

EDWARD ALEXANDER, esq. admitted Proctor in Doctors' Commons in 1695, was many years Registrar to the Commissary of the Diocese of London. He purchased the manor of Ongar in Essex about the year 1717; married Levina, daughter of Sir Levinus Bennet, of Baberham, in Cambridgeshire; and died Oct. 27, 1751, aged 80. His valuable library lay packed up, and spoilt by damp, at Ongar, till his heir came of age, when it was sold almost for nothing about 1757. His grandson, Richard Henry Alexander Bennet, esq. married Elizabeth, eldest daughter of the late Peter Burrel, esq. of Beckenham in Kent, father of the present Lord Gwydir; was admitted F.A.S. in 1765; and in that year sold the Baberham estate to Robert Jones *, esq.

and the present owner of Narford hall, the publick are indebted for an elegant English version of Avellaneda's continuation of Don Quixote (see Gent. Mag. vol. LXXVII. p. 146;) as are his neighbours in Norfolk for continuing amongst them the old English gentlemanly amusement of Falconry.

* A merchant of London, a director of the East-India Company, one of the elder brethren of the Trinity House, and member in several parliaments for Huntingdon. He died Feb. 17, 1773; leaving an only daughter his heiress, though she disobliged him in marrying. He pulled down the old house; which was built in the Italian style, by Sir Horatio Pallavicini, with a gallery along the front of the second floor, and erected a moderate-sized modern house on the site called Baberham place, after a design of Sir Robert Taylor. Pallavicini's other house at Shelford, which suffered the same fate a few years before, had a *loggia* in the centre front. It is remarkable that an Italian, at that time of day, should be the possessor of two houses so near together! Sir Horatio was one of the collectors of the Pope's dues in Queen Mary's time, which (having pocketed in the time of Queen Elizabeth, and conforming to the Church of England) enabled him to purchase two considerable estates in Essex, which came to his two sons, who were knighted in her reign, and in that of her successor James I. See Morant's Essex, vol. I. pp. 8, and 26; and some other curious particulars in Gough's Camden, 1789, vol. II. p. 138.

Mr. Walpole observes, that this Sir Horatio died July 6, 1600; and that July 7, 1601, his widow married a Mr. Oliver Cromwell, as appears by the Baberham register. He is mentioned in the first edition of the Anecdotes of Painting, vol. I. p. 160, and again in the second edition of that entertaining work, where the following epitaph is quoted from a MS. of Sir John Crew:

"Here

JOSEPH AMES was descended from an antient family in Norfolk, where they are to be traced as far back as the middle of the 16th century. His great grandfather John Ames, son of Lancelot, was born at Norwich, March 3, 1576. He settled at Great Yarmouth, where his son Joseph was born March 5, 1619; who became a commander of some eminence in the Navy during the Protectorate; here mention should be made of the honorary medal that was given him for his public services. He died Dec. 1, 1695, æt. 76; leaving six children; of whom John, the sixth, settled in Wapping; where he had a small freehold of 40*l.* a year; and was a person of some curiosity; having made several collections for the town of Great Yarmouth, as well as other places which he had visited, particularly the sea-coast of England, Scotland, Norway, Holland, and France. He was the father of Joseph, the subject of this memoir; who was born at Yarmouth Jan. 23, 1688-9, and was about 12 years old at his father's death, and at a little grammar-school in Wapping. At 15, it is said, he was put apprentice to a plane-maker near Guildhall, London; and, after serving out his time with reputation, settled near the Hermitage, in Wapping,

"Here lies Horatio Palavazene,
Who robb'd the Pope to lend the Queene,
He was a thief: a thief! thou lyest;
For whie? he robb'd but Antichrist.
Him Death wyth besome swept from Babram,
Into the bosom of oulde Abraham:
But then came Hercules with his club,
And struck him down to Belzebub."

This had been printed long before, in a small miscellaneous volume of poetry, intituled, "Recreation for ingenious Headpieces, or a pleasant Grove for their Wits to walk in, &c. 1667."

"Sir Toby Palavicine, who lived at Baberham, made alterations within side, but did nothing to the structure: he built indeed at Shelford, two miles distant, an house in the Italian style, with a portico in the second story, which was pulled down by Mr. William Finch, a very considerable ironmonger at Cambridge; and in its place built a small neat box, now occupied, 1782, by his great nephew William Ingle Finch." *Cole's MSS.*

in

in the business of a ship-chandler, or ironmonger, and continued there till his death. In 1712 he lost his mother, who was buried in Wapping-church near her husband; and in 1714 he married Mary, daughter of William Wrayford, merchant of London.

When Mr. Ames's father came to live in Wapping, Mr. John Russel, minister of Poole in Dorsetshire, was preacher at St. John's, and continued so till his death in 1723. During his residence at Poole he had received many marks of friendship from the family of the Rev. Mr. John Lewis, minister of Margate, afterwards vicar of Minster in the Isle of Thanet about 40 years; an eminent divine and antiquary, well known for his many learned publications. In return for this kindness, Mr. Russel invited Mr. Lewis, who then taught grammar at Poole, whither he returned after his early removal to Bristol, to live with him at Wapping. Being himself much favoured by Abp. Tenison, he introduced Mr. Lewis to that Prelate, which Mr. Lewis acknowledged to have laid the foundation of his preferment in the Church. Mr. Russel was a worthy Divine, and took great notice of his neighbour, Mr. John Ames, and his infant son; and when Mr. Joseph Ames commenced housekeeper, Mr. Russel frequently visited him, and gave him his advice, which Mr. Ames ever after gratefully acknowledged. He introduced him to the acquaintance of Mr. Lewis, with whom he soon formed a friendship that continued as long as Mr. Lewis lived.

Mr. Ames very early discovered a taste for English history and antiquities, which was encouraged by his two friends. Some time before 1720, in attending Dr. Desaguliers' lectures, he formed an acquaintance with Mr. Peter Thompson, another native of Poole (of whom some account will be given in a future page); and with whom Mr. Ames

continued on terms of the most friendly intercourse till his death *.

" Some time before 1730, Mr. Lewis, who had himself collected materials for such a subject, suggested to Mr. Ames the idea of writing the History of Printing in England. Mr. Ames declined it at first, because Mr. Palmer, a printer, was engaged in a similar work, and because he thought himself by no means equal to an undertaking of so much extent. But, when Mr. Palmer's book † came out, it by no means answered the expectations of Mr. Lewis or Mr. Ames, or those of the publick in general. Mr. Ames, therefore, at length consented to apply himself to the task; and, after 25 years spent in collecting and arranging his materials, in which he was largely assisted by Mr. Lewis and other learned friends, and by the libraries of Lord Oxford, Sir Hans Sloane, Mr. Anstis, and many others, published in one volume, 4to, 1749, his " Typographical Antiquities, being an Historical Account of Printing in England, with some Memoirs of our antient Printers, and a Register of the Books printed by them, from the Year 1471 to the Year 1600; with an Appendix concerning Printing in Scotland and Ireland to the same Time."

What was his own opinion of this work, may be seen by his words in the Preface:

* Mr. Oldys, in his British Librarian, published in 1737, p. 374, returns many thanks " to Mr. Joseph Ames, member of the Society of Antiquaries, for the use " of one antient relick of the famous Wiclife." This was an illuminated MS. on vellum, called " Wiclife's Pore Caitiff." Mr. Oldys goes on to acknowledge his obligations to Mr. Ames, whom he styles " a worthy preserver of antiquities," and to " his ingenious friend Mr. Peter Thompson, for the use of several printed books, which are more scarce than manuscripts; particularly some, set forth by our first printer in England; and others, which will rise, among the curious, in value, as, by the depredations of accidents or ignorance, they decrease in number."

† See before, vol. II. p. 28—31.

" I do

"I do also ingenuously confess, that, in attempting this History of Printing, I have undertaken a task much too great for my abilities, the extent of which I did not so well perceive at first; but though it is not so perfect a work as I could wish, yet, such as it is, I now submit it to the publick; and hope, when they consider in what obscurity and confusion Printing in its infancy was involved, they will acknowledge that I have at least cleared away the rubbish, and furnished materials towards a more perfect structure." The opinions of others may be seen in the "Nova Acta Eruditorum," for 1754, p. 523, et seq.

The work was inscribed to Philip Lord Hardwicke, Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain. Mr. Ames was then fellow of the Royal and Antiquarian Societies, and secretary to the latter of these learned bodies. He was elected F. S. A. March 3, 1736; and on the resignation of Alexander Gordon, previous to his going to settle in Carolina, 1741, was appointed secretary. In 1754, the Rev. William Norris was associated with him; and on his decease became sole secretary till 1784. The Minutes of the Society in the earlier periods of it were barely outlines of the proceedings of each meeting*; for no secretary, before Mr. Norris, had an idea of giving abridgements of papers, however indispensably necessary, before the finances of the Society enabled them to print the memoirs themselves. This office gave Mr. Ames farther opportunities of gratifying his native curiosity by the communications as well as conversation of the Literati; and these opportunities were farther enlarged by his election into the Royal Society, and the particular friendship shewn to him by Sir Hans Sloane, then president, who nominated him one of the trustees in his will. The circumstances of Mr.

* A copy of the Minutes of the Society of Antiquaries, from 1717 to 1750, in two volumes folio, was bought by Mr. Walpole, at Mr. Ames's sale, for fifteen guineas.

Ames's death are thus related by his friend Sir Peter Thompson, in a short account of him, from whence the principal parts of this life are extracted: "After he had dined heartily with Sir Peter, Oct. 7, 1759, he went to Mr. Romelo's, in Basinghall-street, to see some curiosities, drank some coffee, and stayed there till past seven o'clock, when he and another friend, an ironmonger in St. Clement's-lane, whose name is not mentioned *, departed to their respective homes. As they passed by the Royal Exchange, Mr. Ames was seized with a violent fit of coughing, which brought on a profuse perspiration, and lasted near a quarter of an hour. When he had recovered himself, his friend asked him to come into his house in Clement's-lane, and sup with him. Mr. Ames complied with his invitation, in order to rest himself, and sat himself down on the first thing which presented itself in the shop. His friend desired him to remove into a chair in the counting-house, which he had no sooner done, than he expired without a sigh or groan. He was immediately put into a warm bed, and medical assistance called in; but without effect. He was removed to his own house the next day; and from thence to the church-yard of St. George in the East, Oct. 14, 1759, where he was deposited, at the depth of eight feet, in virgin earth, in a stone coffin, on the lid of which was the following inscription, by his friend and neighbour the Rev. Dr. Richard Flaxman:

"Depositum
JOSEPHI AMES,
Regiæ Societatis Londinensis Sodalis,
et
Antiquariorum Secretarii, qui, Antiquitati
exquirendæ studiosissimè addictus,
Antiquitates Typographicas Britannicas
indefesso labore et diligentiâ

* Mr. Ingham Foster, an eminent collector of antiquities.

per

per annos viginti quinque accuratè edidit.
Modestiâ, Probitate, et Benevolentiâ
currente vitâ sè gessit.
Tussi correptus violentâ subitò sed placidè
decessit,
Nonis Octobris, A. D. 1759; æt. 71."

Over the grave was placed a ledger-stone, having on the under side the following inscription, drawn up by another friend, Mr. William Massey:

"Hic conditæ jacent
reliquiæ mortales JOSEPHI AMES,
Regiæ Societatis Londinensis Sodalis,
et
Societatis ibidem Antiquariorum Secretarii;
qui
Antiquitatibus exquirendis studiosissimè deditus
indefesso labore, parique diligentiâ,
Historiam apud Britannos Typographicam
per annos viginti quinque concinnavit,
annoque Domini 1749 in vulgum edidit.
Modestiâ, Probitate, et Benevolentiâ,
per totum vitæ curriculum sese gessit.
Tussi tandem violentâ correptus,
quâ tamen paulò post sedatâ,
subitò sed placidè mortem obiit
Nonis Octobribus,
A. D. 1759, suæque æt. 71.
Αποθανων ἐτι λαλειται. Heb. xi. 4."

And on the upper side of the ledger-stone this in English:

"Here lie interred
the mortal remains of Mr. JOSEPH AMES, F. R. S.
likewise Fellow and Secretary
to the Antiquarian Society of London,
author of the History of Printing in Great Britain,
who died Oct. 7, 1759, aged 71.
He being dead, yet speaketh."

The

The following paragraph, inserted in the Public Advertiser the Tuesday after his decease, contains his real character:

"Last Sunday evening died, after a violent fit of coughing, Mr. Joseph Ames, author of the History of Printing in England, fellow of the Royal Society, and Secretary to the Society of Antiquaries, for which station he was eminently qualified by an inquisitive genius and assiduous application. His judicious taste in manuscripts, medals, and other curiosities, will be submitted to the public decision by the large and valuable collection he has left behind him. His amiable simplicity of manners, exemplary integrity, and benevolence in social life, greatly endeared him to all who had the pleasure of his acquaintance."

Much as we are indebted to the eccentric Mr. Mores for his account of our Founders, we cannot forbear noticing his harsh censure of Mr. Ames as an "arrant blunderer," supposed to have made English of the *Wetsteins*, and called them the *Westons*. Mr. Bagford committed a similar error in changing *Wenceslaus Hollar* into *William Hillier*. Mr. Mores adds more truly, Mr. Ames "was unlearned, yet useful; he collected antiquities, and particularly old title-pages and heads of authors, which he tore out, and maimed the books: for the first of these crimes he made some amends by his 'Typographical Antiquities;' for the second by his 'Catalogue of English Heads,' taken from the collection of Mr. Nickolls. This performance is not to be despised." Mr. Mores proceeds with a just invective against *portrait-fanciers*, compared with whom Mr. Ames was but one sinner among many.

Mr. Ames's collection of coins, natural curiosities, inscriptions, and antiquities, were sold by Mr. Langford, Feb. 20 and 21, 1760. His library of books and manuscripts and his prints, May 5—12, 1760, by the same auctioneer. Many of the books had notes by him; and among the MSS. besides a number

number of valuable historical and oriental transcripts, were:

Several Saxon Homilies, &c. by Mr. Elstob and his learned sister, purchased for a very small sum by the late James West, esq. and at his sale by John Maddison, esq.

A folio volume, handsomely bound in Turkey, inscribed "John Bull, doctor of musique, organiste and gentleman of her Majesty's most honourable chappell;" the ruled paper of which is marked in every sheet with T. E. the initials of Thomas East, who printed music under the patent granted to Thomas Tallis and William Birde, by Queen Elizabeth, 1575, for 21 years; few however of the tunes have the words put to them, or the name of the composer; and Dr. Bull's name is not there, but only those of other persons, so that it is probable he was only owner of the book *.

A transcript of King Alfred's translation of Orosius's "Hornesta Mundi," purchased by Mr. Pegge, and published with a literal English translation by the Hon. Daines Barrington, 1773, 8vo.

Mr. Lewis's History and Antiquities of Feversham, with many MS notes by the author.

Mr. Lewis's History and Antiquities of the Isle of Thanet, with many MS notes and additions by the author, drawings, plans, &c. it having been Mr. Lewis's own copy, and by him left to Mr. Ames.

Both these were bought by James Beauclerk, Lord Bishop of Hereford, came afterwards into the hands of Mr. Gulston, and on the sale of his library became the property of Mr. Gough †; as did also Gardiner's Antiquities of Dunwich, with MS notes by Mr. Ames; Coker's Survey of Dorsetshire, with MS additions by Mr. Ames and Mr. Lewis; Martin's Western Islands, 1716, with MS notes by Mr. Toland and Lord Viscount Molesworth; and Dugdale's View of the Troubles of England, with MS notes by the author.

* See Ward's Gresham Professors, p. 208.

† Who lately bequeathed them to the Bodleian Library.

Mr.

Mr. Palmer's History of Printing, with a number of MS Notes by Mr. Ames, and Heads of the early Printers*; and an Essay towards the History of Printing in England, by the Rev. Mr. Lewis, dated May 15, 1739.

The second volume of Mr. Palmer's work on the practical part of Printing, ready for press.

A variety of letters concerning Printing, from Mr. Lewis, Mr. Ballard, Mr. Rawlinson, Mr. North, Mr. Anstis, Mr. Thomas Baker, and others, purchased by Mr. Tutet. Some of these, which were given me by Mr. Gough with his interleaved copy of the former edition of these "Anecdotes," have been selected as a suitable illustration of the present publication, and shall be given in a future part of it.

Mr. Ames's History of Printing in two volumes, interleaved with a great number of MS additions and notes by himself. This copy, with the plates, blocks, and copy-right to the same, were purchased by his friend Sir Peter Thompson for nine pounds, and sold by him to Mr. Herbert, who, from his own valuable library, and the access he had to the Royal and others, the assistance of his friends, and his own unwearied assiduity, during a course of 25 years, might justly flatter himself that he had ascertained the rise and progress of the typographic art in these kingdoms, to as full an extent as any one man's life and application can attain; still however convinced, by continually recurring experience, that additions may be made even to this collection, as well as mistakes corrected in it †.

* This volume was bought at Mr. Tutet's sale, February 15, 1786, by Mr. Bindley, in whose Library it still remains.

† This was written in 1786; and Mr. Herbert indefatigably pursued his favourite study till his death, which happened, from a dropsical complaint, March 15, 1795, in his 77th year. The various labours of this good man's life deserve the public acknowledgment. His career commenced in the service of the East India Company, as purser's clerk to three of their ships. That which was to take in a lading of pepper stopped at Tellicherry, and, before she had completed her lading, an alarm of six French men of war was given. The Governor demanded 30 men

Mr. Ames's collection of title-pages to books, from 1474 to 1700, in three volumes, folio, with

men out of each ship, as he had power to do, for the defence of the place; and the ships sailed away without lights round the Lucadine Islands, and by Mount Delhi, to Bombay. After the alarm was over, they returned, and sent Mr. Herbert, in a miserable boat, full of bugs, and without change of linen, to demand their men, whom the Governor refused to give up, and he returned: but the ships having left their station, the boat could not find them; and the wind being against him, he was obliged to remain at Tellicherry, being engaged to return to his ship by the middle of July. He was obliged to undertake a journey over-land on the 16th of that month, with a Portuguese boy, who understood a little English, Portuguese, and *Parriar*, or *lingua Franca*, 12 sepoys, 8 porters, in all 20, besides himself and boy, and went round by sea to Calicut, before he ascended the heights, with two Bramins, who were bound by their *caste* to conduct him safe. The anxiety at not meeting the ships at the appointed time he did not recover for a twelvemonth; though he rejoined them, Aug. 8, at Fort St. David, Fort St. George being in the hands of the French. At his return, having produced a number of plans of the several settlements, he received from his honourable masters 300*l*. These plans were afterwards incorporated into a publication by Bowles, printseller, near Mercers chapel. Mr. Herbert set up the business of a printseller and engraver of charts on London-bridge, and continued in it till the houses on the bridge were taken down. The first night he spent in his house on the bridge, he was witness to a dreadful fire in some part of London, on the banks of the Thames, which, with several other succeeding ones, suggested to him the thought of a floating fire-engine. He proposed it to Captain Hill, of the Royal Exchange Assurance, who told him, "there must be a fire every now and then, for the benefit of insurance." He published his proposal in the Gazetteer, and it was soon adopted. He retired with an easy fortune; though, by his first marriage, he had nearly forfeited his expectations to what his aunt received by marriage with Dr. Porter, the physician, and had at her own disposal; and which, by the persuasion of some common friends, she gave to Mr. Herbert. He married to his second wife a niece of the Rev. Mr. Newman, pastor of the meeting in Carter-lane; and to the third, a sister of Mr. Croshold of London, and daughter of John Croshold, mayor of Norwich (who, by Mary, second daughter of the late Thomas, and brother to Robert Masham, esq. of Stratton Strawless, co. Norfolk, had issue Alexander, who died student of Caius college, Cambridge, 1748, and three daughters, Mary, Philippa, married to Mr. Herbert, and Sarah, who died April 3, 1795, leaving her fortune to her sister Herbert).—Robert Masham, esq. uncle to Mr. Herbert, was the representative of that family settled at Stratton Strawless, in South Erpingham hundred.

several bundles more, and of title-pages alphabetically arranged according to the place where printed, in two more folio volumes; a written title-page with a curious border, containing some thousand letters cut in wood, a folio volume, bound in Russia, were purchased by Mr. Walpole; a collection of initial letters, from the beginning of Printing, with some notes by Mr. Ames; and a catalogue of Caxton's books, portraits, and devices of printers; making in the whole seven large portfolios, and three bundles, were purchased by Mr. West; and at his sale, 1773, by Mr. Bull.

dred, Norfolk, from the middle of the 14th century. (See Blomefield, III. 593, 4.) The plates of Sir Richard Atkins's "History of Glouce-tershire" having escaped the fire which, in 1712-3, destroyed Mr. Bowyer's printing-office; and, except two or three, fallen into the hands of Mr. Herbert; he caused the lost ones to be supplied, and re-published the work in 1768, correcting the literal errors, but not restoring to their proper place several particulars pointed out in the original errata. Great part of this second edition was also destroyed by fire. The active mind of Mr. Herbert did not stop here. After the death of Mr. Ames, and the dispersion of the materials which had been collected for the "History of Printing in Great Britain and Ireland," he stept forward to resume the subject. While he resided in Gulston-square, Whitechapel, his application to possess himself of every article of information that libraries or auctions could furnish him with, was intense. The encouragement he received from the collectors of *black letter* books, from his Majesty's library to the smallest library of an individual, he has gratefully acknowledged in the preface to his new edition of Mr. Ames's "Typographical Antiquities," in three volumes; the first in 1785; the second, 1786; the third, 1790; all the volumes paged in continuation. If there were not a limit assigned by a wise and kind Providence to human life and human proficiency, we should say that Mr. Herbert wore himself out by too close an application to his favourite pursuit. But who can say this of a man who had attained almost the verge of his 77th year? Who can say this, who knows how little his faculties were impaired by his long life? Who, that knew his integrity, simplicity, and modesty, and how punctually he fulfilled the relative, social, and public duties required at his hands, can presume to imagine he will lose the reward of a long and happy life? —His papers on the growth of trees may be seen in Phil. Trans. LI. 7: and the usefulness of washing and rubbing the stems to promote their annual increase, LXVII. p. 12,

Besides

Besides his great work, Mr. Ames printed,

"A Catalogue of English Printers, from 1471 to 1700," in 4to, intended to accompany the proposals for the former.

"An Index to Lord Pembroke's Coins."

"A Catalogue of English Heads, or an account of about 2000 Prints, describing what is peculiar on each, as the name, title, or office of the person, the habit, posture, age, or time when done, the name of the painter, graver, scraper, &c. and some remarkable particulars relating to their lives, 1748," 8vo. This was a kind of Index to the ten volumes of English Portraits, which had been collected by Mr. John Nickolls, F. R. and A. SS. of Ware, in Hertfordshire, in 4 volumes, folio, and 6 in 4to.; and after his death, in 1745, were purchased for 80 guineas by the late Dr. Fothergill *. Mr. Ames dedicated his catalogue to Mr. West, "well knowing," as he says, "that if ever these increase to another volume, it must be from his valuable treasure †." Mr. Granger resumed Mr. Ames's work about 20 years after ‡; and we have only to regret, that the interval since the period which Mr. Granger assigned to himself has not been yet attended to, while the rapid improvement in the art of engraving daily multiplies its subjects to such an amount §.

The last of Mr. Ames's literary labours was the drawing up the "Parentalia, or Memoirs of the Family of Wren," 1750, in one volume, folio, from the papers of Mr. Wren ||.

* See vol. II. p. 160 for a farther account of this curious Collection.

† This treasure, on the death of Mr. West, was *cut up*, and sold by auction by Mr Langford.

‡ Mr. Granger's "Biographical History of England" was first printed in 4 vols. 4to, 1769; a supplemental volume of the same size 1774; a second edition, with all the additions, &c. incorporated in 4 vols. 8vo. 1775; and a third in 1804.

§ This has in part been supplied, by an excellent continuation of the labours of Mr. Granger, by the Rev. Mark Noble, 3 vols. 8vo, 1806; which brings the work down to the end of the reign of King George the First. See Gent. Mag. vol. LXXVII. p. 55.

|| The title sets forth that they were published by Stephen Wren, esq. grandson of Sir Christopher, "with the care of Joseph Ames, F. R. S. and Secretary to the Society of Antiquaries, London."

At

At Mr. Ames's expence was engraved, on a scale one third of the original, a Greek inscription, in honour of Crato, the musician of Pergamus, erected in the reign of Eumenes, King of Pergamus, 150 years before the Christian æra, brought from the village of Segucque, in Asia Minor, between Smyrna and Ephesus, by Captain Thomas Morley, 1732, and preserved at the house of Mr. Timothy Tennant, in Wapping; and at the sale of Mr. Ames's coins and antiquities purchased by General Campbell. The plate is dedicated to the Society of Antiquaries.

Mr. Ames was also possessed of the antient marble pillar from Alexandria, with the Cufic inscription, purchased since by the late Mr. West, and the late Gustavus Brander, esq. with all the letters from Dr. Hunt, Mr. Costard, and Mr. Bohun, illustrating it; and it was by him presented to the Society of Antiquaries, and engraved and published in their Archæologia, vol. VIII. pl. I. p. 1.

Mr. Ames (as has been observed) married April 12, 1714, Mary, daughter of Mr. Wrayford, merchant of London, who died Aug. 12, 1734; and by whom he had six children. Only one daughter, Mary, survived her mother. She was born Nov. 21, 1759; and married, after her father's decease, to Edward Dampier *, late commander of the Sea-horse East Indiaman, which he quitted in 1772, and was appointed deputy surveyor of shipping to the East India Company †.

* This memoir of Mr. Ames is taken principally from the biographical account of him by his highly valued friend Mr. Gough, prefixed to the "Typographical Antiquities."

† He descended from, or was related to, the Voyager of that name.

JOHN

JOHN ANSTIS, esq. was born at St. Neot's in Cornwall, Sept. 28, 1669, being son of John Anstis, of that place, by Mary his wife, daughter and coheir of George Smith. He was admitted at Exeter college, Oxford, 1685; and three years after at the Middle Temple; represented the borough of St. Germain's 1702, 1703, 1704, in Parliament, where he distinguished himself against the bill for occasional conformity, for which he got ranked in the list of the Tackers, printed about that time. He was appointed Deputy-General to the Auditors of the Imprest, 1703, which office he never executed; one of the principal Commissioners of Prizes, 1704, Garter King at Arms, 1714*; in which place he died on Sunday, March 4, 1743-4; and was buried the 23d following, in a vault of the parish-church of Mulo in Cornwall.

In an epigram by Prior (English Poets, vol. XXXI. p. 258) our Herald is thus introduced:

"But coronets we owe to Crowns,
And favour to a Court's affection:
By Nature we are Adam's sons,
And sons of Anstis by election."

Mr. Anstis published, in 1706, "A Letter concerning the honour of Earl Marshall," 8vo; in 1720, "The Form of the Installation of the Garter," 8vo; in 1724, "The Register of the most noble Order of the Garter†, usually called the Black Book, with a Specimen of the Lives of the Knights," 2 volumes, folio; and in 1725, "Observations introductory

* "I have a certain information that my affair [it does not appear what] would be ended forthwith if the Lord Treasurer would honour me by speaking to her Majesty at this time; which, in behalf of the Duke of Norfolk, I most earnestly desire, and humbly beg your Lordship's assistance therein. If it should be delayed for some days, I shall then be back as far as the delivery of my petition. I am obliged to attend this morning at the Exchequer, about the Tin-affair, and thereby prevented from waiting on your Lordship. With all duty, I am your Lordship's most obedient and faithful humble servant, JOHN ANSTIS." *MS Letter to the Lord Treasurer, March* 14, 1711.

† In a copy of this book, sold at the sale of George Scott, esq. of Wolston-hall, near Chigwell in Essex, were many MS letters of Mr. Anstis to Dr. Derham.

troductory to an historical Essay on the Knighthood of the Bath," 4to, intended as an Introduction to the History of that Order, for which the Society of Antiquaries had begun to collect materials. His "*Aspilogia*, a Discourse on Seals in England," with beautiful draughts, almost fit for publication, of which Mr. Drake read an abstract to the Society in 1735-6, and two folio volumes of drawings of Sepulchral Monuments, Stone Circles, Crosses, and Castles, in the three kingdoms *, were purchased, with many other curious papers (particularly a good collection of epitaphs and other inscriptions in England, and many in Wales, all facsimiles), at the sale of Mr. Anstis's library of MSS. 1768, by Thomas Astle, esq. F. R. and A. S. S.— Besides these, he left in MS. two large folio volumes on the Office, &c. of Garter King at Arms, and of Heralds in general; memoirs of the Talbot, Carew, Granville, and Courtney families; the Antiquities of Cornwall; "Collections relating to the parish of Coliton in Devonshire," containing matters relative to the tithes of that church (of which his son George Anstis was vicar), in a dispute before the Court of Exchequer in 1742, marked in the printed catalogue of his MSS. No. 62, which in 1780 was in Dr. Ducarel's library; and also large collections relative to All Souls college, Oxford, by whom they were bought. In Gutch's "Collectanea Curiosa," vol. II. p. 186, is a very curious History of Visitation Books, under the title of "Nomenclator Fecialium, qui Angliæ & Walliæ comitatus visitârunt, quo anno & ubi autographa seu apographa reperiuntur, per Johannem Anstis Garter. Principal. Regem Armorum Anglicanorum," from a MS. in the library of All Souls college. Sixty-four pages of his Latin answer to "The Case of Founders Kinsmen" were printed in 4to. with many coats of arms. His "*Curia Militaris*, or a Treatise of the Court of Chivalry, in three books," (of which Mr. Bindley has Le Neve's copy, with his MS corrections, containing only the intro-

* Extracts from which are printed in the Archæologia, vol. XIII. p. 208.

duction

duction and contents, the whole possibly which was ever published, if published at all), was printed in 1702, 8vo. In an unpublished letter of his to Mr. Wanley, dated Easter Sunday, 1713, I meet with this memorandum: "What I mentioned to you about the probability of the author of the poem of the deposition of R. II. was from the Annotations on the History of Charles VI. p. 746. 'Berry Herault de Roy Charles VII. esleu à Roy d'Armes des François a fort particulierement descrit la deposition & mort de ce Richard Roy d'Angleterre.' I do not remember whether your poem contains the deposition and death of the King."

The following is addressed to Samuel Gale, esq.

"SIR, July 12, 1721. Mortlake.

"I return you many thanks for your kind letter about Ferdinard I. King of Naples.

Mr. Howell is right in the main: he was born at Valentia, in Spain, and at the request of the nobility of Naples, declared Duke of Calabria on March 2, 1442, and successor to that Crown, being legitimated by Pope Eugenius the IVth, and on the 4th of the Ides of November 1458, advanced to that Throne, receiving investiture from Pope Pius II, and died at the age of 60 years on January 25, 1494.

My enquiry is confined to his titles before he was declared Duke of Calabria, but I know not in what manner to come at the knowledge of them. The reason is that under Edw. IV. the Count de Montgrison of Naples is named as one of the Knights of the Garter, and I could never yet find any person of that kingdom with that title; and I could not therefore be certain, but that might be his first title, and by reason of a dispute touching the right of that, this appellation might be given him as the titles of York and Lancaster here. His name occurs only once in our Register in 7 Edw. IV. Domino Principi, Regi Neapolitano, et Domino de Montgryson Apuliæ jam ante dilectis ad illustrissimum ordinem sedes reservatæ sunt. I had forgot to acquaint your brother that I could not find his

Saint Alkilda, Alguia was the nearest in sound in my book. I am, with all respect,

Your most obliged servant, JOHN ANSTIS."

"To your Treatise of *Horns* you will add that of Mortimer, to be found in Dugdale's Baronage, Vol I. p. 149."

His eldest son, JOHN ANSTIS, esq. who had been educated as a gentleman commoner at Corpus Christi college, Oxford, was, at the revival of the order of the Bath, in 1725, joined to his father in the office of Garter, and had the additional office of genealogist and registrar of the Bath. At the opening of Dr. Ratcliffe's Library, 1749, he was, with several other members of that University, created LL. D. He died a bachelor, Dec. 5, 1754; and was succeeded in his estate by his brother George above mentioned, besides whom he had another brother in holy orders. He possessed a well-chosen collection of books, and numerous MSS. on heraldic subjects by his father.

MR. HENRY BAKER, an ingenious and diligent Naturalist.—Of his family, and the accidental determination to a pursuit which subsequently became one of the principal employments of his life, and proved highly beneficial to himself and others, he has left the following brief memorial. "My Father William Baker had a seat in the Six Clerks Office, and was one of the Clerks in Chancery. He was the son of William Baker, the son of John Baker of Shrewsbury.—My Grandfather married Amey, daughter of Charles Powel, a gentleman of Cardiganshire; by whom he had two sons, William and James—William was my father.—The coat of arms borne by my father, is, Sable, a griffin rampant Argent and Ermined, gorged with a ducal coronet Or, armed and membered Gules—and I find a Coat like this assigned to John Baker of Shrewsbury, by Sir William Segar.—About the year 1694 my father married Mary, daughter of Aaron Pengry, esq. who was then Comptroller of the Petty Bag Office.

Thomson pinx. Nutter sculpt.

HENRY BAKER,

Fellow of the Royal and Antiquarian Societies,
and of the Society for the Encouragement of
Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce.
Author of "The Microscope made easy"
"Employment for the Microscope", and other Works.
Born May 8. 1698; died Nov.r 25. 1774.

Published by J. Nichols & Son Jan.y 1.st 1812.

Office.—I was born May 8th, 1698, in Chancery Lane, where my father resided, to be near the Chancery Office.—My father died when I was very young; and from about four years old, I was brought up by my father's mother (Mrs. Amey Lock.) On February 17th 1713, I was placed, at my own particular request, with Mr. John Parker, bookseller in Pall Mall; an honest, good-natured man, who treated me with the utmost kindness, and made the seven years I continued with him as agreeable a part of life as any I have known.—On April 26th 1720, I took leave of good Mr. Parker, and went to Enfield, on an invitation from Mr. John Forster, an eminent Attorney, who was my relation by marriage. —My visit here was intended only as an amusement for about a month, after a confinement of seven years; but Providence so ordered, that I continued in this family till my marriage.—For, this gentleman having a daughter (Miss Jane Forster) born deaf and consequently dumb, and at that time about eight years old; Heaven put into my thoughts a method of instructing her to read, write, understand and speak, the English language; which communicating to her father, he intreated me to make a trial, and from that time would never part with me, till I had perfected her in the language, and taught her not only to read, write, and speak it readily, but likewise to understand the speech of others by sight, and be able to hold a regular conversation with them upon most subjects."—Another daughter and a younger son of Mr. Forster's labouring under the same unfortunate defects, were afterward under his care, and received the same benefit*. In the

* Mr. Baker succeeded so well with these two young ladies, his first pupils (Miss Jane and Amey Forster), that they were well qualified in all the parts of the best female education, and possessed every elegant and domestic accomplishment. So capable were they of the politer instructions, that they appeared with advantage in public assemblies. They were not long since living in Peterborough. Their elder brother was bred to the Church, was D. D. and rector of Elton co. Huntingdon. Another

prosecution of this valuable and difficult undertaking, Mr. Baker was indeed eminently successful; and all his pupils bore the best testimony to the ability and good effect of his instructions *.

On April 30th 1729 he married Sophia, youngest daughter of the famous Daniel De Foe, by whom he had two sons, David Erskine, named after his godfather the Earl of Buchan, born January 30th 1730; and Henry, born February 10th 1734; both of whom he survived. On the 29th of January 1740, Mr. Baker was elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries; and on the 12th of March following, the same honour was conferred upon him by the Royal Society. In 1744, Sir Godfrey Copley's gold medal was bestowed upon him, for his microscopical experiments on the crystallizations and configurations of saline particles. This medal was presented to him by Sir Hans Sloane, the only surviving trustee of Sir Godfrey Copley's donation, at the recommendation of Martin Folkes, esq. the President, and of the Council of the Royal Society. Having led a very useful and honourable life, he died on the 25th of November 1774, being then in his 77th year. His wife died in 1762; and he left one only grandson William Baker †, who was born February 17th 1763, and to whom he bequeathed the bulk of his fortune, which he had principally acquired by his profession of instructing the deaf and dumb. It is much to be regretted that Mr. Baker

brother was the late Mr. Serjeant Forster, who left, by a daughter of the late Sir John Strange, Master of the Rolls, three daughters.

* His pupils were very numerous; among them were—The Honourable Lewis Erskine, a son of the Earl of Buchan; Lady Mary and Lady Anne O'Brien, daughters of the Earl of Inchiquin; the Earl of Sussex, and his brother Mr. Yelverton; the Earl of Haddinton; a son of Sir William Heathcote; the Earl of Londonderry; and many others. It is doubted whether any of his pupils be now living.

† The Reverend William Baker, LL. B. at this time (1812) rector of Lyndon and South Luffenham, in the county of Rutland.

should

should have suffered his art to die with him *. It is believed that his method was entirely his own, and he had certainly brought it to great perfection.

By his Will, among other bequests, he gave 100*l.* to the Royal Society, the interest of which was to be applied for an annual oration or discourse on some part of natural history or experimental philosophy †. His printed books (but not MSS. ‡) curiosities, and collections of every sort, he directed should be sold. His fine collection of natural history and antiquities were sold by auction March 13th 1775, and the nine following days. He was buried, as he had directed, in the Church-yard of St. Mary-le-Strand, within which Church he wished that a tablet should have been erected to his memory. Owing however to some particular regulations annexed to the new Churches under the Act of Queen Anne, of which this is one, leave to that effect could not be obtained.

Mr. Baker was a constant and useful attendant at the meetings of the Royal and Antiquarian Societies, and in both was frequently chosen one of the Council. He was peculiarly attentive to all the new improvements which were made in Natural Science, and very solicitous for the prosecution of them. Several of his communications are printed in the Philosophical Transactions §; and besides the papers

* Dr. Johnson, in his "Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland," speaking of the College at Edinburgh for the deaf and dumb, says, "I do not mention the instruction of the deaf as new; it was lately professed by Mr. Baker, who once flattered me with hopes of seeing his method published."

† Some of the most distinguished members of the Royal Society have delivered these discourses. And very recently Professor Davy has announced and described his luminous and most important chemical discoveries, in the Bakerian Lecture.

‡ His large and curious collection of manuscripts, consisting chiefly of an extensive correspondence on literary and philosophical subjects, and all his papers used in the instruction of the deaf and dumb, are now in the possession of his grandson the Rev. William Baker.

§ Phil. Trans. Vol. XLI. p. 441. 448. 503. 655. Vol. XLII. p. 143. 416, 616. Vol. XLIII. p. 35. 77. 331. 520. Vol. XLIV.

written by himself, he was the means, by his extensive correspondence, of conveying to the Society the intelligence and observations of other inquisitive and philosophical men. His correspondence was not confined to his own country. To him we are obliged for a true history of the *Coccus Polonicus*, transmitted by Dr. Wolfe. It is to Mr. Baker that we owe the larger Alpine strawberry, now so much cultivated in England. The seeds of it were sent from Professor Bruni of Turin, to our philosopher, who gave them to several of his friends, by whose care they furnished an abundant increase. The seeds likewise of the true Rhubarb, or *Rheum Palmatum*, were first transmitted to Mr. Baker by Dr. Mounsey, physician to the Empress of Russia. These, like the former, were distributed to his various acquaintance. And it is conceived that most of the plants of the Rhubarb now in Great Britain were propagated from this source.

In 1728 Mr. Baker, under the assumed name of Henry Stonecastle, as Steele had before done under that of Isaac Bickerstaff, projected, and, for nearly five years, solely conducted "The Universal Spectator," a periodical work, published weekly; during that time by far the greater part of the essays were written by him. A selection from these essays has been since published in four volumes, and has passed through several editions. In 1737 he published in two volumes, 8vo, "Medulla Poetarum Romanorum," an arranged selection of passages from the Roman Poets, with translations in English verse.

In 1743 appeared his account of that most extraordinary animal "The Water Polype," in one volume 8vo. of which there have been several editions. But his principal publications are, "The Microscope made

p. 432. 557. 576. Vol. XLV. p. 174, 270. Vol. XLVI. p. 196. 336. 499. 601. 617. 689. Vol. XLVII. p. 3. Vol. XLVIII. p. 117. Vol. XLIX. p. 12. Vol. L. p. 296. 777. Vol. LI. p. 694. Vol. LIV. p. 16, Vol. LVI. p. 67.

easy,"

easy," and "Employment for the Microscope." The first of these appeared in 1742, the other in 1762. They have since gone through many editions in two volumes 8vo; they form still the most interesting and useful work published on this subject, and almost all the other works which have since appeared on the microscope are little else than compilations from this work of Mr. Baker's.

"The Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce," is under singular obligations to our worthy Naturalist; he was one of the earliest members of it, and in fact contributed in no small degree to its rise and establishment, of which the Society was at that time so fully sensible as to make the voting him a perpetual member, one of its first acts. In his attendance he was almost unfailing; and not only in its first arrangement, but in the general deliberations of the Society, he was ever a most active, intelligent, and useful member*.

* A short account of the Origin of this Society, drawn up by Mr. Baker, and which was readbefore the Society of Antiquaries, is here annexed.

Mr. William Shipley, living at Northampton, being persuaded that a Society to give premiums, in the manner of one in Ireland, would be highly beneficial to this Kingdom, came to London several times in the years 1752 and 1753, and talked about it to Mr. Henry Baker, who was of the same opinion, but doubted the possibility of bringing it into effect. However, in the year 1753, a general recommendation of such a Society was drawn up, printed, and dispersed; and by the indefatigable pains taken by Mr. Shipley to put it into the hands of persons of quality and fortune, a Meeting was appointed to consider how such a scheme might be put into execution. At this first Meeting, which was held at Rathmill's Coffee House, in Henrietta-street, Covent Garden, March 22, 1754, were present, Lord Viscount Folkestone, Lord Romney, Dr. Hales, Mr. Goodchild, Mr. Baker, Mr. Brander, Mr. Crisp, Mr. Messiter, Mr. Lawrence, Mr. Short, Mr. Shipley. It was then proposed to give premiums for the discovery of Cobalt, and the cultivation of Madder, and for the best Drawings made by boys and girls; and the above two noble Lords, to whose goodness, generosity, and public spirit, the very being of this Society must ever be acknowledged entirely owing, resolved (at another Meeting) to make a beginning with these articles; and, as money would be wanting, each of them paid down ten guineas, and ten guineas for Lord Shaftesbury, but subscribed five

Mr. Baker was a poetical writer in the early part of his life. His "Invocation to Health" got abroad without his knowledge, but was reprinted by himself in his "Original Poems serious and humorous," in two parts, published in 1725 and 1726. Among these poems are some tales as witty and as loose as Prior's. He was the author also of "The Universe, a Poem, intended to restrain the Pride of Man," which has been often reprinted. It has been said of Mr. Baker, that "he was a philosopher in little things." If it was intended by this language to lessen his reputation, it has no propriety *. He was an intelligent, upright, and benevolent man, much respected by those who knew him best. His friends were the friends of science and virtue. He was ever ready to promote by his own exertions, and to contribute and assist others, in whatever could tend to the advancement of knowledge, and the benefit of society.

This tranquil, good man was not happy in his children. His eldest son, David-Erskine Baker, was a young man of genius and learning †. Like his

five guineas apiece only in the book, lest a larger sum might discourage others. At the same time some other gentlemen paid two guineas each; but the number being small, the aforesaid noble Lords declared they would make good all deficiencies, and accordingly paid thirty guineas more. But notwithstanding this beginning, the Society was yet unformed, without any head or regulations, till Mr. Baker drew up a plan for the establishment of proper officers for the orderly government of the Society. The plan, after due consideration, being confirmed and printed, and the Society thereby established, they, out of regard to the pains Mr. Baker and Mr. Shipley had taken, elected them both unanimously to be perpetual members of this Society. Mr. Baker all along took the minutes, though Mr. Shipley's name appeared as the nominal secretary of the Society.

* If this had reference to his microscopical pursuits, he has repelled it most satisfactorily in the motto from Pliny prefixed to his work, "Natura nusquam magis quam in minimis." Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. XI. cap. 2.

† Communications by D. E. Baker will be found in the following volumes of Philosophical Transactions; Vol. XLIII. p. 540. Vol. XLIV. p. 529. Vol. XLV. p. 598. Vol. XLVI. p. 467. Vol. XLVIII. p. 564.

father

father he was a Philosopher, an Antiquary, and a Poet. Being very partial to mathematical and geometrical studies, he was under the patronage of the Duke of Montagu, then Master of the Ordnance, placed in the Drawing Room in the Tower, to qualify him for the Royal Engineers; but unfortunately marrying the daughter of Mr. Clendon, a reverend empiric *, who had like himself a most violent and infatuated turn for dramatic performance, he repeatedly engaged with strolling companies, and provincial Theatres, in spite of every effort of his father to reclaim him. Many of his occasional poems were published in the periodical collections, and were much admired. He was the author of "The Companion to the Play-house," in two volumes 12mo, 1764, a work which, though imperfect, had considerable merit, and evinced a very extensive knowledge of dramatic literature. An edition of this work was published in 1780, much improved by the late Isaac Reed †, esq. Mr. D. E. Baker died Feb. 16, 1767.

Mr. Baker's other son Henry was brought up to the Law: he too had a turn for Literature. Jointly with his brother he translated from the Italian, and from the French, some Tracts published by the elder Dodsley; and he also, like his father and brother, was a Poet; too much indeed addicted to the Muse.

A friend who knew him well was of opinion that the two following lines of Pope were but too applicable to him:

"A clerk foredoom'd his father's will to cross,
Who penn'd a stanza when he should engross"—

* See Verses to the Rev. Mr. Clendon of Sutton near Maidstone, on his advertizing to cure deafness, and the King's Evil. Gent. Mag. 1754. Vol XXIV. pp. 562. 614.

† Another edition of it, considerably enlarged and improved, which had long been a desideratum, was presented to the publick, as this page was passing through the press, from the assiduous and accurate researches of my friend Mr. Stephen Jones.

He

He died young, August 24th, 1766; and left one son William, who has been already mentioned as the grandfather's heir.

In 1756 he published "Essays Pastoral and Elegiac," in two volumes, 8vo. His profession however was not wholly neglected; he left ready for the press an arranged collection of all the Statutes relating to Bankruptcy, with Cases, Precedents, &c. with the title of "The Clerk to the Commission." This work, it is believed, was published under another title in 1768.

WILLIAM BECKET, esq. a surgeon of considerable eminence, died Nov. 25. 1738. He was the author of Essays "on the Antiquity of Touching for the King's Evil, 1722," 8vo; "On the Venereal Disease in England;" and on other subjects, in the Philosophical Transactions, Nos. 357, 365. 366, 383.

BEAUPRE BELL, son of Beaupré Bell, esq. of Beaupré hall in Upwell and Outwell in Clackclose hundred, Norfolk, where the Beaupré family had settled early in the 14th century, and enjoyed the estate by the name of Beaupré (or *de bello prato)* till Sir Robert Bell intermarried with them, about the middle of the 16th *. Sir Robert was Speaker of the House of Commons 14 Eliz. and Chief Baron of the Exchequer; and caught his death at the Black Assize at Oxford, 1577. Beaupré Bell, his fourth lineal descendant, married Margaret, daughter of Sir Anthony Oldfield, of Spalding, bart. who died 1720, by whom he had issue his namesake, the subject of this article, and two daughters, of whom the youngest married William Graves, esq. of Fulborn in Cambridgeshire, who thereby inherited the family estate near Spalding, with the site of the Abbey, and has a striking likeness of his brother-in-law. Mr. Bell, junior, was educated at Westminster school; admitted of Trinity-college, Cambridge, 1723; and soon commenced a genuine and able

* Parkins's and Blomfield's Norfolk, IV. 180. 193.

Antiquary.

Antiquary. He made considerable collections of church notes in his own and the neighbouring counties; all which he bequeathed to the College where he received his education. Mr. Blomfield acknowledges his obligations to him for collecting many evidences, seals, and drawings, of great use to him in his "History of Norfolk *." The old gentleman led a miserable life, hardly allowed his son necessaries, and dilapidated his house. He had 500 horses of his own breeding, many above 30 years old, unbroke †. He took his son home from College, where his library was left to mould. On his death, his son succeeded to his estate, of about 1500*l.* a year; which he enjoyed not long; and dying, of a consumption, unmarried, on the road to Bath, left the reversion, after the death of his sister (who was then unmarried, and not likely to have issue), with his books and medals, to Trinity college; under the direction of the late vice-master, Dr. Walker. But his sister marrying (as above) it is said the entail was cut off. He was buried in the family burying-place, in St. Mary's chapel, in Outwell church; for the paving of which, and for a monument, he left 150*l.* The Registers of the Spalding Society abound with proofs of Mr. Bell's taste and knowledge in antient coins, both Greek and Roman, besides many other interesting discoveries. He published Proposals, elegantly printed, for the following work, at 5*s.* the first subscription, "*Tabulæ Augustæ;* sive, Imperatorum Romanorum, Augustorum, Cæsarum, Tyrannorum, et illustrium virorum à Cn. Pompeio Magno ad Heraclium Aug. series chronologica. Ex historicis, nummis, et marmoribus collegit Beaupreius Bell, A. M. Cantabrigiæ, typis academicis ‡ 1734;" which was in great forwardness in

* Preface, p. lii.

† The late Earl of Uxbridge had as many, and the late Duke of Ancaster's brother in 1784 had 1500.

‡ "My late friend Mr. Beaupré Bell, a young gentleman of most excellent knowledge in medals, whose immature death is a real loss to this part of learning, was busy in putting out a book like that of Patarol, and left his MSS. plates, and coins, to Trinity college, Cambridge." Stukeley's Carausius, I. 67.

1733,

1733 *, and on which Mr. Johnson communicated his observations. Mr. Bell conceived that coins might be distinguished by the hydrostatical balance †, and supposed the flower on the Rhodian coins to be the *lotus*, but Mr. Johnson the *balaustrum*, or pomegranate flower. He sent the late unhappy Dr. Dodd notes concerning the life and writings of Callimachus, with a drawing of his head, to be engraved by Vertue, and prefixed to his translation of that poet. He made a cast of the profile of Dr. Stukeley, prefixed to his "Itinerarium," and an elegant bust of Alexander Gordon, after the original given by him to Sir Andrew Fountaine's niece. He communicated to the Spalding Society an account of Outwell church, and the Haultoft family arms, in a border engrailed Sable a lozenge Ermine, quartering Fincham, in a chapel at the East end of the North aile. He collected a series of *nexus literarum*, or abbreviations. He had a portrait of Sir Thomas Gresham, by Hilliard, when young, in a close green silk doublet, hat, and plaited ruff, 1540 or 1545, formerly belonging to Sir Marmaduke Gresham, bart. then to Mr. Philip, Filazer, by whose widow, a niece to Sir Marmaduke, it came to Sir Anthony Oldfield, and so to Maurice Johnson. He addressed verses on *color est connata lucis proprietas* to Sir Isaac Newton, who returned him a present of his Philosophy, sumptuously bound by Brindley.

The late Mr. Cole, of the Fen-office, editor of the second edition of Sir William Dugdale's History of Embanking, 1772 ‡, tells us that this edition was printed from two copies of the old one, one corrected by Sir William himself, the other by Beaupré Bell, esq. "a diligent and learned Antiquary, who had also made some corrections in his own copy, now in Trinity college library." See his letters, dated Beaupré hall, May 11, and July 30, 1731, to

* See the "Reliquiæ Galeanæ," in the Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica, No. II. p. 490.

† Ibid. p. 53.

‡ Printed at the expence of Richard Geast, esq. of Blythe hall, who married the immediate descendant of Dugdale. See in the third volume, under the year 1772.

T. Hearne,

T. Hearne, about the Pedlar in Swaffham church, a rebus on the name of Chapman, prefixed to Hemingford, p. 180, and preface, p. 113. See also, on the same subject, Preface to Caius, p. xlvii. and lxxxiv. and the speech of Dr. Spencer, vice-chancellor of Cambridge, to the Duke of Monmouth, when he was installed Chancellor, 1674, Ib. lxxxvi. In p. lii. Hearne styles him *amicus eruditus, cui et aliis nominibus me devinctum esse gratus agnosco.* He also furnished him with a transcript, in his own hand-writing, of Bishop Godwin's Catalogue of the Bishops of Bath and Wells, from the original in Trinity college library. App. to Ann. de Dunstable, 835. 837. A charter relating to St. Edmund's Bury abbey. Bened. Abbas, p. 865. The epitaph of E. Beckingham, in Bottisham church, in Cambridgeshire, Pref. to Otterbourne's Chron. p. lxxxii. App. to Trokelow, p. 378. Papers, &c. of his are mentioned in Bibl. Top. Brit. p. 57, 58. 62. Walsingham church notes, p. 59, entered in the Minutes; a paper on the Clepsydra, p. 60; and five of his letters to Mr. Blomfield are printed, pp. 290. 465—472; one to Dr. Z. Grey, p. 147; one to Mr. N. Salmon, p. 150; others to Mr. Gale, pp. 169. 181. 302—305; to Dr. Stukeley, p. 176. 178. See also pp. 176. 178. 181. 465. 469. 470. 471. In Archæologia, vol. VI. pp. 133. 139. 141. 143. are some letters between him and Mr. Gale, on a Roman horologium mentioned in an inscription found at Taloire, a poor small village in the district and on the Lake of Annecey, &c. communicated to him by Mr. Cramer, professor of philosophy and mathematics *.

The following correct copy of the epitaph given in Mr. Camden's Remains, p. 400, at Farlam, on the West Marches towards Scotland, near Naworth castle; being communicated to the Society 1734, Mr. Bell sent them the Latin translation annexed:

John Bell of Brekenbrow ligs under this stean,
Four of mine een sons laid it on my weam.

* See the Bibliotheca Topographia Britannica, p. 60.

I livd

I livd all my days but * shirt or strife;
I was man of my meat and master of my wife.
If thou'st done better in thy time than I have done
in mine
Take the stean off o' my weam and lay it upon thine.

Ipse Caledoniis Bellus benè notus in oris
Mole sub hâc, nati quam posuere, cubo:
Mensa parata mihi, mihi semper amabilis uxor,
Et placidæ noctes et sine lite dies.
Heus, bone vir! siquid fecisti rectiùs istis,
Hoc marmor tibi do quod tegat ossa libens.

Dr. Thomas Birch, a valuable biographical and historical writer, was born in the parish of St. John Clerkenwell, Nov. 23, 1705. His parents were both of them Quakers; and his father, Joseph Birch, was a coffee-mill maker by trade. Mr. Joseph Birch endeavoured to bring up his son to his own business; but so ardent was the youth's passion for reading, that he solicited his father to be indulged in this inclination, promising, in that case, to provide for himself. The first school he went to was at Hemel-Hemsted in Hertfordshire. It was kept by John Owen, a rigid Quaker, for whom Mr. Birch afterwards officiated some little while as an usher. The next school was kept by one Welby, near Turnmill-street, Clerkenwell, who never had above eight or ten scholars at a time, whom he professed to instruct in the Latin tongue in a year and a half. To him Mr. Birch was likewise an usher; as he also afterwards was to Mr. Besse, the famous Quaker, in George's court in St. John's lane, who published the posthumous works of Claridge. It is farther said, that he went to Ireland with Dean Smedley †; but

* Without.

† Who published, in 1728, "A Specimen of an universal View of all the eminent Writers on the Holy Scriptures; being a Collection of the Dissertations, Explications, and Opinions of learned Men, in all Ages, concerning the difficult Passages and obscure Texts of the Bible; and of whatsoever is to be met with, in Profane Authors, which may contribute towards the better understanding of them." This extensive undertaking was intended to have been composed in two large folio volumes. Had the plan

pre-

in what year, and how long he resided with the Dean, cannot now be ascertained. He was indefatigable in his application, and stole many hours from sleep to increase his stock of knowledge. By this unremitting diligence, though he had not the happiness of an University education, he soon became qualified to take holy orders in the Church of England, to the surprize of his acquaintance. We do not precisely know when this event took place; but it must have been as early as in 1728. In the same year he married the daughter of the Rev. Mr. Cox, to whom he was curate; but his felicity was of short duration, Mrs. Birch dying of a puerperal fever in less than twelve months after their marriage *. Almost in the very article of her death she wrote to her husband the following letter:

"July 31, 1729.

"This day I return you, my dearest life, my sincere and hearty thanks for every favour bestowed on your most faithful and obedient wife,

"HANNAH BIRCH †."

proceeded, it is no very far-fetched conjecture to suppose that Mr. Birch was to have been an assistant.

* See Mr. Birch's pathetic "Verses on the Death of a beloved Wife," in the "Select Collection of Poems, 1780," vol. V. p. 258.

† The following epitaph is transcribed from the hand-writing of Dr. Birch;

"H. S. E.
HANNAH BIRCH,
candore morum ac suavitate
ingenio supra sexum, supra ætatem,
politioribus literis exculto,
insignis.
Quæ cum longioris in conjugio felicitatis
spem faceret,
et tabe et puerperio simul correpta
occidit.
Ploret lector elegans et humanus
talem tam citò interiisse fœminam,
egregium sui sexûs exemplar.
Miserescat quicunque in conjugio felix
infelicis Mariti,
cui fato tam immaturo abrepta
in lætis consors,
in adversis solamen,

et

In 1732 he was recommended to the friendship and favour of the Lord High Chancellor Hardwicke, then attorney general; to which noble Peer, and to the present Earl of Hardwicke, he was indebted for all his preferments. The first proof he experienced of his Patron's regard, was the living of Ulting, in the county of Essex, in the gift of the Crown, to which he was presented in 1732. In 1734 he was appointed one of the domestic chaplains to the unfortunate Earl of Kilmarnock, who was beheaded in 1746. Mr. Birch was chosen a member of the Royal Society Feb. 20, 1734-5; and of the Society of Antiquaries, Dec. 11, 1735, of which he afterwards became Director till his death. Before this the Marischal College of Aberdeen had conferred on him, by diploma, the degree of Master of Arts. In 1743, by the interest of Lord Hardwicke, he was presented by the Crown to the sinecure rectory of Landewy Welfrey in the county of Pembroke; and in 1743-4 was preferred, in the same manner, to the rectory of Sidington St. Peter's, in the county and diocese of Gloucester. We find no traces of his having taken possession of this living; and, indeed, it is probable that he quitted it immediately, for one more suitable to his inclinations, and to his literary engagements, which required his almost constant residence in town; for, on the 24th of February, 1743-4, he was instituted to the united rectories of St. Michael, Wood-street, and St. Mary Staining; and in 1745-6 to the united rectories of St. Margaret Pattens, and St. Gabriel, Fenchurch-street (by Lord Chancellor Hardwicke, in whose turn the presentation then was). In January, 1752, he was elected one of the Secretaries of the Royal

et quicquid in vitâ fuerat amœnius,
præter memoriam semper amabilem.
Vale, anima candidissima et optima;
te exemplo in terris præeuntem,
te sede jam ex sublimiori vocantem,
tuo usque sustentatus amore,
quam citissimè Deo visum fuerit,
lætus lubensque sequar."

Society,

Society, in the room of Dr. Cromwell Mortimer, deceased. In January, 1753, the Marischal College of Aberdeen created him Doctor of Divinity; and in that year the same degree was conferred on him by Archbishop Herring. He was one of the Trustees of the British Museum *; for which honour he was probably indebted to the present Earl of Hardwicke; as he was for his last preferment, the rectory of Depden † in Essex, into which he was inducted Feb. 26, 1761.

* This trust was an honour much coveted by Dr. Taylor, who said it was the blue ribband of a scholar; and certainly no man could be better qualified to figure in it than he was, from his general knowledge of books, medals, and antiques, and his liberal way of thinking on all subjects; but *Diis aliter visum est.*
Dr. Taylor's Friend.

† "Depden was in the possession of Dr. Cock, and of his own patronage, who consented to an exchange for a living of Lord Hardwicke's own, near Colchester, which was out of distance of Dr. Birch's city livings. This living was bought by Dr. Cock's father, an honest man, who got a handsome fortune as a carrier at Cambridge. In 1736, before the Mortmain Act took place, St. John's College (of which the present Dr. Cock is a member) was desirous of buying the living at the price he gave, and would have allowed the son the next turn; but this was not accepted, though it would have been a dear bargain to them. Dr. Cock by consenting to the exchange, got a living in a much better country; and, besides, of more value than his own (besides getting rid of the terror he had had from his house being robbed by a gang of disguised persons of notorious villainy), and also was sure of receiving Depden again, without any favour, whenever Dr. Birch should die, who was the much older person; accordingly, he has held both ever since that event, and resides on Lord Hardwicke's living; where he has laid out a great deal of money in making the parsonage commodious and handsome."
This note was written by Mr. Ashby in 1780.

"Lord Hardwicke did not present Dr. Birch to Depden, near Newport in Essex, but allowed him to make an exchange with my first cousin, John Cock, D.D. then patron and rector of Depden; who, taking a disgust on being rifled and gagged by a gang of smugglers, who haunted that neighbourhood, sought for an exchange; and this accommodating Dr. Birch for distance with other preferments (in London), Lord Hardwicke was pleased to allow him to quit the valuable rectory of Great Horkesley, near Colchester, to which he had lately preferred him, for that of Depden, nearly of equal value; so that, upon Dr. Birch's unfortunate death, my cousin Dr. Cock came, of course, into his own living again, and is now possessed of both; and,

to

In the latter part of his life he was chaplain to the Princess Amelia; and in 1765 he resigned his office of Secretary to the Royal Society, and was succeeded by Dr. Maty.

His health declining about this time, he was ordered to ride for the recovery of it; but being a bad horseman, and going out, Jan. 9, 1766, he was unfortunately thrown from his horse *, on the road betwixt London and Hampstead, and died on the spot, in the 61st year of his age, to the great regret of his numerous literary friends; and was buried in St. Margaret Pattens. Dr. Birch had, in his lifetime, been very generous to his relations; and none, that were nearly allied to him, being living at his

to repay Lord Hardwicke, in some degree, for keeping possession of Horkesley, has expended, on the parsonage and offices, I suppose at least 4 or 5000*l.* It would have been kinder in Mr. Ashby to have styled Dr. Cock's father a merchant, which was his real profession, though he kept several waggons to convey the Suffolk and Cambridgeshire butter to Messrs. Mawdsley (my brother-in-law) and Daking, the greatest cheesemongers, I suppose, in the world. See Maitland's History of London for an account of their Trade." *Rev. W. Cole, MS.*

Dr. Birch (from its being out of distance probably) appears never to have taken possession of Great Horkesley. Dr. Browne held it from 1756 to 1761, when Dr. Cock took it, and resigned Depden to Dr. Birch. "The opening of Dr. ——'s letter," says Mr. Morant, in an unpublished letter to Dr. Birch, dated July 23, 1760, "gave me infinite pleasure, thinking that I was going to have you for a near neighbour. In reading further, I was soon disappointed. However, I rejoice at your happiness, wherever the object of it may happen to be." In a letter written the same day to another friend, Mr. Morant says, "Great Horkesley I perfectly know. It is a fine parish, well situated, four miles North of Colchester; a good parsonage-house, near the church, 40 acres of glebe, &c. We reckon it a good 270*l.* a year; which may produce 200*l.* clear, as the premises are in good repair. But, by way of exchange, the Doctor can hardly expect to meet one equal to it in all respects; little more than 200 or 240*l.* *per annum* perhaps, as people are naturally fond of being rather near London.—The tithe and glebe of Fordham rectory, exclusive of the house, were let for 197*l.* in 1750."

Among Dr. Birch's MSS. (No. 4270) is "Some Account of the Tithes belonging to the parish of Depden in Essex, and receipts for repairs done by Dr. Birch the rector," &c.

* The horse was frightened at a gun shot off by a boy at birds.

decease,

decease, he bequeathed his library of books and manuscripts, with his picture painted in 1735, and all his other pictures and prints not otherwise disposed of by his will, to the British Museum. He likewise left the remainder of his fortune, which amounted to not much more than 500*l.* to be laid out in Government Securities, for the purpose of applying the interest to increase the stipend of the three assistant librarians; thus manifesting at his death, as he had done during his whole life, his respect for literature, and his desire to promote useful knowledge. To the Royal Society he bequeathed his picture painted by Wills in 1737, being the original of the mezzotinto print done by Faber in 1741. His valuable publications are enumerated below*.—The substance of this memoir was taken,

* 1. "The General Dictionary, Historical and Critical;" including a new Translation of Mr. Bayle, and interspersed with several thousand new Lives. Dr. Birch's associates in this undertaking were, the Rev. John Peter Bernard, Mr. John Lockman, and Mr. George Sale. The whole design was completed in ten volumes, folio; the first of which appeared in 1734, the second and third in 1735, the fourth in 1736, the fifth in 1737, the sixth and seventh in 1738, the eighth and ninth in 1739, and the last in 1741.—2. "Professor Greaves's Miscellaneous Works, 1737," 2 vols. 8vo.—3. "Thurloe's State Papers, 1742," 7 volumes, folio.—4. Dr. Cudworth's "Intellectual System" (improved from the Latin edition of Mosheim); his Discourse on the true Notion of the Lord's Supper, and two Sermons, with an Account of his Life and Writings;" 2 vols. 4to, 1743.—5. "The Life of the Hon. Robert Boyle, 1744;" prefixed to an edition of that excellent Philosopher's Works, revised by Dr. Birch.—6. "The Lives of Illustrious Persons of Great Britain," annexed to the Engravings of Houbraken and Vertue, 1747—1752.—7. "An Inquiry into the Share which King Charles the First had in the Transactions of the Earl of Glamorgan," 1747," 8vo. A second edition of this treatise was published in 1756, under the title of "An Inquiry into the Share which King Charles the First had in the Transactions of the Earl of Glamorgan, afterwards Marquis of Worcester, for bringing over a Body of Rebels, to assist that King, in the Years 1645 and 1646. In which Mr. Carte's imperfect Account of that Affair, and the Use of his MS Memoirs of the Pope's Nuncio Rinuccini, are impartially considered. The whole drawn up from the best Authorities, printed and manuscript. The second Edition. To which is added an Appendix, containing several Letters of the King to

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in my former edition, from the "Biographia Britannica;" and to the candid Writer of that ar-

the Earl of Glamorgan, from the Originals in the Harleian Collection of Manuscripts;" and it was a work which excited no small degree of attention.—8. "An Historical View of the Negotiations between the Courts of England, France, and Brussels, from the year 1592 to 1617; extracted chiefly from the MS State Papers of Sir Thomas Edmondes, Knt. Embassador in France and at Brussels, and Treasurer of the Household to the Kings James I. and Charles I.; and of Anthony Bacon, Esq. Brother to the Lord Chancellor Bacon. To which is added, a Relation of the State of France, with the Character of Henry IV. and the principal Persons of that Court, drawn up by Sir George Carew, upon his Return from his Embassy there in 1609, and addressed to King James I. Never before printed. 1749," 8vo.—9. "A Sermon on the Proof of the Wisdom and Goodness of God, from the Frame and Constitution of Man, preached before the College of Physicians, in consequence of Lady Sadlier's Will, 1749."—10. An Edition of "Spenser's Fairy Queen, 1751," 3 vols. 4to. with prints from designs by Kent.—11. "The Miscellaneous Works of Sir Walter Raleigh;" to which was prefixed the Life of that great, unfortunate, and injured Man, 1751, 2 vols. 8vo.—12. "The theological, moral, dramatic, and poetical Works, of Mrs. Catharine Cockburne; with an Account of the Life of that very ingenious Lady, 1751," 2 vols. 8vo.—13. "The Life of the Most Reverend Dr. John Tillotson, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury. Compiled chiefly from his Original Papers and Letters, 1752," 8vo. A second edition, corrected and enlarged, was prefixed to the Archbishop's Works, revised by Dr. Birch, in 1752; and printed separately in 1753.—14. "Milton's Prose Works, 1753," 2 vols. 4to, with a new Life of that great Poet and Writer.—15. "Memoirs of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, from the Year 1581, till her Death. In which the secret Intrigues of her Court, and the Conduct of her Favourite, Robert Earl of Essex, both at home and abroad, are particularly illustrated. From the original Papers of his intimate Friend, Anthony Bacon, Esquire, and other Manuscripts never before published, 1754," 2 vols. 4to.—16. "The History of the Royal Society of London, for improving of Natural Knowledge, from its first Rise. In which the most considerable of those Papers, communicated to the Society, which have hitherto not been published, are inserted in their proper Order, as a Supplement to the Philosophical Transactions, 1756 and 1757," 4 vols. 4to.—17. He corrected the "State Papers of Queen Elizabeth," published by Mr. Murden, 1759, 1 vol. folio.—18. "The Life of Henry Prince of Wales, eldest Son of King James I. Compiled chiefly from his own Papers, and other Manuscripts, never before published, 1760," 8vo.—19. "Letters, Speeches, Charges, Advices, &c. of Francis Bacon, Lord Viscount St. Alban, Lord Chancellor of England, 1763," 8vo. A small Supplement was added,

ticle I took the liberty of pointing out a slight mistake in it. Among other proofs of Dr. Birch's industry, it is said, p. 303, "not to mention other instances, there are no less than sixteen volumes, in quarto, of Anthony Bacon's papers, transcribed from the Lambeth Library*." I have no doubt but Dr. Birch transcribed the number of volumes here represented; though but a small part of them was taken from the Lambeth Library. The fact is, there is but one volume in folio on the subject in that Library (being the eighth volume of Bishop Gibson's†

added to it in 1764; and the whole were in 1765 incorporated in a complete edition of the Chancellor's Works, revised by Dr. Birch and Mr. Mallet.—20. "Letters between Col. Robert Hammond, Governor of the Isle of Wight, and the Committee of Lords and Commons at Derby House, General Fairfax, Lieutenant-General Cromwell, Commissary-General Ireton, &c. relating to King Charles I. while he was confined in Carisbrooke Castle in that Island. Now first published. To which is prefixed a Letter from John Ashburnham, Esq. to a Friend, concerning his Deportment towards the King, in his Attendance on his Majesty at Hampton Court, and in the Isle of Wight, 1764," 8vo. These Letters were the last publication Dr. Birch lived to print.—21. His last essay, "The Life of Dr. Ward" (finished but a week before his death, from hints suggested by Dr. Ducarel, the late Mr. Henry Baker, and other friends of the Professor), was published by Dr. Maty in 1766. His numerous communications to the Royal Society may be seen in the Philosophical Transactions; and his poetical talents are evident from the verses referred to in p. 283.

* "The Master of *Lambeth House* has good hopes that you have not done with his Libraries. Libraries were collected for such folks as you; and the doors of these, and, indeed, every door in this house, shall be at all times open to you."

Abp. Herring to Dr. Birch, Nov. 14, 1752.

† "Dr. Tenison, who in 1674 had published the 'Baconiana,' bequeathed all his MSS. not before deposited in Lambeth Library, to his chaplain, Dr. Edmund Gibson, then rector of Lambeth, and afterwards successively bishop of Lincoln and London, and to Mr. (afterwards Dr.) Benjamin Ibbot, who had succeeded Dr. Gibson as library-keeper to his Grace. Dr. Ibbot dying April 11, 1725, many years before Bishop Gibson, the whole collection of Archbishop Tenison's papers came under the disposition of that Bishop, who directed his two executors, the late Dr. Bettesworth, dean of the Arches, and his son, George Gibson, esq. to deposit them, with the addition of many others of his own collecting, in the Manuscript Library at Lambeth;

papers) containing only 282 pages of Anthony and Lord Bacon's Letters, &c. That volume, which, by the favour of the late Dr. Ducarel, I had an opportunity of examining, was lent, by permission of Archbishop Secker, to Dr. Birch, out of which he selected all that had not been printed before, adding also several letters from the Hatfield collection, the Harleian MSS. &c. &c. and published the whole in one volume, 8vo, 1763 *.

and accordingly, after his Lordship's death, which happened on the 6th of September 1748, all these manuscripts were delivered by his said executors to Archbishop Herring, on the 21st of October of that year, and placed in the library on the 23d of February following. But, as they lay undigested in bundles, and in that condition were neither convenient for use nor secure from damage, his Grace, the present Archbishop [Secker] directed them to be methodised, and bound up in volumes, with proper indexes, which was done by his learned librarian, Andrew Coltee Ducarel, LL. D. fellow of the Royal and Antiquarian Societies; to whose knowledge, industry, and love of history and antiquities, the valuable library of manuscripts of the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury is highly indebted for the order in which it is now arranged; and by whose obliging and communicating temper it is rendered generally useful. Bishop Gibson's collection, including, what is the chief part of it, that of Archbishop Tenison, fills fourteen large volumes in folio. The eighth of these consists merely of Lord Bacon's papers."

Dr. Birch, Preface to Lord Bacon's Letters.

* Dr. Birch is frequently honoured by the notice of Bp. Warburton in the lately published Letters to Bp. Hurd. "Your account," he says, "of your labouring through poor Birch ‡ made me smile. I will assure you he has here done his best, and topt his part." *Dec.* 15, 1752.—On obtaining a prebend in the church of Gloucester Dr. Warburton says, "Birch introduced the directions he gave me about taking possession, &c not amiss. He said, it was so long since I had any preferment, that I must have forgot all the formalities of the law. There was another thing he did not dream of, that it is so long since I had occasion to enquire about the formalities, that I am become very indifferent to the things themselves."—And again, after settling an important epoch in History, he says, with a joke, "Could Birch himself now have settled an important point of Chronology better?"

‡ "His Life of Archbishop Tillotson." HURD.

The

The following particulars in the Life of Dr. WILLIAM BORLASE (sent by himself, not long before his death, to the Rev. William Huddesford, Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford) were communicated by the late Rev. Thomas Warton to my friend Mr. Gough.

"DEAR SIR, Ludgvan, May 8, 1772.

I MIGHT justly save you this trouble, and refer you, for every thing the world can be anxious to know relating to [myself] to the Parish Register.

Go search it there, where to be born and die
Of rich and poor make all the history.

But, as nothing in the literary way escapes you, and you say you are making collections in Biography, and desire a few memorandums concerning the Author of some Treatises on this County, I shall send you what may amuse one so partially civil to him as you have been, though inconsiderable to the rest of the world. [William Borlase,] descended from the family of that name, seated at the place whence they derived it, in Cornwall (though of Norman original), from the time of William Rufus *, was the second son of John Borlase, of Pendeen, in the parish of St. Just, Cornwall, esq. who served in two Parliaments (temp. Anne) for the borough of St. Ives, by Lydia, youngest daughter of Christopher Harris, of Hayne (co. Devon) esq. His grandfather married Mary, the daughter of Richard Keigwin, by Margaret, daughter of Nicholas Godolphin, of Trewarvenith, esq.

[William Borlase] was born † Feb. 2, 1695, and put early to school, at Penzance; where his master used to say, 'he could learn, but did not;' he was thence, more to his improvement, in the year 1709, removed to the care of the Rev. Mr. Bedford, then a learned schoolmaster at Plymouth; and in March 1712-3 to Exeter College, in Oxford; where he

* See Sir Edward Bysse's Notes on Upton, p. 92.

† At Pendeen, in the parish of St. Just, Cornwall.

took his bachelor's and master's * degrees, as soon as of the usual standing.

In the year 1719 he was admitted, by Lancelot Bishop of Exeter, to deacon's orders; and by the same ordained priest in 1720.

Gratitude requires that he now mentions his patrons, to whom he owed a sufficiency, that set him above want (though below envy) all the rest of his life. His father purchased for him, of the Rev. Mr. Charles Wroughton (then proprietor of the next turn, as well as incumbent), the next presentation to the rectory of Ludgvan; but the then grantor, Charles Duke of Bolton, original proprietor of the church of Ludgvan, dying before the grantee, the purchase was void. Mr. Wroughton died soon after (viz. March 1721); and, by the application of his father, then deputy recorder of St. Ives, strengthened by a recommendation of Sir John Hobart, bart. afterwards Earl of Buckingham, added to that of the Corporation of St. Ives, W. B. was presented, by Charles, the subsequent Duke of Bolton, to the rectory of Ludgvan, and instituted thereunto by Dr. Weston, bishop of Exeter, on the 22d of April 1722.

In the year 1724 he married Anne, eldest surviving daughter of the Rev. William Smith, M.A. rector of the parishes of Camborn and Illogan, Cornwall.

In the year 1730, being much troubled with rheumatic pains, he went to Bath; where, under the care of the late ingenious Dr. William Oliver, and by cold-bathing in the sea after his return, he, through the goodness of Providence, acquired such a firmness of constitution as served to carry him to the extremes of old age.

In the year 1732 the Rev. Mr. James Millet, A.M. who had been 55 years vicar of St. Just (the parish in which W. B. was born, and wherein his father had the most considerable property), dying, and the Rev. Dr. Borlase † of Castlehornek, W. B.'s elder

* M.A. June 1, 1719; LL.D. by diploma, March 13, 1766.

† Walter Borlase, LL.D. afterwards Vice-warden of the Stannaries.

brother,

brother, having then the two considerable vicarages of Madron and Kenwyn, the one from Bishop Weston, the other from his father; the father thought there was some room, and reason, to apply to the then Lord Chancellor King, in favour of his second son, W. B. then rector of Ludgvan. This application was of little service; but, by the recommendation of Sir William Morice, of Werington (co. Devon) bart. the Lord Chancellor King, consenting to present W. B. to the vacant vicarage*, ordered him to go and thank Sir William Morice for that favour.

His amusements (intermixed with classical reading) had been hitherto Gardening and Planting; amusements in which the agreeable situation of Ludgvan carried him greater lengths than, perhaps, every one would commend, though not inconducive to health. At times he collected mineral and metallic fossils, with which the rich copper-works of the late Earl of Godolphin, in Ludgvan parish, fortunately enabled him, with the greater ease, to gratify his friends, both at home and abroad; whilst, in return, he received such information and encomiums on the production of the Cornish mines, as encouraged him now first to think of studying the natural history of his native county, and look more narrowly into the structure and properties of the so much commended fossils, as well as trace the other, though less interesting, bounties of nature.

About the same time W. B. perceiving the several parts of Cornwall abounding with many monuments of remote antiquity, and finding them for the most part either not at all mentioned, or the few that were noted passed with less examination than they deserved, enlarged his plan, and entered upon the study of the Druid learning, with the religion and customs of the antient Britons before their conversion to Christianity, intending to describe and explain the several unknown, or hitherto ill-understood,

* This vicarage and the rectory of Ludgvan were the only ecclesiastical preferments Dr. Borlase ever received.

remains

remains in Cornwall. To this extensive undertaking he was encouraged, as well as assisted, by the happy neighbourhood of some learned and well-disposed gentlemen, within a few miles of his residence, particularly the late worthy Sir John St. Aubyn, bart. the reverend and learned Mr. Edward Collins, late vicar of St. Erth, and others. How worthy Cornwall (though hid as it were in the extreme angle of Britain) was of further enquiry, was the usual topic of social visits. Excursions, to view the subjects already mentioned by others, were not to be dispensed with; to search for more, was altogether as necessary, to make a collection the more entertaining, and that the monuments might mutually illustrate one another. The latter of the above-named gentlemen was generally the companion of all antiquarian enquiries; and his judicious decision was as frequently a check in some disquisitions, as it was a leader to the Author's single, and more superficial animadversions in other cases: but want of health, and other avocations interfering, and preventing him from taking a farther share in a work then hardly sketched out but in imagination, W. B. was solely engaged for some years in the prosecution of a design so abstruse at the same time and so comprehensive, in which, his happy connexion with one, who took more than her part of domestic cares, all the while, on purpose to indulge his tendency to an object favourite both to husband and wife, did not a little contribute to make him persevere.

His correspondence had been hitherto confined to his own neighbourhood, or extended, by letters only, to the literati of London, Oxford, and elsewhere, from his study; a sphere much too contracted for the design; but, in the year 1748, having been previously favoured with some little intercourse, by letter, from Dr. Lavington, then the worthy Bishop of Exeter, he attended the ordination there of his eldest son. As he here paid his duty to his Diocesan, he was fortunate enough to commence an acquaintance with the Rev. Dr. Charles Lyttelton

Lyttelton (afterwards Bishop of Carlisle, and President of the Society of Antiquaries), then come to be installed into the Deanry; and the Rev. Dr. Jeremiah Milles, chantor, afterwards Dean of that church, and likewise President of that Body, on the death of Bp. Lyttelton; an affinity of studies setting aside the want of merit, and station in the Church.

This widened his circle of literary correspondence; and, bringing home to his door many useful animadversions, cast both new and old lights on the principal points of history: and the many obligations to these learned and communicative gentlemen (in consequence of this interview) W. B. has taken all possible care to acknowledge in his Works. He was desired to send what he had compiled to them for inspection, and encouraged to prosecute his studies.

In the year 1750, being in London, he was admitted fellow of the Royal Society, having been chosen the year before, after performing a sort of exercise for that honour, in a Treatise on the Cornish Crystals*. He now published the scheme of his intended Work, to be printed by subscription; a tedious way of proceeding, indeed, for himself, and, what gave him more pain, burthensome to his friends, but a method which did him much credit, by the number and rank of the subscribers.

In July 1753 he took his manuscript of the Antiquities of Cornwall to Oxford (though London was first thought of for printing it), determined in the choice of the place by the greater retirement, and more easy access to books; and, with incessant application, had superintended the engravings, and finished the whole impression, by the February following, when it was published†.

* A list of his valuable communications to the Royal Society (nineteen in number) is printed in the Biographia Britannica, 1780, vol. II. p. 425.

† His next publication was, "Observations on the antient and present State of the Islands of Scilly, and their Importance to the Trade of Great Britain, in a Letter to the Rev. Charles Lyttelton, LL. D. Dean of Exeter, and F. R. S." This work, which was

He returned directly to Cornwall; and, in all intervals of duty, sedulously set about the other half of his task, viz. the Natural History, for which he had been gathering collections on every side for many years.

In the year 1757, Oct. 30, he came to Oxford, to employ the same press where he had, much to his satisfaction, printed his Antiquities; engaging also the same engraver, the late ingenious Mr. James Green; who, but that death interposed, had soon been among the first of his profession.

On the 24th of April following (viz. 1758), by the assistance of Providence, he had completed the impression, so as to set out on his return to Cornwall.

As soon as he returned, his first care was, to send all the fossils, and remains of antiquity, which he had described in his Works, for the satisfaction of the curious, as well as his testimony of gratitude to his Alma Mater, to the care of the learned Mr. Huddesford, fellow of Trinity College, and curator of the Ashmolean Museum, to be there reposited; for which he received the thanks of the University, in a letter from the Rev. Dr. Thomas Randolph, then head of Corpus Christi college, and vice-chancellor, dated Nov. 10, 1758; and the fossils, &c. were placed in a glass desk, or cabinet, for the more commodious examination; W. B. continuing to send every thing curious in his department, as it came to hand, to the same repository.

March 23, 1766, he was presented to his degree of Doctor of Law, by the University, the Rev. Dr. Durell, principal of Hertford College, being then Vice-chancellor.

was printed likewise at Oxford, and appeared in 1756, in quarto, was an extension of a paper that had been read before the Royal Society, Feb. 8, 1753. At the request of Dr. Lyttelton this account was enlarged into a distinct treatise, intituled, "An Account of the great Alterations which the Islands of Scilly have undergone, since the Time of the Antients, who mention them, as to their Number, Extent, and Position."

As

As he was now grown old, his pastoral care, and study of the Scriptures, had not passed unnoted, and he had made many collections, extracts, and paraphrases, in the way of '*Sacræ Exercitationes*,' without any intention to publish them, merely to ascertain Scriptural truths, for his own satisfaction, but always stitched or bound in separate volumes, to keep them distinct.

His circle growing narrower every day, his amusements abroad, and in the open air, were superintending the many high-roads of his parish, which was so placed by nature, in a narrow slip slip of land between the North and South channels, that it had more roads in number from and to the neighbouring towns of Penzance, Marazion, St. Ives, Helston, Redruth, and Falmouth, than any one in Cornwall, perhaps than most (of equal extent) in England. Those, therefore, he took upon him to form, and reform.

His sedentary amusements at home were, the belles lettres, among which painting was chief, as producing always "something new to wish, or enjoy," and rather whetting the appetite to go on (for in this art there is no summit, no *ne plus ultra)* than fatiguing by what was gone through. The literary walk, however, was not deserted; he had been for some time before correcting and enlarging his Antiquities, and in the year 1769 he published, in London *, the second edition of the Antiquities of Cornwall, with several additions, correcting the press himself at his own house, whither the sheets were all sent for his revisal.

His next chief attention, in the literary way, was confined to revising minutely his Natural History of Cornwall, contracting superfluities, rectifying mistakes, and interspersing such additional discoveries as occurred. He added also to the plates of that work, such fresh subjects and embellishments as after-informations furnished.

* From the press of W. Bowyer and J. Nichols.

After

After this, he revised and prepared for the press, a treatise he had composed some years before, called "Private Thoughts concerning the Creation and the Deluge;" but a violent illness, in 1771, and the apprehensions of entangling himself in so long and close attention, as correcting the press solely, and at such a distance as London, made him drop this design, and recall his manuscript, which he had sent to his bookseller to be published, after printing a page or two.

Being now in his 77th year, very little more can be hoped for by himself, or expected by others.

Having been long accustomed to the confinement of his study, retirement and old-age incessantly call upon him with the less terror, and resignation to his increasing infirmities becomes every day easier, and less irksome, till he now, at last, accounts it among the blessings of long life, that it has quieted and extinguished every spark of ambition, and that it enables him to withdraw more and more with some decency from the world; precluding the well-intended, perhaps, though rather too frequent, visits of civility, in which there is generally more dissipation, at all stages of life, than real compensation for the waste of time, especially in the days of age.

In hopes, however, of being not entirely useless, as yet, whilst it pleases God to grant him life, most of his present time (as not the least of his pleasures) he allots to the instruction of a dutiful and apprehensive youth, the present companion of his retirement.

Thus, sir, I have complied with your request of the 13th of last December, *dicenda tacenda locutus;* and if such a weak career of life can amuse you for half an hour, it cannot be owing to the critic, but the friend of, dear sir,

Your most affectionate humble servant, W. B."

Though Dr. Borlase, by the time he had completed his three principal works, had exceeded his sixtieth year, he continued to exert his usual diligence

gence and vigour. The chief objects of his attention were his pastoral duty, and the study of the Scriptures. In the course of this study, he drew up paraphrases on the book of Job and the books of Solomon, and wrote some other pieces of a religious kind; all which, however, he seems to have composed rather for his private improvement, than with a view to publication. The correction and enlargement of his Antiquities of Cornwall for a second edition engaged some part of his time; and when this business was completed, he applied his attention to a minute revision of his Natural History, and to intersperse the additional discoveries which had occurred to him. As this work is become scarce, a new edition of it, with the author's improvements, would probably be very acceptable to the publick. After he had revised his Natural History, he also prepared for the press (as he mentions himself) a Treatise concerning the Creation and Deluge. This curious work was actually put into my hands; and two pages of it printed in octavo as a specimen; when a violent illness, in January 1771, induced him to drop his design.

From the time of his illness, he began sensibly to decline; the infirmities of old age came fast upon him; and it was visible to all his friends that his dissolution was approaching. This expected event happened on the 31st of August, 1772 in the 77th year of his age. He was lamented in the several relations of a kind father, an affectionate brother, a sincere friend, an instructive pastor, a man of erudition, and a good citizen.

He was buried within the communion rails in Ludgvan church, by the side of Mrs. Borlase, who had been dead about three years, and over whose grave he had caused to be engraved the following elegant testimony of the mutual harmony and affection in which they had lived:

"ANNÆ suæ
per annos propemodum quadraginta et quinque
uxori peramatæ, amanti, amabili,

ex-

extremum hoc qualecunque
grati animi pignus,
posuit
Gulielmus Borlase.
Decessit in Christo multum desiderata
Aprilis xxi^mo die. MDCCLXIX.
ætat. LXIV."

The epitaph placed over Dr. Borlase by his executor is as follows:

" Hic etiam sunt repositæ
reliquiæ Annæ mariti
GUL. BORLASE, LL. D. R. S. S.
perurbani, perhumani, perquam pii,
hujusce parochiæ per annos LII
rectoris desideratissimi,
in republica necnon literaria versatissimi.
Loquuntur scripta,
testantur posteri.
Ob. XXXI Aug. A. D. MDCCLXXII."

The Doctor had by his lady six sons *, two of whom alone survived him, the Rev. John Borlase

* For one of his sons, who died young in the Naval service, there is the following inscription on a small plate in Ludgvan church, written by an afflicted Father:

" By the smallness of this table,
judge not, Reader, of that loss
which it deplores.
CHR. BORLASE, a youth of sweet and amiable disposition,
choosing the life of a sailor,
and making quick advances to deserve
the honours of his profession,
died, neither by the fury of war,
(in which he was engaged about four years)
nor by the dangerous element
on which he served his country,
but by a fever.
Like a fair flower that had survived
the winter's hail and storms,
reserved to be gathered, not torn off,
in time of peace,
he was taken by God to himself,
on the coast of Guinea, Feb. 21, 1749.

His

(who in 1782 was living in Cornwall); and the Rev. George Borlase, B. D. for many years fellow and tutor of St. Peter's College, Cambridge, and at present casuistical professor and registrar of that University.

Besides Dr. Borlase's literary connexions with Dr. Lyttelton and Dr. Milles, before mentioned, he corresponded with most of the ingenious men of his time*. He had a particular intercourse of this kind

His affectionate parents, deprived of a most hopeful son,
and unable to pay him the proper funeral duties,
engrave their remembrance of him
in this plate:
Contented, because such was the will of God."

* I have accidentally two letters from Dr. Borlase to Dr. James Parsons, which my readers will not be displeased to peruse:

1. "Dear Sir, I have many obligations to Dr. Parsons; but that you have not only given my two poor Essays your reading, but, like a real friend, pointed out to me what is to be reconsidered, is the greatest of all. I will keep your strictures constantly in view; and if ever those pieces are worth revising for the press, your arguments will have great weight with me. It was far from my intention, when I was searching after second causes, to depreciate the first. Nothing in your excellent letter pleases me more, than the constant reverence which you express for the Author of Nature. Your just application of Natural Knowledge to the support of Religion is evident in all your writings; and I am the less surprised to find so much allowed to the *supernatural fiat of God*. 'Tis a proper exercise of the human faculties to enquire into secondary causes; but to decide peremptorily, and not ultimately refer to the wisdom and goodness of God, is very wrong. After considering the great catastrophe of the Deluge as much as I could, I really found the account of Moses the best I could follow: I am no Hutchinsonian, as you must have observed in several paragraphs; but my Theory, I found, could not but be conformable to Scripture, because every principal circumstance which the nature of things suggested throughout the whole process, is to be found, one where or other (at least according to my apprehension) in Holy Writ. When I suppose that the bed of the Ocean was raised, and conclude that effect not to be so great and stupendous as it may at first appear, when the small depth of the Sea, in proportion to the extent of the Globe, is laid into the same estimate; I would not be understood but that the supernatural power of God attended as well as caused this elevation throughout, regulated and conducted it to a certain height, and with the same care (if I may so say) adjusted it's subsidence: so that far it was from my thoughts to exclude the preternatural interposition of God; I only

with Mr. Pope; and there is still existing a large collection of letters written by that celebrated poet

only suggest the probable materials with which this effect might have been produced, which no one knows better than yourself that former Theorists have been so much distressed about, that they have fallen into the most absurd suppositions, have torn the Earth to pieces, moved the Sun from its place, called down the Comets, had recourse to a new Creation, in short, reversed the World, and thrown imputations of defect on the Mosaical writings, which I think they do not at all deserve.—In opposition only to such chimeras, I endeavour to shew that the earth is stored (and ought to be so, when we consider the wisdom and knowledge of God) with a sufficiency of the requisite materials, and by its frame adapted to, and capable of producing, the effect; but the marshaling, disposing, and exciting these materials, I hope I have referred only to God's almighty power. I am sure it is my opinion. As to the cause of Earthquakes, I do not enter into the dispute, neither do I at all deny that electrical shocks may be attended with like effects; I should be extremely obliged to you, however, if you would inform me whether ignition or explosion in the bowels of the earth, affecting whole regions at once, will not presuppose that cavernous texture which I have attributed to the earth as the natural consequence of its first settlement. I writ the two theories as an introduction to the observations I am making on the Natural History of Cornwall, and am glad you think them fit for a Propylæum. Your opinion of the formation of Corals is very agreeable to what I take to be truth. The French Philosopher has proved the inhabitancy of the Polypi, but no more; and I can as easily believe that man formed the earth, because he builds upon and dwells in it, as that the semi-animal Polypi could form the branchy, and to all appearance, vegetable Coral. I could almost wish that your regard for me had been less, because I am afraid it has made you think more favourably of the theory and antiquities than they deserve. I remain, Sir, your most obliged and obedient humble servant, WILLIAM BORLASE.

Ludgvan, June 15, 1754."

2. "SIR, The subjects of yesterday's conversation were so very entertaining, that it was impossible to prevent my recollecting and reviewing what had made so agreeable an impression upon me. As to the ring, upon second thoughts, I believe I was guilty of a mistake, and therefore I take the first opportunity of acknowledging it: I thought that ΔΙΑΒΗ□V might be two words, and the verb for *transigas*, or some such word might be understood, as is usual in the concise inscriptions of the Greeks: but I am apprehensive, for I have neither Grammar nor Lexicon to make me certain, that διὰ, when it signifies *per*, will govern an accusative case; and therefore, if it had been uncompounded, that line would have been διὰ βίον, or διὰ τον βίον: I therefore

to our author. He furnished Mr. Pope with the greatest part of the materials for forming his grotto at Twickenham, consisting of such curious fossils as the county of Cornwall abounds with: and there may still be seen Dr. Borlase's name in capitals, composed of crystals. On this occasion a very handsome letter was written to the Doctor by Mr. Pope, in which he says, "I am much obliged to you for your valuable collection of Cornish diamonds. I have placed them where they may best represent yourself, *in a shade, but shining;*" alluding to the obscurity of Dr. Borlase's situation, and the brilliancy of his talents.

therefore willingly retract, and think that ΔΙΑΒΙ□V is one word, a verb of the Imperative Mood, which in our language, literally, must be translated, *Live thou;* but the Greek is much more expressive, and, by the happy idiom of that language, which gives spirit to their verbs by annexing prepositions, signifies in one word all that we can say in *Live thou all thy Life long—happily.* It has also occurred to me since I saw you, that the SECVRITAS of the antients is frequently represented on medals, as reclining on a low pillar, or rather tall pedestal, to express, if I am not mistaken, the stability of the Empire; and I refer to your better judgment, whether Cupid's standing on such a pillar may not intend the Constancy of Love. This Antique, by the engraving on one side, and the legend on the other, seems to me to have been designed as a Love-amulet or charm, which the antients persuaded themselves that as long as they carried about with them, they should not be unhappy.... If these amulets were ever so powerful, you are so happy in domestic life, as to have no occasion for them. I remain, Sir, your most obedient servant, WILLIAM BORLASE.

Norfolk-street, Monday, nine o'clock."

SAMUEL

SAMUEL CHANDLER, D.D. F.R.S. and F.A.S. eldest son of Mr. Henry Chandler, many years minister of a congregation of Protestant Dissenters in Bath, was born Sept. 20, 1693, at Hungerford in Berks, where his father (who married the daughter of ——— Bridgman of Marlborough) was then Minister. He was descended from ancestors heartily engaged in the cause of Nonconformity; his grandfather (a tradesman at Taunton) having much injured his fortune by his principles. His early genius for learning was carefully cultivated; and he was placed under a master with whom he made a great Proficiency in classical learning, and particularly in the Greek language. He was sent, with a view to the ministry, to the academy of the Rev. John Moore at Bridgwater; whence he was soon removed to Gloucester, under the tuition of the very learned and ingenious Mr. Samuel Jones, who had the honour of educating Abp. Secker, Bp. Butler, and Lord Bowes, Chancellor of Ireland. In this seminary Mr. Chandler acquired a rich fund of literature and science, particularly of critical, biblical, and Oriental learning; and formed an acquaintance and friendship with the great personages just mentioned, which was continued with reciprocal instances of esteem and regard to the end of life. On leaving the academy, he continued his studies at Leyden, where he was contemporary with Abp. Secker and Bp. Chandler. He began to preach about July 1714, with increasing reputation. The Presbyterian congregation at Peckham elected him their minister in 1716. While he was employed there, he was called upon to preach in conjunction with Dr. Lardner, for the winter half-year, a weekly evening lecture at the Old Jewry, on the evidences of Natural and Revealed Religion. When this lecture was dropped, another of the same kind was set up, which was preached by Mr. Chandler alone. The substance of these Sermons he published in his "Vindication of the Christian Religion, 1725," at which period he

he was a bookseller * at the Cross Keys in the Poultry, the shop afterwards kept by Mr. J. Gray †. To this Abp. Wake alludes in the following extract from a MS letter, dated Lambeth-house, Feb. 14, 1725 (which I transcribe from a copy of the "Vindication," once belonging to Dr. Philip Furneaux): "I cannot but own myself surprized to see so much good learning and just reasoning in a person of your profession, and do think it pity you should not rather spend your time in writing books than in selling them. But I am glad, since your circumstances oblige you to the latter, that you do not wholly omit the former." After heartily commending the "Vindication," his Grace assures Mr. Chandler, that, as to himself, "he was not only usefully entertained, but edified by it." The reputation gained by this publication made way for his being chosen, in 1726, assistant to Mr. Thomas Leavesley ‡, then pastor to the congregation in the Old Jewry. He

* Dr. Chandler was not originally brought up to that profession. It was in consequence of having lost his wife's fortune in the South Sea bubble that he took it up; and he continued in it but two or three years. His edition of "Cassiodorus" was printed "for John Morley, at the Cross Keys in the Poultry," in the latter end of 1722. And the earliest book that I have seen with the name of S. Chandler is in 1725; in which year, besides his own work, he published the "Miscellanea Sacra" of John Lord Viscount Barrington. As he was elected assistant pastor at the Old Jewry in 1726, he then of course declined business. His "Reflexions on the Conduct of Modern Deists, 1727," was published by J. Chandler; and his "Vindication of Daniel, 1728," by J. Gray.

† Mr. Gray, like his predecessor, became a Dissenting minister, and afterwards, upon his complying with the terms of admission into the Church of England, rector of a living at Rippon in Yorkshire. In conjunction with Andrew Reed, he abridged the Philosophical Transactions from 1720 to 1732, in 2 vols. 4to, 1733. He also published the "Elmerick" of Lillo; and, at the dying request of the author, dedicated it to Frederick Prince of Wales.

‡ Mr. Leavesley was successor, in 1724, to Mr. Simon Browne, an able and learned minister, of whom a good account is given in the Biographia Britannica, 1780, vol II. p. 643.

was soon after appointed co-pastor with Mr. Leavesley, and succeeded him as sole pastor 1728. In the course of this ministry he formed the design of a fund for the widows and orphans of Dissenting ministers, and received without solicitation the diploma of D. D. from the two Universities of Edinburgh and Glasgow. The high reputation which he had gained by his defences of the Christian Religion procured him from some principal persons of the Established Church the offers of considerable preferments, and particularly of a living worth 400*l.* a year; which he constantly declined. In the younger part of life he had been subject to frequent and dangerous fevers; but, by the use of a vegetable diet twelve years, obtained so happy an alteration in his constitution, that he enjoyed an uncommon share of vigour and spirits till 70; after which he experienced frequent returns of a most painful disorder, which he bore with great resignation till his decease, May 8, 1766, in his 73d year. A chronological account of his writings, drawn up by Dr. Flaxman, is annexed to his Funeral Sermon, which was preached at the Old Jewry by Dr. Amory *, May 18, 1766, and prefixed (with some corrections) to his Posthumous Sermons, 1769. The most material of them are enumerated below †. We learn

* Who had been chosen assistant to Dr. Chandler in 1759, and succeeded him as pastor in 1766. See more of him in the Biographia Britannica, 1779, vol. I. p. 178—180.

† "Reflections on the Conduct of modern Deists, 1727."—"A Vindication of the Antiquity and Authority of Daniel's Prophecies, and their Application to Jesus Christ; in Answer to the Objections of the Author of the Scheme of Literal Prophecy considered; with a Preface containing some Remarks on the Nature, Design, and Application of Scripture Prophecies, 1728," 8vo.—"Plain Reasons for being a Christian. 1730," 8vo.—"The two Conferences held on February 7 and 13, 1734-5, at the Bell Tavern in Nicholas-lane, between two Romish Priests, a Divine of the Church of England, and Dr. Hunt and Mr. Chandler, Dissenting Divines, truly stated; with some Additions and Supplemental Remarks on a late printed Account of the said Conferences. By a Gentleman who was present at both Conferences,"

by the Preface to the Posthumous Sermons, that Dr. Chandler, among other learned and useful

ferences," was published in 1735, 8vo.—"A Paraphrase and critical Commentary on the Prophecy of Joel, 1735," 4to.—"A Vindication of the Christian Religion, in Two Parts."—"A Vindication of the History of the Old Testament; in Answer to the Misrepresentations and Calumnies of the late Thomas Morgan, M.D. and Moral Philosopher, 1740," 8vo.—"A Defence of the Prime Ministry and Character of Joseph: in Answer to the Misrepresentations and Calumnies of the late Thomas Morgan, M.D. and Moral Philosopher, 1742," 8vo. This treatise occasioned "A Vindication of the Moral Philosopher, against the false accusations, insults, and personal abuses, of Samuel Chandler, late Bookseller, and Minister of the Gospel. By Thomas Morgan, M.D." and was followed by "The Witnesses of the Resurrection of Jesus Christ, re-examined, and their Testimony proved entirely consistent, 1744," 8vo. This tract was occasioned by a pamphlet, intituled, "The Resurrection of Jesus considered, by a Moral Philosopher [Peter Annett."]—"A Review of the History of the Man after God's own Heart; in which the Falsehoods and Misrepresentations of the Historian are exposed and corrected, 1762," 8vo.—"A short and plain Catechism, being an Explanation of the Creed, Ten Commandments, and the Lord's Prayer; by way of Question and Answer, 1742," 12mo.—Two Tracts against the Papists, 1735, 1745.—Several Miscellaneous Tracts in defence of Civil and Religious Liberty, occasioned by disputes in which he was involved by his Brethren, as well as by the Ministers of the Church of England.—"The History of the Inquisition by Philip à Limborch, Professor of Divinity amongst the Remonstrants; translated into English; to which is prefixed, a large Introduction concerning the Rise and Progress of Persecution, and the real and pretended Causes of it, 1732," 2 vols. 4to, which he vindicated in three tracts from the remarks of Dr. Berriman.—"The History of Persecution, in Four Parts. 1. Among the Heathens. 2. Under the Christian Emperors. 3. Under the Papacy, and Inquisition. 4. Among Protestants; with a large Preface, containing Remarks on Dr. Rogers's Vindication of the Civil Establishment of Religion, 1736," 8vo.—"The Case of Subscription to explanatory Articles of Faith, as a Qualification for Admission into the Christian Ministry, calmly and impartially reviewed, 1748," 8vo. Dr. Chandler wrote the Dedication to King George I. prefixed to the Works of John Howe, M.A. and also Prefaces to the following pieces: "A Supplement to Plutarch; or the Lives of several eminent and illustrious Men, omitted by that Author: extracted from the Latin and Greek Historians; by Thomas Rowe, 1728," 8vo. He left prepared for the press (and all printed off except five sheets) "The Life of David," published in 2 vols. 8vo, 1766, in which the Psalms relating to him are explained; and the Ob-

designs, had begun a Commentary on the Prophets; and left behind him in an interleaved Bible a large number of notes for illustrating the sacred writers. He also left in MS. many observations in the manner of Elsner and Raphelius, which Dr. Furneaux had taken some pains to digest, and which were afterwards the property of Dr. Kippis, Mr. Farmer, Dr. Price, and Dr. Savage, by whom they were intended to be published. I have much reason to regret that I cannot trace out the present possessor of a copy of the first edition of Mr. Bowyer's "Conjectures on the New Testament," 1763, which, I am informed, was filled with observations by Dr. Chandler, and sold in 1766, by auction at Mr. Baker's. At the same time were sold several other books with the Doctor's MS notes; particularly, Milton's Paradise Lost (bought by Mr. Way for 18 shillings); the New Testaments of Schmidius and Curcellæus; Scapula's Lexicon (bought by Dr. Kippis); and Stockii Clavis Ling. Sanctæ Vet. &

jections of Mr. Bayle, and others, against the Scripture Account of his Life and Character, examined and refuted; also four volumes of Sermons, since published by subscription 1769, having printed 22 singly during his life. The Life of Mrs. Mary Chandler, his sister, inserted in "The Lives of the Poets of Great Britain and Ireland, by Mr. Cibber * and other Hands, 1753," was written by Dr. Chandler. Besides the preceding Discourses and Treatises, he published "Cassiodori Senatoris Complexiones in Epistolas, Acta Apostolorum, et Apocalypsin, è vetustissimis Canonicorum Veronensium membranis nuper erutæ: Editio altera ad Florentinam fideliter expressæ, operâ et curâ Samuelis Chandleri, 1722," 12mo; and, being zealously attached to the person and government of King George II. wrote about fifty papers in a weekly publication, conducted with great spirit and ability, intituled, "The Old Whig, or Consistent Protestant, in Defence of the Principles of Civil and Religious Liberty, 1735—1738." Two of his letters were printed so early as 1714, in the pamphlet of Mr. Carte which is mentioned (under the year 1747) in vol. II. p. 192.

* Without depreciating from the merit of these Lives, it may not be improper to observe that a double literary fraud was here intended. Theophilus Cibber, who was then in the King's Bench, had ten guineas for the use of his name, which was put ambiguously *Mr. Cibber*, in order that it might pass for his father Colley's. The real publisher was Mr. Robert Shiels, an amanuensis of Dr. Johnson, on whose authority I relate this anecdote, and who gave to Shiels many particulars in the life of Samuel Boyse.

Nov.

Nov. Test. A portrait of Dr. Chandler, engraved by T. Kitchin from a painting by Chamberlin, is prefixed to his Posthumous Sermons. There is also a fine mezzotinto sheet print of him, by Pether.—Dr. Chandler's Bible was to have been presented by his widow to one of our Universities. Some of the most eminent and learned Dissenting ministers gave her 20 guineas for it, and offered it to an opulent bookseller to print, only desiring to be reimbursed the purchase-money, and the surplus-money to be insured to the widow. He calculated the printing at 90*l.* his own profit at 25*l.* per cent. yet would give nothing to print it himself, and asked too great allowance as publisher. Dr. Lardner was for publishing it by subscription.

The family of the COLLINSONS is of antient standing in the North: PETER and JAMES were the great grandsons of Peter Collinson, who lived on his paternal estate called Hugal-Hall, or Height of Hugal, near Windermere Lake, in the parish of Stavely, about ten miles from Kendal in Westmoreland. PETER, whilst a youth, discovered his attachment to Natural History. He began early to make a collection of dried specimens of plants, and had access to the best gardens at that time in the neighbourhood of London. He also became early acquainted with the most eminent Naturalists of his time; the Doctors Derham, Woodward, Dale, Lloyd, and Sloane, were amongst his friends. Among the great variety of articles which form that superb collection, now (by the wise disposition of Sir Hans and the munificence of Parliament) the British Museum, small was the number of those with whose history Mr. Collinson was not well ac-

* The materials of this article were furnished by a little tract printed by Dr. Fothergill, under the title of "Some Account of the late Peter Collinson, Fellow of the Royal Society, and of the Society of Antiquaries in London, and of the Societies of Berlin and Upsal. In a Letter to a Friend, 1770."

quainted;

quainted; he being one of those few who visited Sir Hans at all times familiarly; their inclinations and pursuits in respect to Natural History being the same, a firm friendship had early been established between them.—Peter Collinson was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society on the 12th of December, 1728; and perhaps was one of the most diligent and useful members, not only in supplying them with many curious observations himself, but in promoting and preserving a most extensive correspondence with learned and ingenious foreigners, in all countries, and on every useful subject. Besides his attention to Natural History, he minuted every striking hint that occurred either in reading or conversation; and from this source he derived much information, as there were very few men of learning and ingenuity, who were not of his acquaintance at home; and most foreigners of eminence in natural history, or in arts and sciences, were recommended to his notice and friendship. His diligence and œconomy of time was such, that, though he never appeared to be in a hurry, he maintained an extensive correspondence with great punctuality; acquainting the learned and ingenious in distant parts of the globe, with the discoveries and improvements in natural history in this country, and receiving the like information from the most eminent persons in almost every other. His correspondence with the ingenious Cadwallader Colden, esq. of New York, and the justly celebrated Dr. Franklin of Philadelphia, furnish instances of the benefit resulting from his attention to all improvements *.

* "In 1730, a subscription-library being set on foot at Philadelphia, he encouraged the design by making several very valuable presents to it, and procuring others from his friends: and as the library-company had a considerable sum arising annually to be laid out in books, and needed a judicious friend in London to transact the business for them, he voluntarily and cheerfully undertook that service, and executed it for more than thirty years successively; assisting in the choice of books, and taking the whole care of collecting and shipping them, without ever

The latter of these gentlemen communicated his first essays on Electricity to Mr. Collinson, in a series of letters, which were then published, and have been reprinted in a late edition of the Doctor's ingenious discoveries and improvements. Perhaps, in some future period, the account procured of the management of sheep in Spain, published in the Gentleman's Magazine* for May and June 1764, may not be considered among the least of the benefits accruing from his extensive and inquisitive correspondence. His conversation, cheerful and usefully entertaining, rendered his acquaintance much desired by those who had a relish for Natural History, or were studious in cultivating rural improvements; and secured him the intimate friendship of some of the most eminent personages in this kingdom, as distinguished by their taste in Planting and Horticulture, as by their rank and dignity. He was the first who introduced the great variety of seeds and shrubs, which are now the principal ornaments of every garden; and it was owing to his indefatigable industry, that so many persons of the first distinction are now enabled to behold groves transplanted from the Western Continent flourishing so luxuriantly in their several domains, as if they were already become in-

ever charging or accepting any consideration for his trouble. The success of this library (greatly owing to his kind countenance and good advice) encouraged the erecting others in different places on the same plan: and it is supposed there are now upwards of thirty subsisting in the several colonies, which have contributed greatly to the spreading of useful knowledge in that part of the world: the books he recommended being all of that kind, and the catalogue of this first library being much respected and followed by those libraries that succeeded. During the same time he transmitted to the directors of the library the earliest accounts of every new European improvement in agriculture and the arts, and every philosophical discovery; among which, in 1745, he sent over an account of the new German experiments in electricity, together with a glass tube, and some directions for using it, so as to repeat those experiments."

Letter from Mr. B. Franklin to Michael Collinson, Esq.

* See Gent. Mag. vol. XXXIV. pp. 203. 266; a reference which at the present day may be particularly useful in the management of Merino sheep.

digenous

digenous to Britain. He had some correspondents in almost every Nation in Europe; some in Asia, and even at Pekin; who all transmitted to him the most valuable seeds they could collect, in return for the treasures of America. The great Linnæus, during his residence in England, contracted an intimate friendship with Mr. Collinson, which was reciprocally increased by a multitude of good offices, and continued to the last. Besides his attachment to Natural History, he was very conversant in the Antiquities of our own country, having been elected a member of the Society of Antiquaries April 7, 1737; and he supplied them often with many curious articles of intelligence and observations, respecting both our own and other countries. His person was rather short than tall; he had a pleasing and social aspect; of a temper open and communicative, capable of feeling for distress, and ready to relieve and sympathize. Excepting some attacks of the gout, he enjoyed, in general, perfect health, and great equality of spirits, and had arrived at his 75th year; when, being on a visit to Lord Petre, for whom he had a singular regard, he was seized with a total suppression of urine, which, baffling every attempt to relieve it, proved fatal on the 11th of August, 1768 *.

The following letter, from Mr. Thomas Collinson †, a nephew of Peter Collinson, was soon after addressed to Dr. Ducarel.

* Peter Collinson, born Jan. 14th, 1693-4, died Aug. 11, 1768. = Mary, dau. of Michael Russell, esq of Millhill, d. March 28, 1753.

Michael Collinson, died Aug. 11, 1795, aged 67. = ... Mary Collinson = John Cator, esq. of Beckenham, Kent, M. P. for Callington.

Charles-Streynsham Collinson, esq. High Sheriff of Suffolk 1801.

† Who died at Bath, of a paralytic stroke, under which he had laboured for ten months, Aug. 22, 1803, in his 77th year; and whose intellectual superiority and distinguished worth entitle him to honourable mention. He was not one of the multitude whose

"The sympathising concern expressed in yours makes me believe the following particulars of my

whose passage through life resembles that of an arrow through the air, leaving not a trace behind. In his youth, by passing much of his time with his uncle Peter, he formed an acquaintance with many of the scientific characters of that period; and his mind became impressed with that love of knowledge, and energy in its pursuit, which attended him through a long life, and only ceased with his existence. There were few parts of our Island which he had not visited, and accurately described. In 1789 he went to the Continent, with his friend John Walker, esq. only son of his early patron Isaac Walker, esq. of Arnold's grove, Southgate; whereby his curiosity was gratified to his utmost wish; and his observations on this excursion, which his modesty concealed from all but his intimate friends, would, if permitted to see the light, be a greater gratification to the learned than half the tours which are obtruded on them. He returned, enriched with much and important information, after an absence of near two years, during which he had seen a considerable portion of Europe. Few were better qualified to profit by such a tour than himself. From his varied and extensive knowledge, he was prepared not only to see, but to understand, and to reap delight and instruction from every object, whether of Nature or Art, submitted to his view. Of the topography and structures of antient Rome so accurate was his knowledge, that Guides and Ciceroni were rendered wholly useless, while examining those interesting monuments of antiquity, during a residence of near four months in that city. His acquaintance with natural philosophy was considerable; and in some branches of the mathematics he had attained distinguished eminence. His conversation was uncommonly animated and energetic; his memory most retentive, bringing forward from its rich treasury the most apposite illustrations of the subject. From his society, few retired without improvement, none without pleasure; his lucid and happy mode of communicating instruction, especially to young people, was a marked feature in his character; while they eagerly listened, and imbibed the streams of knowledge, they felt rather conferring than receiving an obligation, such was the urbanity and fascination of his manners. As an œconomist of time, few equalled, none surpassed him; its minutest divisions were not suffered to pass away unheeded or unimproved. To this, his constant habit of registering the transactions of each day materially contributed; and that which was terminated without some advance in learning or science, he considered as lost. These memoranda, regularly entered at the close of the day, throughout a long series of years, form a very extensive and valuable collection of facts, respecting both men and things. His application, even at that period of life when, with most, indulgence takes place of activity, and intellectual exertions yield to necessary repose, was truly extraordinary. To a new object, or to the renewal of acquaintance

late worthy Uncle's illness will not be altogether uninteresting. Last Tuesday se'nnight he perceived a retention of urine; thereupon he immediately came to town from Lord Petre's (where he was upon a visit). Doctors Reeves and Russell, Surgeons Cowell and Adair attended him, but all was in vain. On Thursday last, about 20 minutes before two, he quitted this world. Through the whole of his disorder he expressed the most cheerful patience and humble fortitude. He told me at first that 'let the event be what it might, he was content: that it was

quaintance with one imperfectly investigated, he applied with all the ardour of youth, but with the perseverance of more mature age. Of the evils and afflictions incident to humanity he experienced a full proportion. On being married to the daughter of Mr. Hinton Brown, he became a partner in the banking-house of Brown and Co.; the unexpected failure of which, closed his prospects of future affluence for ever. He declined again entering into business, preferring the independence of leisure, which enabled him to follow his favourite pursuits in science, to the risk and toil of renewing his fortune, which he felt was not a duty incumbent on him, having only one child, of whom, and of his wife, he was the survivor. In the first calamity, among other keenly-felt disappointments, he witnessed the dispersion of his noble library, of more than 10,000 volumes, collected with superior judgment and attention. On this melancholy reverse, he was surrounded by a few much-respected and truly respectable friends, who administered every consolation to his wounded feelings that benevolence and philanthropy could suggest (for to a mind like his, of exquisite sensibility, his sufferings were in the highest degree acute); but, after the first shock had subsided, his conscious rectitude and unimpeached integrity enabled him to sustain his situation with the dignified composure of a philosopher, and the resignation of a Christian. He was a member of the religious society of Friends, to which he adhered through life, and maintained its principles with unvarying consistency. His political sentiments were uniform, and were those of the Old Whigs; to several of the leading characters of which party he was intimately known about the middle of the last century. Of so excellent, so estimable an individual, this is a brief, and very imperfect record; but, while memory remains, his friends will not cease to revere a character equally distinguished by powers of intellect, moral rectitude, liberality of sentiment, and urbanity of manners. See Gent. Mag. vol. LXXIII. p. 878.—The method of purifying copper ore, and making brass, communicated by Mr. T. Collinson to Dr. Ducarel in 1748 may be seen in the Magazine for September 1809.

totally

totally indifferent to him whether he was to go then, or to continue four or five years longer.' 'Few men,' he added, 'have enjoyed life more; been more exempt from pain and disease; and now (he subjoined) it is come so late in life, I am thankful to Providence he has preserved me so long. I cheerfully resign, and am not afraid to die.' No complaints, no murmurs were heard. He accepted with the kindest notice all the assistance administered; told us, he submitted to the various medical and chirurgical operations, both, as being his duty, and to give satisfaction to his family: if success attended, it was well; if the contrary, it was also well. Thus the good man took leave of all visibles; he had used them, without abusing them. He had lived pleasantly, usefully, and honourably; might be justly called a friend to mankind, and an unwearied promoter of knowledge in general, and of Natural History in particular. What can humanity have attained to more desirable? so to have lived, and thus to have died. Yet though Reason almost forbids, still the feelings of Nature compel me to weep."

His only son, Michael Collinson, esq. * of the Chantry in Suffolk, and of Hendon in Middlesex, died Aug. 11, 1795.

* At Sproughton church, near Ipswich:

"This monument is erected
by Charles-Streynsham Collinson, Esquire,
to the memory of his Father
MICHAEL COLLINSON, Esquire,
late of the Chantry in this parish, and also
of Hendon in the county of Middlesex;
who died the 11th of August, 1795, aged 67 years.
He was distinguished for his knowledge of Natural History,
and for the attention he gave to botanical subjects in particular.
From his generally well-informed mind and polished manners,
his company was much esteemed by persons of the first eminence;
and he endeared himself to his more intimate connexions
by his
benevolence and liberality.
The enjoyment of the latter part of his life was greatly interrupted
by a series of painful disorders, which he sustained
with much exemplary resignation and fortitude."

Mr.

Mr. Collinson left behind him many materials for the improvement of Natural History; and the present refined taste of Horticulture may in some respects be attributed to his industry and abilities. The late Lord Petre, the late Duke of Richmond, and others of the first rank in life and letters, were his friends; and he was continually urging them to prosecute the most liberal improvements. An excellent portrait of him, by Miller, is prefixed to Dr. Fothergill's Letter.

WILLIAM COWPER, M. D. and F. S. A. practised physic many years at Chester with great reputation. He published (without his name) 1. "A Summary of the Life of St. Werburgh, with an Historical Account of the Images * upon her Shrine, (now the Episcopal Throne) in the Choir of Chester. Collected from Antient Chronicles, and Old Writers. By a Citizen of Chester. Published for the Benefit of the Charity-school, Chester, 1749," 4to; and by this essay on Antiquarianism, which he is said to have stolen from the MSS. of Mr. Stone †, raised a great outcry against himself‡. He was also author of "Il Penseroso: an Evening's Contemplation in St. John's Church-yard, Chester. A Rhapsody, written more than Twenty Years ago; and now (first) published, illustrated with Notes Historical and Explanatory. London, 1767," 4to; (addressed, under the name of M. Meanwell, to the Rev. John Allen §, M. A. senior fellow of Tri-

* Representing her family, &c. in number thirty, just then repaired. See a representation of it in Gent. Mag. vol LXI. p. 1089.

† William Stone, minor-canon of the church of Chester, who drew up two curious quarto volumes of Church notes, &c. relative to the City and Cathedral; which were presented by his son to the Cathedral Library, and afterwards lent to the late Dr. Foote Gower.

‡ When he presented his pamphlet to the Society of Antiquaries they desired a copy of the same, which he sent immediately; but it does not appear among their collections. British Topography, vol. I. p. 253.

§ Of whom, and of his intimate friend the Rev. Nathanael Heyrick, B. D. see some interesting particulars in the "History of Leicestershire," vol. III. p. 1127.

nity-

nity-college, Cambridge, and rector of Torporley in Cheshire) in which he takes a view of some of the most remarkable places around it distinguished by memorable personages and events. He died Oct. 12, 1767, while he was preparing a memorial of his native city. He had also made Collections for the county, which were in the hands of his brother, an attorney near Chester; but consist of little more than transcripts from printed books and minute modern transactions, interweaving, with the history of the county and city, a great mass of general history *.

George Edwards was born at Stratford, a hamlet belonging to West Ham in Essex, on the 3d of April 1694. He passed some of his early years under the tuition of a clergyman, named Hewit, who was then master of a public school at Laytonstone; and, after quitting the school, he was placed with another minister of the Established Church at Brentwood; and, being designed by his parents for business, was put apprentice to a tradesman in Fenchurch-street. About the middle of his apprenticeship, Dr. Nicholas, a physician of eminence, and a relation of his master, died: and his books having been removed from Covent Garden to an apartment then occupied by our young Naturalist, he availed himself of this unexpected incident, and passed all the leisure of the day, and not unfrequently a considerable part of the night, in turning over this large collection of Natural History, Arts, and Antiquities. On the expiration of his time, he conceived a design to travel into foreign countries, to improve his taste, and enlarge his mind. In 1716 he spent a month in Holland. In 1718 he went to Norway, at the invitation of a gentleman, whose nephew was master of the vessel in which he embarked. In his excursion to Frederickstadt, he was not distant from the siege of Frederickshall;

* Gough's Anecdotes of British Topography, I. 249, 253; and Gower's "Sketch of Materials for a History of Cheshire."

where

where Charles XII. lost his life. By this circumstance he was disappointed of visiting that country, as the Swedish army was particularly assiduous in confining strangers; and, notwithstanding all his precaution, he was confined by the Danish guard, who supposed him a spy. In 1719 he visited France, and during his stay there, he made two journies of one hundred miles each; the first to Chalons in Champagne, in May 1720; the second on foot to Orleans and Blois, in disguise to escape being robbed. An edict happened at that time to be issued, to secure vagrants, in order to transport them to America, to people the banks of the Mississippi; and Mr. Edwards narrowly escaped a Western voyage. On his arrival in England, he closely pursued his favourite study of Natural History, applying himself to drawing and colouring such animals as fell under his notice. Birds first engaged his particular attention; and the curious encouraged the young Naturalist, by paying a good price for his early labours. Among his first patrons and benefactors may be mentioned James Theobald, esq. of Lambeth, F. R. S. and F. A. S. a gentleman zealous for the promotion of science. In 1731, with two of his relations, he made an excursion to Holland and Brabant, where he collected several scarce books and prints. In December 1733, by the recommendation of Sir Hans Sloane, bart. President of the College of Physicians, he was chosen their Librarian, and had apartments in the College. This office was peculiarly agreeable to his taste. The first volume of his "History of Birds" was published in quarto, 1743; the subscribers to which exceeded even his most sanguine expectation; and a second volume appeared in 1747. The third was published in 1750, and in 1751 the fourth. This being the last he intended at that time, he seems to have considered it as the most perfect of his productions in Natural History; and therefore with devout gratitude offered it up to the great God of Nature. Mr. Edwards, however, continued his labours

labours under a new title, "Gleanings of Natural History," in 1758; another volume in 1760; the third part, which made the seventh and last volume of his works, in 1764. Thus, after a long series of years, the most studious application, and the most extensive correspondence to every quarter of the world, he concluded a work which contains engravings and descriptions of more than six hundred subjects in Natural History not before described or delineated. He likewise added a generical index in French and English, which is now perfectly completed with the Linnæan names by that great Naturalist Linnæus himself, who frequently honoured him with his friendship and correspondence. Some time after Mr. Edwards had been appointed library keeper to the College of Physicians, he was, on St. Andrew's day, 1750, presented by the Royal Society with the gold medal, in consideration of his Natural History just then completed. A copy of this medal he had afterwards engraved, and placed under the general title in the first volume of his History. He was elected fellow of that Society; and of the Society of Antiquaries, Feb. 13, 1752; and some years afterwards F. R. S. and also a member of many of the Academies of Europe.

The Nobility and Gentry frequently honoured Mr. Edwards with their friendship and generous support. He mentions with peculiar pleasure being patronized by the late Duke of Richmond, Sir Hans Sloane, Dr. Mead, and Mr. Folkes; and his character of those four very eminent personages shall be exhibited below *.

* "The Duke, noble in his lineage, and descent from the Royal House of these kingdoms; but still more noble and great from the innate magnificence, generosity, and goodness of his soul. Though by his high offices his time was taken up by the important affairs of the publick, yet his doors were always open to men of learning, science, and ingenuity.

"The second was the good Sir Hans Sloane, bart. who employed me, for a great number of years, in drawing miniature figures of animals, &c. after Nature, in water colours, to increase his very great collection of fine drawings by other hands; which drawings

His collection of drawings, which amounted to upwards of nine hundred, were purchased by the

drawings are now all fixed in the British Museum, for the help and information of those in future generations, that may be curious or studious in Natural History. Sir Hans, in the decline of his life, left London, and retired to his manor-house at Chelsea, where he resided about fourteen years before he died. After his retirement to Chelsea, he requested it as a favour to him (though I embraced his request as an honour done to myself), that I would visit him every week, in order to divert him, for an hour or two, with the common news of the town, and with any thing particular that should happen amongst his acquaintance of the Royal Society, and other ingenious gentlemen, many of whom I was much conversant with; and I seldom missed drinking coffee with him on a Saturday during the whole time of his retirement at Chelsea. He was so infirm as to be wholly confined to his house, except sometimes, though rarely, taking a little air in his garden in a wheeled chair; and this confinement made him very desirous to see any of his old acquaintance to amuse him. During this latter part of his life, he was frequently petitioned for charity by some decayed branches of eminent men, late of his acquaintance, who were famous for their learned works, &c.; which petitions he always received, and considered with attention; and, provided they were not found fraudulent, they were always answered by his charitable donations. He has often desired that I would enquire into the merits of such petitioners; and, if found satisfactory, he commissioned me to convey his bounty to the distressed. The last time I saw him, I was greatly surprized and concerned to find so good a man in the agonies of death; this was on the 10th of January, 1753, at four o'clock in the afternoon: he died on the 11th, at four in the morning. I continued with him later than any one of his relations; but was obliged to retire, his last agonies being beyond what I could bear; though, under his pain and weakness of body, he seemed to retain a great firmness of mind and resignation to the will of God.

"The third of my patrons was the great Richard Mead, M. D. He was certainly magnanimous beyond the common measure, and deserved the title of *great* in as extensive a sense as any man in his station could do. He, as well as Sir Hans Sloane, died in the highest stations of physic they could arrive at, viz. Physician in Ordinary to the King. Dr. Mead, indeed, never was at the head of the College of Physicians in London; but it was because he always absolutely declined it, for he had been elected into that honourable station, but never could be persuaded to accept of it. His personal service, his ample fortune, his house, and every thing in his power, always contributed, in the most extensive manner, to the promotion of learning, science, arts, mechanics, and, in short, every thing that tended to the public benefit and honour of his country, or was of use to particular

late Earl of Bute, whose noble descendant, the present Marquis, would confer a favour on the

particular members of the community he lived in. His generosity was indeed so diffusive, that he may be justly deemed a benefactor to the whole community; whilst, instead of hoarding up that great wealth his practice gained to raise a vast estate, as he might easily have done, his public spirit was unconfined, and he was contented to leave behind him a moderate fortune only. The worthy Dr. Askew, from a laudable veneration for the memory and public character of so great a patron of learning, &c. caused a fine marble bust of him to be made by one of the most eminent Sculptors of the present age, which is placed in the College of Physicians, London. And, on this occasion, I cannot help informing succeeding generations, that they may see the real features of Dr. Mead in this said bust; for I, who was as well acquainted with his face as any one living, do pronounce this bust of him to be so like, that, as often as I see it, my mind is filled with the strongest idea of the original."

The following anecdote respecting this bust was communicated to me by Dr. Ducarel. Roubilliac agreed with Dr. Askew for 50*l.*; the Doctor found it so highly finished that he paid him 100*l.* The Statuary said this was not enough, and brought in a bill of 108*l.* 2*s.* Dr. Askew paid this demand even to the odd shillings, and then inclosed the receipt to Mr. Hogarth to produce at the next meeting of Artists.—Sydenham's very excellent bust in the College of Physicians cost 100*l.*

"Martin Folkes, esq. the last of my deceased principal patrons, was a friend and intimate acquaintance of the other three. He had made the grand tour of Europe, not in the younger part of his life, but after his marriage. He travelled with part of his family and servants, at a proper age to make just observations, and gather all the commendable parts of the learning, customs, and manners, of the countries through which he passed, in order to refine and polish those of his own. He travelled not in haste, as is the general custom; but proceeded slowly; and spent what time was necessary to inform himself of all that was worth notice: and, indeed, he seemed to have attained to universal knowledge; for, in the many opportunities I have had of being in his company, almost every part of science has happened to be the subject of discourse, all of which he handled as an adept in each. He was a man of great politeness in his manners, free from all pedantry and pride, and, in every respect, the real unaffected fine gentleman.

"The loss of four personages so truly noble, so good, so great, and every way so highly accomplished, in the small space of three or four years, was an event that greatly humbled me. I imagined, that after such a loss to arts and sciences in general, and to myself in particular, all endeavours to excel in any branch of knowledge would be fruitless, and of little avail to its author, for want of eminent men to inspire the rising generation; and

publick by causing engravings to be made from them, as they contain a great number of English as well as foreign birds, and other animals, hitherto not accurately delineated or described.

After the publication of the last work, being arrived at his 70th year, and finding his sight begin to fail, he retired to a small house which he had purchased at Plaistow; previous to which, he disposed of all his copies and plates of his works. Having completed his 80th year, emaciated with age and sickness, he died July 23, 1773, deservedly lamented by a numerous acquaintance.

His remains were interred in the church-yard of West Ham, his native parish, where his executors have placed, on an upright stone in the South East part of the church-yard, the following inscription:

"Here lieth interred the body of
GEORGE EDWARDS, Esq. F. R. S.
who departed this life
the 23d day of July, 1773, aged 81 years;
formerly Librarian to the Royal College of Physicians,
in which capacity, as well as in private life,
he was universally and deservedly esteemed.
His Natural History of Birds will remain
a lasting monument of his knowledge and ingenuity."

The Linnæan Index, his papers from the Philosophical Transactions, with the plates relative to these subjects, all new engraved, were published by Mr. Robson in 1776, in a proper size to bind with his other Works. To the Linnæan Catalogue is prefixed a letter addressed to Mr. Robson, from Linnæus himself, wherein he concludes "*evolvi immortale Opus Edwardi, adposui raptim meas no-*

I thought of discontinuing any farther progress in Natural History: but the national spirit for the promotion of learning and arts, in the establishment of that grand repository and immense fund of science, the British Museum, has in some measure revived the passion for learning and useful knowledge; and I hope these seeds, sown by public authority, cherished and protected by a Prince distinguished for virtue and learning, will take root, spring up, and yield a plentiful harvest." *G. E.*

menclaturas

renclaturas ad mandatum tuum: tibi fausta omnia adprecor."

A print of Mr. Edwards, engraved by J. S. Miller in 1754, after a painting by Dandridge *, is a most striking likeness. He left two sisters, to whom he bequeathed the fortune acquired by assiduous application to his favourite pursuits; they died, not long after their brother, within a few hours of each other, and were buried together.

Very soon after the publication of the preceding article in the first edition of this work, I received the following Letter from a Friend with whom I had for many years the pleasure of passing very frequently some of those hours of rational conviviality, which, while they gladden the heart, rub off the fatigues and soften the asperities of life †.

* The son of a house painter; he had great business from his felicity in taking likenesses. Walpole's Anecdotes, vol. IV. p. 53, 8vo; vol. III. p. 439, 4to.

† In the Obituary of the Gentleman's Magazine for 1806 the loss of this intimate friend is thus recorded: "James Robson, esq. was born in the year 1733, at Sebergham, in Cumberland, where his family had been settled from antient times in the respectable condition of Yeomen; a class of men now nearly worn away by causes not necessary here to enumerate, but from whom whatever is estimable and substantial in the English character might easily be traced. He was educated at a neighbouring grammar-school; and at the age of 16 came to London, under the protection of his relation Mr. Brindley, then an eminent bookseller in New Bond-street, publisher of a beautiful edition of the Latin Classicks, which still bears his name. Mr. Robson succeeded him in business in 1759, which he carried on for more than 40 years, with integrity, fame, and profit. He entered the career of active life with all the advantages of a solid and pious education, habits of frugality without meanness, a persevering industry, and manners peculiarly liberal and obliging, free alike from the pernicious and offensive vanity of assuming the habits of the higher ranks, or the insolent affectation of contemning them. He soon obtained the friendship and patronage of the principal Literati, and many of the most elevated characters of his time, particularly the Clergy, among whom we might enumerate nearly the whole Prelacy for the last 50 years, as having favoured him with their countenance and kindness. Soon after he settled in business he made a considerable addition to his domestic comforts and his property, by marrying the only daughter of Mr. Perrot, an eminent builder in the neighbourhood of Grosve-

DEAR SIR, New Bond-street, Dec. 10, 1782.

I HAVE read, and am still reading, when my numerous avocations will permit me, your "Anecdotes of Mr. Bowyer." Your candour and impartiality throughout the whole I admire; but in the account of a valuable old Friend of my own, you seem to have a little deviated from it. The Life I allude to, is that of Mr. George Edwards, the Father of all Ornithologists. His Life, such as it is, was written by your humble servant, from anecdotes occasionally communicated to me at our different meet-

nor-square, by whom he had a numerous family. His eldest son, James, unhappily lost his life, at the age of 20 years, by a fall from his horse, while on a visit to his uncle at Sebergham; an affliction to his father which Time, the balm of sorrow, had never healed. An elegant and affectionate poetical tribute to this youth's memory, by Mr. Jerningham, is preserved in Gent. Mag. vol. LV. p. 439. His second son, George, was educated at Queen's College, Oxford, the leading members at that time being his father's particular friends. Here he took the regular degrees; and, entering into holy orders, became domestic chaplain to Dr. Horsley, a Prelate whose warm benevolence was only exceeded by his undaunted integrity and profound extent of learning. By his Lordship, when Bishop of Rochester, he was presented to the rectory of Snodland, in Kent, 1799; and afterwards, when Bishop of St. Asaph, to a prebend of that cathedral, and the vicarage of Chirke. Mr. Robson had also five daughters; the marriage of one of whom is mentioned in Gent. Mag. vol. LXXIII. p. 691, and LXXIV. p. 573; and of another in vol. LXXIX. p. 579; the other three are single.—Mr. Robson was the re-builder, and sole proprietor of Trinity-chapel in Conduit-street, now inherited by his son (which, though locally situated in the parish of St. George, Hanover-square, is a chapel of ease to St. Martin's). After the death of his eldest son, whom he had intended to succeed him, Mr. Robson gradually withdrew himself from business; and was appointed, about the year 1797, by the Dean and Chapter of Westminster, high bailiff of the city and liberty; but resigned it some time before his death. He was also in the commission of the peace for the county of Middlesex, in which he had considerable property.—In 1788, accompanied by his friend James Edwards, esq. of Pall Mall, Mr. Robson undertook a journey to Venice, on purpose to examine the far-famed Pinelli Library, the Catalogue of which made six octavo volumes. This library, by a bold and successful speculation, he secured, by offering a price for it which the executors and trustees found it their interest to accept; and during the severe winter which followed, the books were, not without much hazard from the sea, brought safely to London; and sold by auction, in the following year, at the

ings and conversation. Every man has, or ought to have, a little pride in appearing in good company; I could only have wished, therefore, that you had told the publick, that the whole property of his Works he assigned *to me solely*, and that he addressed a Letter to the publick upon the occasion. I would not have presumed to have pointed out to your notice and attention such trivial circumstances, only I frequently observe respectful mention made of the names of many of my friends and contemporaries on similar occasions. In another edition, perhaps these trifling remarks may be regarded. I flatter myself it will answer two purposes to me, without lessening in the least the credit of your publication. The first is but a piece of *vanity*, that my name will be enrolled amongst the

the great room in Conduit-street. — Mr. Robson's principal amusement, when relaxing from the tumult of the world, was that which delighted Isaac Walton; and the records of Hampton and Sunbury proclaim his skill and patience as an Angler; where, associated with the late Rev. Richard Harrison, his friendly and skilful medical friend Mr. Woodd, and a few other select companions, he occasionally whiled away the early dawn and evening shade in harmless sport. His conversation was mild, cheerful, intelligent, communicative, but never obtrusive; and, as he had imbibed in his early education a familiar acquaintance with the Latin poets, was frequently illustrated by apt quotations. Though very far removed from the character of a *bon vivant*, he was a member of a monthly dining-club at the Shakspeare tavern; a society which the writer of this article can scarcely mention without emotions of the tenderest concern, as it brings to mind the many rational hours of relaxation it has afforded him, when congenial spirits, warmed not heated with the genuine juice of the grape, have unreservedly poured out their whole souls in Attic wit and repartee. But of this friendly band, after an association of about 35 years, Mr. Robson was nearly the last survivor! The late Mr. Alderman Cadell, with Messrs. James Dodsley, Lockyer Davis, Thomas Longman, Peter Elmsly, honest Tom Payne of the Mews-gate, and Thomas Evans of the Strand, were members of this society; from which originated the germ of many a valuable publication. Under their auspices, Mr. Thomas Davies (who was himself a pleasant member of the club) produced his "Dramatic Miscellanies," and his "Life of Garrick;" and here first were suggested the ideas which led to the publication of Dr. Johnson's invaluable "Lives of the most eminent English Poets."

Worthies

Worthies of the age; and the next, it may recommend the sale of the Works of my deceased Friend, I beg pardon for taking up so much of your time and attention; and request your acceptance of this assurance, that I am always, dear Sir, your very obedient humble servant, J. ROBSON."

BRYAN FAIRFAX, esq. (a younger son of Thomas the first lord Fairfax * of Cameron) was appointed a commissioner of the Customs in 1723; and, dying Jan. 9, 1749, bequeathed a very considerable fortune to his nephew, the Hon. Robert Fairfax, of Leeds Castle, Kent, afterwards Lord Fairfax.

Mr. Fairfax's collection of Greek, Roman, and English coins and medals, was sold by auction, April 24, 25, and 26, 1751. Among other curiosities, he possessed one part of the famous Heraclean Table †.

* Whose great-uncle was the memorable General, Sir Thomas Fairfax, who conducted the Parliament Army, in the time of Oliver Cromwell, against Charles the First; and who, with General Monk, assisted in restoring his son Charles the Second to the throne.—Thomas Lord Fairfax died, at his proprietary in Virginia, unmarried, in 1781, at the age of 89; and was succeeded by his younger brother, Robert, M. P. for Maidstone 1739 and 1747, and for Kent 1754 and 1761. The last lord was twice married; but died without issue, July 15, 1793, aged 87; and the title was afterwards claimed by, and confirmed in 1800 to, Bryan Fairfax, the present Lord, who is in holy orders, and is lineally descended from Henry, the fourth lord Fairfax.

† In 1732 two large tables of copper were discovered near Heraclea, in the bay of Tarentum, in Magna Græcia; the first and most important of them, which was broken into two, containing, on one side, a Greek inscription relating to lands sacred to Bacchus; on the other, a Latin inscription, being part of a pandect or digest of Roman municipal laws. Both these inscriptions were given to the world, in 1736, by Mr. Maittaire, as already mentioned in vol. II, p. 83. The second table, engraved on one side only, contained a Greek inscription relating to lands belonging to the temple of Minerva, nearly of the same antiquity with the first; but the inscription imperfect, the table being broken off at the lower end. The first part of the first table, soon after the discovery, was carried to Rome, and purchased there at a great price by Francisco Ficoroni, a celebrated antiquary. In 1735 it was brought by an Italian into England, where it was purchased by Mr. Fairfax; and at one of the public sales of his collection was bought for 42*l.* by Philip Carteret Webb, esq. who

In his very valuable library was the Bible printed by Fust, on vellum, 1462, and Cicero's Offices by the same printer, also on vellum, 1466. The whole library, being 2343 lots, was intended to have been sold by auction, on April 26, 1756, and the 17 following days; but, after being advertised, was privately sold for 2000*l.* to his kinsman Francis Child *, esq. and the printed catalogues, except 20, were suppressed. Mr. Child sent the library to his seat at Osterley, Middlesex, where, in 1782, it remained in the possession of his younger brother and heir, Robert Child, esq. and made part of the *superb and magnificently bound* library †, of which a catalogue was drawn up, and only *twenty-five* copies printed, in 1771, in a *handsome* quarto. This latter catalogue was drawn up by Dr. Morell ‡; assisted by the preceding labours of the Rev. Dr. Winchester, who had been tutor to those gentlemen, and collected many books for the eldest of them.

Mr. Fairfax's pictures, statues, urns, and other antiquities, were sold by auction, April 6 and 7, and the prints and drawings, May 4—8, 1756.

who in 1760 obliged the world with a curious account of it, read by him before the Society of Antiquaries, Dec. 13, 1759. Mr. Webb presented the table, March 12, 1760, to the King of Spain, by the hands of the Neopolitan minister in London, to be deposited in the royal collection of antiquities at Naples; where the other half and the second table had been placed by purchase, in 1748. The Commentaries of Mazochius on these tables, in 600 folio pages, were published at Naples in 1758. In return for the table, Mr. Webb received from his Sicilian Majesty, by the hand of the Neapolitan minister, in November 1760, a present of a diamond ring worth 300*l.*

* The first wife of the Hon. Robert Fairfax was Martha Collins, niece to Sir Francis Child, bart.

† In Mr. West's catalogue, No. 1929 (made up of old title-pages of early printed books, &c.) contained a MS list of "Books in Mr. Child's library at Osterley, printed before the year 1500;" and another such list, "before the year 1551."

‡ "Bibliotheca hæc olim fuit honorabilis viri Bryani Fairfax, cujus ab hæredibus pretio 2000 librarum redemit eam Samuel Child, armiger, de Osterley Park. Catalogum curavit Thomas Morell, S.T.P. cujus viginti quinque exemplaria in suum et amicorum usum imprimenda voluit dignissimus possessor, 1771." *Note by Dr.* Lort, *in his own Copy of the Catalogue; which was purchased by Mr.* Gough, *and has since been consigned to the* Bodleian *Library.*

RICHARD

RICHARD FRANK, of Campsal, esq. F. R. S. recorder of Pontefract and Doncaster, was a polite scholar, and a lover of antiquities. He died æt. 60, May 22, 1762. His valuable collections, including those of Dr. Johnston* (which came into his hands

* Dr. Nathaniel Johnston, physician at Pontefract, made large collections from Dodsworth's papers and other quarters, and communicated many particulars to bishop Gibson. Mr. Drake tells us, the Doctor's MSS. are in such an awkward scrawl as to be scarce legible, and that a subscription was proposed some few years since to lodge them in the Castle library, which might have made them more useful than they can be now. The Doctor gave out, he had spent thirty years in amassing materials, and proposed to write the antiquities of the county after Dugdale's, and the natural History after Plott's manner. Wood was informed he grew weary of the work Nicolson has left this censure on his labours, that "only death prevented the publication of what its readers would have been weary of." The Proposals for printing them (published in 1722 by his grandson) are preserved in Mr. Bowyer's Miscellaneous Tracts. He had written a history of the Talbot family from their Norman ancestor Richard Talbot to Edward Talbot, last Earl of Shrewsbury of the house of Sheffield; an historical account of the reign of Charles I. after the breaking out of the civil war; and a short account of Stephen's reign. The first of these was in Mr. Gough's possession. His historical account of the family of Bruce is in the Harleian library, No. 3879. He had a copy of Domesday for Yorkshire, transcribed by himself, in a common hand. Dr. Burton (Pref. to his Monasticon) informs us, he had the use of above one hundred folio volumes relating to this county, collected by this indefatigable antiquary, and then in the hands of Richard Frank, esq. who had purchased as many as could be found, amounting to 97 volumes in folio, and some bundles in 4to, after the death of the author's grandson, Henry Johnston. A catalogue of them, and others in the Doctor's possession, was published in the Cat. MSS. Angl. tom. ii. p. 99. Among the rest is mentioned a large volume of Prospects of York, and other towns and castles, draughts of Roman and Saxon camps, and views of churches, abbeys, and seats: others contain arms, tombs, and monumental inscriptions, before the civil war. Dr. Ducarel informed the Society of Antiquaries, 1756, that Dr. Johnston's MSS. amounted only to ninety-seven volumes, and some quarto bundles, though in the Cat. MSS. Ang. they are a hundred and thirty-five; the rest were carried off by an amanuensis employed to copy such as related to the Darcy family, which, together with the originals, were burnt by an accidental fire in Lord Holderness's house; but no volumes had been carried into Suffolk, and used as waste paper, as some of the members had reported: that the two volumes of drawings were brought by the amanuensis into that county, where they were pasted on the walls of the late

on the death of the author's grandson Henry Johnston*), are now, 1780, in the hands of Bacon Frank, of Campsal, esq. nephew and heir to the Recorder.

ALEXANDER GORDON, M. A. a Scotsman, an excellent draughtsman, and a good Grecian, resided many years in Italy, visited most parts of that country, and had also travelled into France, Germany, &c. He published his "Itinerarium Septentrionale†" in

late Chancellor Johnston's house by children: that Mr. Thomas Martin had taken off many, and hoped to take off the rest, of which he promised an account. A volume of these drawings, with MS notes, supposed to be one of those carried into Suffolk, was in possession of Mr. Astle, who exchanged them with John Hatfield Kay, of Hatfield hall, Yorkshire, esq. Another volume of Drawings was recovered by the means of Dr. Ducarel, and sent to the late Mr. Frank, in whose library (now his nephew's, 1780) they remain. See British Topography, vol. II. p. 402—404.

* Henry Johnston, LL. D. rector of Whilton, Northamptonshire, and vicar of Stow-Market, Suffolk; afterwards chancellor of the diocese of Landaff, prebendary of Lincoln, and rector of Stoke and Soham Monks, in the county of Lincoln; at which place he died, Sept. 19, 1755. See the family pedigree in Dr. Ducarel's Anglo-Gallic coins, p. 57.

† By the following letter, preserved among the papers of Mr. Ames, it will be seen that the publication of this volume was not achieved without much pecuniary inconvenience to the Author.

SIR, *Tuesday, June* 21, 1726.

I received your letter of Monday, in which you desire me to meet you at the Quaker's; which I cannot, by reason of a prior engagement with Mr. Mackay and others; nor do I know well what you mean by insisting on my promises, seeing, I think, whatever I promised I have faithfully fulfilled, in a manner sufficient to any services I have had of you; which if you are not content, nor willing of a continuation of friendship, if you have a mind that justice shall decide the matter, let me know, that my attorney may appear, wherever you think proper to let me know, in a friendly manner, and if required, shall have sufficient bail ready, till a judge decide our difference. For my part, I thought by this time, on receipt of your clothes, you had been perfectly satisfied; and that the value of 26*l.* 10*s.* is reward for all you have done me I think you go a very strange way to work in gaining friends and people's esteem, by such unreasonable pretensions, when you know with what difficulty I can get the two ends of my book's expence to meet. I did not expect this at your hand. Had you been easy till I had seen what profit I may have if any, or how my matters stand, I still would have exerted

myself

1726; in which year, Aug. 29, Sir John Clerk thus wrote to Mr. Gale, "Mr. Gordon is expected here, with his head full of a project to make a communication between Clyde and Forth by a canal; when I see it is probable he will be less fond of it, for his project has been thought of a good many years ago, but it has been judged the profits would not answer the charge." In reply, Mr. Gale observes, "I told Mr. Gordon my thoughts of his project to cut through the Northern isthmus very freely. I could not see what manner of commerce could be so promoted by this new passage, as to repay the immense expence it would require to perfect it; at the same time the publick is so poor here, and so many necessary demands upon it, that I am sure it will be impossible to obtain the least sum for such experiments; and I believe your Treasury in Scotland is not much richer: he has, however, communicated it to some great men. My Lord Ilay treated it, as I hear, with great contempt; and if Sir Robert Walpole gave it a more favourable reception; it proceeded from the recommendation of Secretary Johnson, and from his usual affability and desire to dismiss every body that applies to him as well pleased as he can." Mr. Gordon made trial of all the ways by which a man could get an honest livelihood. He set about the study of Greek; but is said to have been so ill furnished with Latin, as to have translated in one of his publications the concluding sentence of Herodotus' first book *, where horses

myself on your account, as I have already done; which is all from, Sir, your most humble servant, ALEXANDER GORDON.

P. S. With the evening tide I go for Richmond to Sir Andrew Fountain; then to Twitnam, with Brigadier Bisset's books; next to Hampton Court, about a particular affair; so when I return I shall be very willing to lay the affair before Mr. Colvill and Mr. Richardson, your two friends; and I hope thereby exonerate myself and conduct in any affair betwixt you and me."

* "Your quotation from Herodotus, with regard to the mistake, is nothing without the Greek being quoted at full length: παντῶν τῶν Πλανητῶν ἀκυτάτω—so little they knew of Astronomy, and so little did Mr. Blackwell know of either Greek or Latin. By the bye, you see your *Deo* pernicissimo is quite out of the question. I had this circumstance from Dr. Taylor, *ex ore*." *Mr. E. Clarke.*

are

are said to be sacrificed to the sun, as *deo pernicissimo*, the most *pernicious* deity.

Mr. Gordon is frequently noticed in the "Reliquiæ Galeanæ *." In 1730 Mr. Maurice Johnson thanks

* It appears by this work (p. 226) that the first intimacy between Mr. Roger Gale and Sir John Clerk arose through the medium of Mr. Gordon; whose "Itinerarium" they both very freely censure, pp. 226. 232; and, in p. 237, Sir John Clerk says, "I had acknowledged your favour of the 26th of April, but delayed giving myself that pleasure till I should see Mr. Gordon's book. I have now seen it; and because the last part concerns me most, I cannot help regretting to you that Mr. Gordon has not at all answered my expectations and the promise he made me. I was in hopes he only would have made use of the contents of my letters as his own; but in place of this I find them not only inserted at length, but in a most incorrect way. I foresaw that this would happen, amongst other inconveniences; so pressed him over and over again not to meddle with them. I cannot now help what is done, but have caused the errata to be printed after the appendix in as many copies as are to be sold here. I likewise ordered the printer to send them to Mr. Gordon, that they might likewise be inserted in other copies. No new thing has been added, except where I speak of the *linum asbestinum*, I say, it could not resist the force of the vehement fire. The Bishop of Hadria's letter obliged me to this caution, though not very necessary; for, by the very way that the honest Bishop tells his story, it appears that the cloth he saw had never been in a *rogus*, otherwise all the *cineres* had been collected, and not a part of them. If he had made a trial, as he says, of its combustible quality, it was only in an Italian fire, and not on a heap of wood exposed to the wind, and sufficient to melt iron itself. I shall only add, by the bye, that all he proves is that this cloth could resist humidity, and after a decent manner in a tomb or an urn preserve the *cineres* of the dead. To return to Mr. Gordon; though he had done me a great kindness not to put me so much in his records, yet I am obliged to forgive him, for I dare say he had my credit no less in view than his own. As to the errata, I must impute them to my own bad hand and way of writing, with which I doubt you are scarcely acquainted as yet. As to the rest of Mr. Gordon's book, it is really a book above my expectation, and might have pleased every body had he been less precipitate in publishing it. I was not wanting in giving him Horace's advice.

—— "*Nonumque prematur in annum.*
Membranis intus positis, delere licebit
Quod non edideris; nescit vox missa reverti.

But possibly he has done better, if he has acquired by it new and able friends to get him put in a new way of living. I cannot omit making some apology for him in relation to what he says of the speech of Galgacus, p. 136. I once endeavoured to persuade

Mr. Gale for his "agreeable donation to the Spalding Library of Mr. Gordon's Translation of the

persuade him that it was only a fiction of Tacitus, conformable to a liberty among historians, and that there was no reasoning from any thing contained in it to the advantage either of Galgacus or his Caledonians: but Mr. Gordon's high respect for his country hath carried him too far, and made him commit a sort of laudable fault. There are other instances of this infirmity in p. 137; but his business as an Antiquary will atone for all: the best that could have been said for the Caledonians was, that though they had been conquered, yet the Romans could not retain their conquests. I am, I confess, of the opinion of some learned men, that it is a reproach to a nation to have resisted the humanity which the Romans laboured to introduce. As to the rest of Mr. Gordon's book,

Ubi plura nitent—non ego paucis offendar maculis.

"I return you many thanks for the account you sent me of the Society [of Antiquaries]. I wish it were still under a greater encouragement. A little of the Royal bounty and favour would be of singular use to it, but it will be hard persuading a true Courtier that there is any thing in the study of Antiquities above other trifling studies; and yet it may be demonstrated that nothing will tend more to promote true British spirits in the love of this country, liberty, and glory. One must be of a very abject frame of soul who cannot receive any impressions of this kind from the sentiments or valiant actions of the Greeks and Romans. We see what use the learned Bishop of Cambray made of his knowledge of the antients to form the mind of a prince. What are the heroes of antiquity but so many models by which we may square our lives and actions?"—Mr. Gale answers, "By what Mr. Gordon had said to me, I concluded he had your free leave to publish your letters; otherwise should by no means have parted with them to him, much less have suffered my crude and hasty answers to have attended them into the world, had not the printing of yours indispensably required it. The errors you complain of must be wholly imputed to the stupidity and perverseness of the printers. I corrected the sheets myself with all the care I could; and finding, when the book was finished, most of their faults still left, I persuaded Mr. Gordon to stop the publication of it for a week, whilst those sheets might be once more corrected and re-printed, which he did; but then returning from the press with some of the old errata set right and new ones added in their room, stop them again he could not, having engaged a second time in the public prints to deliver them at a certain day to his subscribers; which promise having broke, upon pretence the map was not ready (though the delay in reality was only to re-print the afore-mentioned sheets), he thought he could by no means excuse another non-performance of his engagements. I offered him to peruse every sheet of the whole book as it came out of the press; for which he seemed very thankful,

Marquis Maffei's History of Amphitheatres*;" and in 1735 Mr. Gordon gave to the Spalding Society an impression from a Persian or Armenian intaglio, stamped on paper; with his description and draught of the same, and some conjectures thereupon. His observations on Capt. Lethieullier's and Dr. Mead's mummies were given him by Mr. Roger Gale and Dr. Mead. He was grand-master of the Society of Free Masons; and in 1736 was ap-

thankful, but never sent me one except those of the Appendix containing our letters. I wish it was not his, being persuaded that he was perfectly right in all his notions which occasioned it, though you see as well as myself that he is not clear of mistakes; to which I must add, an impatience of getting the work abroad, upon the prospect of getting a little money by it, his circumstances, as I believe, requiring and prompting him to it. I hope also that it has been a recommendation to him to some of our great men here, who, as he tells me, have given him some reason to expect they will do something for him. He may urge in his defence that strong plea of *Res angusta domi* for his hasty publication; as he may that other of *Vincit amor Patriæ*, where his zeal for the honour of his country has sometimes caused him to enforce his arguments too far."—"I never saw Mr. Gordon's Supplement till within these eight days: he had done well either not to have printed at all, or done it with less precipitation. His dispute with Dr. Hunter [of Durham] is amazing; for both what he and the Doctor says, about the time of erecting the Basilica, may be true. I was out of all patience, when I found him making remarks on some of your observations, which, I believe, were never printed; but, it seems, he is one of those that would rather lose their friend than their jest, and a little more learning would make him a complete modern critic. I have been sorry often to observe such weaknesses; but I was so much obliged to him for the happiness he introduced me to of your acquaintance, that I could overlook many faults in him. I beg it of you not to discountenance him altogether; but continue to give him your good advice, though he may be very little capable of benefiting by it. I see he has helped off some of his errata in the 'Itinerarium:' but has taken no notice of some ridiculous things he made me say; wherefore I have sent him a few corrections, if there be place for them in his Latin edition."

* Mr. Johnson adds, "Our Society is augmented lately by the admission of Mr. Pegge, an ingenious member of St. John's College, Cambridge, I think a fellow, and studious of antiquities; a merchant, and a surgeon of this town; and we have every week full meetings. Our library increases, so that we are about making two larger classes for our books," &c.

pointed

pointed Secretary to the Society for Encouragement of Learning *, with an annual salary of 50*l.*; and which he resigned in 1739. In 1736 also he succeeded Dr. Stukeley as Secretary to the Society of Antiquaries; which office he resigned in 1741 to Mr. Joseph Ames; and was afterwards for a short time secretary to the Egyptian Club, composed of gentlemen who had visited Egypt (viz. Lord Sandwich, Dr. Shaw, Dr. Pococke, &c.) "This Society was begun under the presidentship of Lord Sandwich. The purpose of it was, to enquire into Egyptian Antiquities; Lord Sandwich was met by Dr. Pococke, Dr. Perry, and Capt. Norden the Swedish gentleman, all having been in Egypt: they nominated Mr. Martin Folkes, Mr. Charles Stanhope, Dr. Stukeley, Dr. Milles, Mr. Dampier †, Mr. Mitchell ‡, associates, and with them founders of the Society. The Dukes of Montagu and Richmond, Lord Stanhope, Mr. Dayrolles §, and some others, were nominated candidates. A sistrum was laid before the President as the insigne of office. At one of these meetings, Jan. 22, 1742, the Duke of Montagu was pleased to ask me the purport of that so celebrated instrument. I spoke of it to the satisfaction of those present, but particularly of the Duke, and he requested me afterward to give it him in writing ||."

Mr. Gordon went in 1741 to Carolina with Governor Glen **; where he purchased the office of registrar of the province, obtained a considerable

* In June 1739 Mr. Alexander Blackwell was a candidate to succeed him. See vol. II. p. 93.

† Q. the late master of Eton school.

‡ Q. the well-known resident at Berlin.

§ Solomon Dayrolles, esq. the friend and correspondent of Lord Chesterfield.

|| Dr. Stukeley's Preface to Carausius, p. vi; and Reliquiæ Galeanæ, pp. 102. 316, where it appears that the meetings were held at the Lebeck's Head in Chandos-street.

** "On this occasion his place of Secretary to the Antiquarian Society became vacant, his holding which was urged, among other reasons, by Dr. Rawlinson, for not leaving his papers to that learned body, because their secretary was a Scotchman."

Mr. Gough, MS.

grant

grant of lands, and died a justice of the peace, leaving a handsome estate to his family. His publications were, 1. "Itinerarium Septentrionale: or a Journey through most of the Counties of Scotland *, and those in the North of England. In two parts. Part I. containing an Account of all the Monuments of Roman Antiquity, found and collected in that Journey, and exhibited in order to illustrate the Roman History in these Parts of Britain, from the first Invasion by J. Cæsar, till J. Agricola's march into Caledonia, in the Reign of Vespasian, and thence more fully to their last abandoning the Island, in the Reign of Theodosius junior, with a particular Description of the Roman Walls in Cumberland, Northumberland, and Scotland, &c. &c. Part II. An Account of the Danish Invasions in Scotland,

* "He made a laborious progress through almost every part of Scotland for three years successively. His Map of Scotland, shewing the principal Roman works between Tyne and Tay, is the work of James Mackay. At the end of the whole is an advertisement, purporting that Mr. Gordon designed in a few days to publish proposals for engraving by subscription, a complete view of the Roman walls in Britain, with those of the Emperors Hadrian and Severus in Cumberland and Northumberland, in a large map near 14 feet by 6; and that of Antoninus Pius in Scotland in another map of 6 feet by 4, from actual geometrical surveys; the height, thickness, and number of courses of stones, breadth and depth of the ditches, heighth and breadth of the cespititious ramparts, and the appearance of the military ways, stations, towers, &c. and a complete perspective view of the country on both sides: with exact draughts of the inscriptions, &c. found there, and an English and Latin description at the foot of each map. As he complains of want of sufficient encouragement to his book, I am afraid he met with none to his Survey, which certainly was a noble design. Some lovers of antiquity in Holland printing a Latin translation of his Itinerary about 1730, applied to the author for additions and corrections; which he afterwards published in English, 1732, folio, containing several dissertations on and descriptions of Roman antiquities discovered in Scotland since the publishing the said Itinerary; together with observations on their antient monuments found in the North of England: two inscriptions in Durham library found at Lanchester, illustrated in the Philosophical Transactions, by Hunter and Gale; and an engraving of the goddess Brigantia, from the original, in the possession of Sir John Clerk, bart." *Gough's British Topography*, vol. II. p. 560.

and

and of the Monuments erected there, on the different Defeats of that People. With other curious Remains of Antiquity; never before communicated to the Publick. The whole illustrated with 66 Copper Plates. Lond. 1726," folio. 2. "Additions and Corrections, by way of Supplement, to the Itinerarium Septentrionale; containing several Dissertations on, and Descriptions of, Roman Antiquities, discovered in Scotland since publishing the said Itinerary. Together with Observations on other antient Monuments found in the North of England, never before published. Lond. 1732*." folio. 3. "The Lives of Pope Alexander VI. and his son Cæsar Borgia, comprehending the Wars in the reign of Charles VIII. and Lewis XII. Kings of France; and the chief Transactions and Revolutions in Italy, from the Year 1492 to the Year 1516. With an Appendix of original Pieces referred to in the Work. By Alexander Gordon, A.M. F.R. and A.S. Author of the Itinerarium Septentrionale, Lond. 1729," folio. 4. "A complete History of the antient Amphitheatres, more particularly regarding the Architecture of these Buildings, and in particular that of Verona, by the Marquis Scipio Maffei; translated from the Italian, 1730," 8vo; afterwards enlarged in a second edition. 5. "An Essay towards explaining the Hieroglyphical Figures on the Coffin of the antient Mummy belonging to Capt. William Lethieullier. Lond. 1737," folio, with cuts. 6. "An Essay towards explaining the antient Hieroglyphical Figures on the Egyptian Mummy in the Museum of Dr. Mead, Physician in Ordinary to his Majesty, 1737," folio. "The two preceding Essays being designed to explain three of the fifteen copper-plates already delivered to subscribers, an explanation of the remaining prints will come forth with all convenient speed: first, what belongs to the other antient Mummies exhibited in the said plates, next what

* A Latin edition of Mr. Gordon's "Itinerarium," including the Supplement, was printed in Holland, 1731.

regards

regards the rest of the monuments on stone, wood, metal, &c.—Subscribers will observe that the 13th plate, which is described in the 2d inscription, as well as all the other prints, must be regulated by the size of the printed sheet, because the rest of the work will be of the same dimensions.—N. B. When this is published according to the terms of subscription, the author intends to offer to the publick another work, 'The History of the Egyptians, from the earliest Accounts given of them to the time of Darius, contemporary with Alexander the Great;' which work is not intended to be published by subscription, and is now very near ready to put to press *." 7. "Twenty-five Plates of all the Egyptian Mummies, and other Egyptian Antiquities in England," about 1739, folio.

WILLIAM HALL, esq. of the Middle Temple; an excellent scholar, and an intimate friend of Mr. Markland †, who inscribed to him his "Quæstio

* This work was never published, but was left by Mr. Gordon in MS. under the new title of "An Essay towards illustrating the History, Chronology, and Mythology, of the antient Egyptians, from the earliest Ages on record, till the Dissolution of their Empire, near the time of Alexander;" which is dated London, July 6, 1741.

† Mr. Markland's anxiety, during the illness of his friend, will appear from the following short extracts: "Your letter frees me from a fear I have been under this fortnight, during which I have looked first under the article of the Dead in every paper. I believe you did not know that Mr. Hall has been extremely and dangerously ill, somewhat in your way, from the strangury, though the cause was different from yours." *Letter to Mr. Bowyer, March* 24, 1766.—"You told me he [Mr. Hall] had had a relapse, but was got well again, and would write to me soon. Not having heard from him since, I am under some concern about him, lest he should have met with a second relapse. This is to beg of you to let me know how it is with him, this being a dangerous time of the year to all, unless to those who ἀναίμονές εἰσι, καὶ ἀθάνατοι καλέονται. You will excuse this solicitude for a friend, considering that, if you had been in such a precarious condition, I should have written in the same manner to him." *Ibid. April* 13. —[See also two other letters, in vol. IV. pp. 336, 337.]—I send you the inclosed, only to verify the wise man's observation, 'Boast not thyself of to-morrow; for who knoweth what a day may bring forth?' This was written on Oct. 4; and on Oct. 5, he

Grammatica," as mentioned in a former volume*. He went to Bath for his health in the autumn of 1766†, where he unhappily fell into a state of insanity, and died in December that year. Dr. Akenside has inscribed a beautiful Ode "To William Hall, esq. with the Works of Chaulieu."

NICHOLAS HARDINGE (younger‡ son of the Rev. Gideon Hardinge§, and grandson of Sir Robert Hardinge‖, of King's Newton, a small hamlet in the parish of Melbourne, in Derbyshire, who was knighted in the civil wars) was born in 1700, and educated at

he was a mad-man." *Ibid. Feb.* 15, 1767.—"I am always uneasy when I do not satisfy even your expectations; which, when you expected to have a letter from me on to-morrow morning by the post, was impossible, for nobody here sends a letter on a Friday, because the General Office in London is shut up on a Sunday. I suppose if you sent a letter to Darking for London on Saturday, you would not be surprized if I did not receive it till Monday."

* See vol. IV. p. 286.

† "I had your depositions, &c.—Before a week passes, I hope I shall inform you better, for I have very strong appearances of being right again in two or three days."

Mr. Hall to Mr. Markland, Oct. 4, 1766.

‡ His elder brother, Caleb Hardinge, was of King's College, Cambridge, (B.A. 1720; M.A. 1724; M.D. 1724; M.D. Com. Reg. 1728; Adm. 1756). He was physician extraordinary to the King, and physician to the Tower; survived his brother; and died at Mansfield, in the county of Nottingham in January 1776. He was a man of singular habits and whims, but of infinite humour and wit. He was, like his brother, a most admirable scholar; and, if he had been uniformly attentive to the duties of his profession, would have acquired the first ranks in it. In medical sagacity and learning he had few if any superiors. His conversation was coveted by the most accomplished wits and scholars of his age. He was a man of perfect honour, and a more benevolent spirit never breathed. His passion for coursing was one of his most prominent characteristics; but, like all the rest, he made it the source of infinite amusement for his friends.

§ Of Jesus College, Cambridge; B.A. 1687; M.A. 1791. He died vicar of Kingston in 1750. See his epitaph, p. 343.

‖ They were descended from a family who had long been settled at King's Newton; where Lord Melbourne now possesses the antient seat of the Hardinges. Sir Robert Hardinge had two sons, Robert and Gideon. Robert had two daughters, Isabella and Mary. The former married the Rev. John Bailey, A.M. of Chaddesden, in the same county, and by him had no issue; the latter died unmarried. Robert had also a son John, who died without issue.

Eton

Eton school, which he left in the year 1718-19. He was fellow of King's College, Cambridge; took the degree of B.A. 1722; of M.A. 1726; and, when he left the University, was called to the bar: but the office of Chief Clerk to the House of Commons being vacant, in 1731, he accepted it, and held it till April 1752, when he was appointed Joint Secretary of the Treasury, on the promotion of James West, esq. in which post he died. He was a very diligent, and most able, upright officer, in both departments; and, though one of the best classical scholars of his age; deeply versed in the history, laws, and constitution of England, on which he wrote with uncommon perspicuity.

At Eton and Cambridge, he had the fame of the most eminent scholar of his time; and had very singular powers in Latin verse, perhaps inferior to none since the Augustan age*. When he was at Cambridge, party was at the highest in his own college, and he was at the head of the Whigs. Doctor Snape was then provost. A violent contest arose upon the subject of a Mr. Bushe, who having, in one of the College exercises, given offence by some political reflections injurious to the Tory cause, was expelled; and, upon appeal to the Bishop of Lincoln, reinstated. The sentence of the Bishop was litigated; but, in the end, the Whigs prevailed, and gave a turn to the political sentiments of the whole University. In every part of this contest Mr. Hardinge's judgment, knowledge of the law, address, and spirit, were of infinite service to the party, and to his own character. His attention to the points of that controversy led him insensibly to a perfect knowledge of the general subject of visitatorial power, which he discussed in a very masterly Essay, never

* His Latin poems (in every measure and style) are much admired. He was thought equal, if not superior, in that line, to the celebrated Dr. George, provost of King's. Two of them are in the "Musæ Anglicanæ," and another, written at Knowle Hill, 1739, and addressed to Stephen Poyntz, esq. preceptor to the Duke of Cumberland, is in the "Select Collection," vol. VI. p. 85; with an English translation, by T. P. of W. College, Oxford, 1778.

published, but intended for publication, with all the rest of his works. He was a very deep and judicious Antiquary, particularly in what concerned English law and history. At the request of William Duke of Cumberland *, he wrote a very learned Memorial upon the Regency, when the subject arose in the last reign, of which Lord Hardwicke spoke in very high terms, calling it, in a letter which his son has seen, "an invaluable work." His son had a copy of it; more correct than his own, from the late Mr. Charles Yorke. It was by Mr. Hardinge's advice and encouragement that Mr. Stuart undertook his journey to Athens, with a view of illustrating the history of that city. His diligence, accuracy, knowledge, and skill, in the office of Clerk to the House of Commons were never exceeded. He put the Journals into their present form; and drew up a very able Report of the condition in which he found them, making part of that work. In his office of Secretary, he was laborious, able, zealous, and so honest that he had many enemies. He was chosen representative for the borough of Eye in parliament in 1748 and 1754; and was a very useful member; but had no talents or courage for eloquence, though his taste in the judgment of it was exquisite. He had a rich vein of humour; and his English Muse, though never inelegant, had a peculiar turn for it. His "Denhill Iliad," a poem occasioned by the Hounds running through Lady Gray's gardens at Denhill, in East Kent, 1747 †, is very much in the manner of Pope. His "Dialogue in the Senate House of Cambridge," written so lately as 1750, is an admired specimen of poetry and humour united ‡. His English

* To whom he had been appointed, in December 1732, Law Reader, with a salary of 100*l.* a year, and was afterwards his Attorney General. He was also Auditor to Princess Amelia.

† Printed in the "Select Collection, 1780," vol. VI. p. 82.

‡ This Dialogue, which is a most elegant and keen *jeu d'esprit*, is preserved in the "Poetical Calendar," vol. IX. p. 92. The Beadle was James Burrough, esq. fellow of Caius College, afterwards master, and knighted; well known at Cambridge as the ingenious Architect who drew the plan of the Senate House and other public buildings.

verses

verses in general seldom attempt more than melody of numbers, in which he had the happiest ear, ingenious turns of thought, wit, and elegant expression —but they are, within that line, as poetical as any modern works. He was a very able critick, and was the first who gave the true reading in a remarkable passage in one of Horace's Odes. Doctor Bentley was struck with it, and passed a very high but singular commendation of it, characteristic of his own pedantry but wit*. A whimsical appeal was made to him when he was Clerk of the House of Commons: Pulteney and Sir Robert Walpole were squabbling; and the former playfully told the latter, that his *Latin* was as bad as his *politicks*. He had quoted a line from Horace†, and Pulteney insisted that he had *mis*quoted it. The other would not give it up. A guinea was laid, and Mr. Hardinge was made the arbiter, who rose with a very droll solemnity, and gave it against his own patron, Sir Robert. The guinea was thrown across the house, which Pulteney took up, saying it was the first public money that he had touched for *a long time*. He had formerly been in office. It should be added, to make the anecdote complete, that at Lord Bath's death the individual guinea was found, wrapped up in a piece of paper, with a memorandum upon it, recording the circumstance.

Mr. Hardinge obliged his friends with an engraving, by Mr. Vertue, of two views of the chapel of St. Mary, adjoining to the South side of the parochial church of Kingston-upon-Thames, in the county of Surrey, in which several English-Saxon

* The authority for this assertion is the late Hon. Thomas Townshend, many years member of parliament for the University of Cambridge, and a Teller of the Exchequer.

† The well-known lines

——"Hic murus aheneus esto
Nil conscire sibi, nulla pallescere culpâ."

Sir Robert repeated it, *nulli pallescere culpæ*. He was wrong, so Westminster triumphed over Eton. It is perhaps hardly necessary to add that Mr. Pulteney was educated in the former, and Sir Robert in the latter, of these two famous seminaries.

kings

kings are said to have been crowned, which was ruined in 1730, by the falling down of one of the pillars and arch next the church *.

Since the first outlines of the preceding account of Mr. Hardinge was printed in the former edition of these "Anecdotes," they have been considerably improved by the polite communication of his eldest son, George Hardinge, of Trinity College, Cambridge, (M. A. per Literas Regias, 1769); a barrister of the Middle Temple, Solicitor General to the Queen, and one of his Majesty's Justices for the counties of Glamorgan, Brecknock, and Radnor, in Wales †; who married Lucy, daughter and heiress of Richard Long, of Chesterfield-street, esq.; and in 1780 obliged the learned world with a curious octavo volume of his Father's "Latin Verses;" amongst which is a corrected copy of the Ode in the "Select Collection." Mr. Hardinge, it is said, translated this Ode, and at the same time engaged Dr. Davies to make another translation. Both, I am told, are preserved, and printed in a volume of English verses; but those I have not seen. The Latin poems are of various dates; some of them school exercises at Eton in 1717, 1718; and wonderful instances of classical taste at so early a period

* The first view represents the antient form of the building, with the addition of a modern roof. The other, the modern form of the building in 1726, when the draught of it was taken. The chapel was demolished by digging a grave, in March 1729-30; the sexton and his man were killed on the spot, his son and daughter dug out alive. British Topography, vol. II. p. 268. A mezzotinto print of the daughter (who was afterwards herself the sexton, a stout athletic person, and as much noticed for the decency of her behaviour as for her strength) is thus inscribed:

"Esth Hammerton late Sexton of Kingston-upon-Thames.

"N. B. She was miraculously preserved under the ruins of the church, which fell down as she was digging a grave there, in the year 1731. And, notwithstanding she lay covered 7 hours, yet she survived the misfortune 15 years.

J. Butler pinxt, Jas M'Ardell fecit.

† See some elegant Addresses of Mr. Justice Hardinge to the Grand Juries at Brecon and Glamorganshire, in Gent. Mag. vol. LXXV. pp. 823. 927; and in vol. LXXVIII. p. 767.

of

of life; others at Cambridge 1719—1722; a poem on the death of his eldest son 1746, who died in 1741, at the age of seven, and was buried in the church of Kingston (see p. 344); an epitaph on his father, who was buried in the chancel of Kingston church, 1750 (printed below); one small poem in 1754; and epistles to several of his friends between 1730 and 1750*; most of them Lyrics, in which his vein was truly elegant and poetical — perhaps never excelled. Mr. Coxe has printed one of Mr. Hardinge's Odes, which is a most happy imitation of Sir Robert Walpole's famous letter to Colonel Churchill after his retirement.

The following is the inscription intended for his father. His grandson meant to put it up at Kingston.

"GIDEONI HARDINGE, A. M.
Roberti Hardinge militis filio natu minimo,
hujus ecclesiæ Vicario;
qui dignis sacerdote moribus,
adjuvante facundiâ,
vultuque ipso probitatis indice,
fidem sibi et amorem conciliavit:
Vicariæ volentis dona
quæstuosissimis litibus anteposuit:
Egenis nummulos detrahere
longè recusavit:
Censu de suo subvenire gestiit:

* I mention these so minutely, as the volume in which they are printed (which in some copies are called, "Poemata, Auctore Nicolao Hardinge, Coll. Reg. Socio;" in others, "Latin Verses by the late Nicholas Hardinge, esq.") has been circulated only among a few friends; and because in most of the copies six leaves, pp. 57—68 are wanting. These contain a Latin poem of some humour, written at Eton in 1724, and addressed to Mr. Justell, a learned and ingenious clergyman, son of the King's Librarian, and Conduct of Eton College; a Latin Essay, written in 1727, and addressed to the Earl of Pembroke, on deeds and seals of Robert earl Ferrars and William Fitz Otho, from the originals, in the archives of King's College; the latter illustrated by Maurice Johnson, in the "Memoirs of the Spalding Society," p. 63. Also a Latin letter to him from his brother Caleb; and some Latin verses addressed "Ad Amicum 1727." Mr. Gough had a complete copy, which was Dr. Lort's, and is now consigned to the hammer of Messrs. Leigh and Sotheby.

ægrotis

ægrotis ultro assedit,
consuluit, inserviit,
Artis ipsæ Medicæ studiosus.
Religionis legibus sancitæ tenax,
dissentientes
neque contumeliis neque fastidio prosequi,
sed amicissimâ potiùs suavitate,
facillimisque ad se colloquiis,
allicere consuevit.
His virtutibus lenioribus
adjunctam ita gravitatem tenuit,
assentationis inimicam,
ut neminem non auderet impium
monitis castigare;
id feliciter consecutus,
ut ne odii metu veritus conticesceret;
in præceptis tamen iracundiâ carentibus,
Humanitas ut eluceret,
Testis benevolentiæ,
Patri bene merenti
Nicolaus Hardinge,
Hujus ecclesiæ patronus, A. D. 1750."

On the death of his eldest son, written at Knowl Hills, 1746 (see p. 343):

"Nate, vale! cœli tibi templa beata petenti
Dat facilem, sceleris nescia vita, fugam.
At mihi spem dederas, orisque animique venustas,
Et puerile decus pignoris instar erant,
Te fore quem doctæ mea vellet Etona cohorti
Addere, Pieriæ prolis Etona parens.
Quem meus expeteret Camus, cui plauderet olim
Curia, quem lætâ disceret aure Themis:
Te fore qui mecum curis elapsus et urbe,
Me sene desuetæ fila movente lyræ,
Seu Trentæ ad ripas, Thamesim seu propter amœnum,
Ausonios caneres, Æoliosve modos.
Fata vetant, hominumque negant te reddere nugis,
Nec prohibent cineri me superesse tuo.
Tu posito carnis velamine (quale videmus
Æquoreis lotum surgere sydus aquis)

Nec

Nec macie, nec febre dolens, novus advena cœli,
Fletibus humanis invia regna petis.
O! si corpoream fas sit mihi ponere labem,
Vinque animi residem suscitet ipse dolor,
Ut te, care puer, super astra secutus ad auras
Humana aspernens evehar ætherias *."

Mr. Hardinge married, in December 1738, Jane, second daughter of Sir John Pratt, of Wilderness, in Kent (chief-justice of the King's Bench), and sister to the late Lord Camden; by whom he had issue nine sons, and three daughters †. Of the sons six died young. The survivors were, George (of whom see p. 342); Henry, of Peter-house, Cambridge, LL. B. 1779, late vicar of the *new* ‡ vicarage of

* The two last in Mr. Gough's and Mr. Bindley's copies run thus:
" Ut me, care puer, tua penne signa secutum
In penetrale Dei mors cupienda ferat!"

† Jane married Henry Pelham, esq. commissioner of the Customs. Caroline and Julia are unmarried.

‡ To which Mr. George Hardinge had, in 1776, presented Dr. James Andrew; and upon his resignation, 1778, Henry, his own brother. This requires to be explained. He had (in 1769) procured an act of parliament for the new-modeling of this vicarage, which formerly had contained Kingston, the mother church, and the following chapels or curacies; Richmond, Kew, Petersham, Thames-Ditton, and East Moulsey. By virtue of this act, without prejudice to right then existing, Kingston vicarage was confined to Kingston and Richmond; and a new vicarage was formed of Kew and Petersham. The other curacies were declared perpetual, and the patronage of them vested in the patron of the vicarages. By an agreement made between the last Mr. Nicholas Hardinge and John Bailey, who married Isabella, his first cousin, the next presentation after the death of the said Mr. Hardinge was given to him. He, upon the death of Comer, who survived Nicholas, presented the Rev. George Wakefield (father of the late celebrated Gilbert Wakefield, who died Sept. 10, 1801; and of George, curate of Richmond) who died 1776, and was succeeded by Dr. Andrew. Mr. Wakefield, as vicar of Kingston, had a right to appoint to all the curacies in that vicarage; and a little before his death he appointed his son George to the valuable curacy of Richmond, upon his own surrender of it; which curacy he held till 1806, in the nature of a perpetual curacy. A very important question had arisen, whether the curates thus appointed by the vicar vacated their curacies upon the death or cession of the vicar. The better opinion was in the negative, but it was left in doubt when this act was obtained. the Patron, though interested in the question, closed it in favour of what he thought the fair side of the argument, and barred his own claim by an express clause in the act, which declares

Kingston-upon-Thames, now rector of Stanhope, in the county of Durham; father of George N. Hardinge, esq. the gallant Naval Hero * whose loss is recorded in Gent. Mag. vol. LXXVIII. pp. 748. 768, and to whose memory the British Legislature have voted a public monument; and Richard, of Belleisle, Fermanaghshire, in Ireland, some time in the East India service, created a baronet Aug. 4, 1801.

Mr. Nicholas Hardinge died April 9, 1758; and his library was sold by auction in 1759. His widow died, at her seat in Kent, May 17, 1807 †.

clares all the curacies to be perpetual. The exercise of the right in Wakefield was invidious and dishonourable, because it broke in upon the manifest intentions of the act, founded with his privity and assent, in the idea that upon his death Richmond and Kingston would be vacant. See the History of Surrey, by Manning and Bray, vol. I. pp. 383, 394.

* A letter from Captain Hardinge to his respectable father (printed in the Gentleman's Magazine, vol. LXXIV. p. 461) may be considered as one of the most interesting papers of the kind that ever was written.

† "In this lady, amongst other extraordinary talents and virtues, perhaps the most like a charm, was her frugal care of her income, and her address in the conduct of it. She lived upon a moderate revenue as if it had been treble its real amount; kept a very hospitable house; and was the most liberal of human creatures upon fit occasions. Her œconomy was invisible to every eye but her own; though, in secret, active and sagacious. It was not cold, mean, or penurious; but it left her always rich, and was the bank of her liberal spirit. Her understanding was, in its energy, masculine, though her manners were gentle and graceful. She never had a selfish thought, and was incessantly occupied in doing good among her numerous descendants; uniting them in love to one another, she was impartial and generous to them all. She loved society, and was the charm of it. Her intellect survived her failure of strength, and was unsubdued by pain. She had a high sense of honour; and her duty was her pleasure. The vital and sound principles of Religion were never absent from her thoughts, and were the animating spirit of all her actions. When she lost her husband, her affliction would have destroyed her, if the sense of her parental duty had not recalled her to the energies of life. She consecrated them to that arduous and sacred office; but such was her intellect, her delicacy, and her address, that, as in the case of her œconomy, her incessant assiduity was accompanied by no effort; and she conferred obligations of inestimable value upon her children, as if they were mere feathers of courtesy, never insinuating the demand of an equivalent, but amply repaid in their smiles, and in their happiness. In society, though struck with

HENRY HARE, third and last Lord Baron of Colerane of that name and family, descended from John,

with a deafness, in the paroxysm of her conjugal affliction, which no applications could remove, she was the delight of all her friends, and, by the help of her trumpet, the readiest in conversation. Her eloquence, whether in reasoning, or in the narrative power, had peculiar grace and force. It was (like that of her most eloquent brother, the late Earl Camden) stamped with an elegant simplicity; it was pointed, strong, and clear. Her style in writing was lively, natural, and full of spirit. Her seat in Kent is of matchless beauty, which her taste had formed out of three or four little orchards, and a wild bank at the foot of a common which hung over them. Here she built and furnished an excellent house, though for a considerable time she had another in London, and was never happier than in doing the honours of it. She had a carriage, and a very handsome retinue of servants; made numerous presents, gave up to her son parts of her jointure, and yet left a handsome acquisition (including this beautiful scene) to the fortunes of her daughters. Her memory was, upon all topicks, ready and correct. It was of peculiar advantage to her in accompts, and in business of all kinds; yet, with a contempt for levity, her delight in reading Novels emulated that of her brother; and she had pleasure, as well as talent, for all games of skill, from cards to chess. Her spirit, never depressed, but always calm, was a ruling feature of her mind and genius. Amongst numerous traits of it, we can give this: her female housekeeper cheated her, and was detected in a series of complicated forgeries. Mrs. Hardinge took her up to London with her, and watched her with all the acute suspicion of a serjeant over his deserter, till she recovered every shilling, and threw the forged receipts into the fire. Hand-in-hand with her prudence in forwarding the interest of her numerous descendants, was her talent in reconciling their differences, and recommending them to mutual forbearance; always taking the weakest by the hand against the rest, and with no other partialities. Her last illness was lingering, as well as painful; but all the characteristic features of her mind, and life, continued up to the very day preceding her dissolution. She had the love and prayers of relations and friends out of number, who circulated her merits where she was not personally known; so that her name was often endeared by the character and stamp it bore in the world." Gent. Mag. 1807, vol. LXXVII. p. 480.

An elegant little unpublished volume, intituled "The Filial Tribute, 1807," with a copy of which I have been favoured "as a Keepsake," concludes with the following epitaph:

"Glowing thoughts, which *cannot speak*,
Prove—that eloquence is weak;
To the heart is *their* appeal—
They are mute,—because they feel.
Ye that knew the *Mother's* worth,
Blest, and blessing, upon earth,

Join

younger brother to Sir Nicholas Hare, baronet, master of the Rolls, and privy counsellor to King Henry VIII. (both sons to Nicholas Hare of Homersfield in Suffolk, the elder branch being seated at Stow Bardolph in Norfolk) was born at Blechingley in Surrey, May 10, 1693; educated at Enfield, under Dr. Uvedale (who had also the honour of educating, among other eminent men, Francis Earl of Huntingdon, and Sir Jeremy Sambroke, bart.) After the death of his grandfather, Hugh the second Lord Colerane *, in 1708, Henry succeeded to the title; and was admitted a gentleman commoner of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, under the tuition of Dr. Rogers, who afterwards married Lydia, one of his Lordship's sisters †. A lyric poem

J in with yours *the filial tear,*
Shed upon that parent here;
Tell us, if *the son's* regret
Ever shall its pride forget;
Or the *daughter's* tear can part
From its current in the heart.
Who can such a theme detail?
Who can tell the *filial* tale?
Not in *words* to be express'd,
Or in *fancy* to be guess'd,
It's for love, *on earth,* to *feel,*
But for *Angels* to reveal."

* Hugh Hare, the first Lord Colerane, was a great florist, and much in favour with Charles I. who created him an Irish baron when he was only nineteen years of age. On the breaking out of the civil wars, he attended on his Majesty, and supplied him with several sums of money, and gave up his seat at Longford in Wiltshire for a royal garrison, which was afterwards taken and plundered by the Rebels, and his other estates sequestered. On the Restoration, as a reward for his many and faithful services, he had an offer of an English peerage, which he refused. Henry, his eldest son, the second lord, was an eminent Antiquary and Medalist. He was twice married; and by his first lady, Constantia, daughter of Sir Henry Lewis, of Broxborne, bart. had two sons, Hugh (the thrd lord) and Lucius, a student in the Temple; and one daughter, Constantia, married to Hugh Smithson, esq. Mr. Hugh Hare was, in 1692, author of "A Charge to the Quarter Sessions for Surrey," and translated, from the French or Italian, "The History of the Conspiracy of Count Fieski at Genoa." He died in his father's life-time.

† See the account of Dr. Rogers, prefixed to his XIX Sermons, p. xxiii. Ed. — In the Introduction to the first volume of the Archæologia, it is said by mistake that this lady was married to

by Lord Colerane appeared in the "Academiæ Oxoniensis Comitia Philologica, 1713," and in the "Musæ Anglicanæ," vol. III. p. 303, under the title of "Musarum Oblatio ad Reginam." Dr. Basil Kennet, who succeeded Dr. Turner in the presidency of that Society, inscribed an epistolary poem on his predecessor's death to Lord Colerane; who was a great proficient in the learned languages, particularly the Greek; and eminently versed in history, both civil and ecclesiastical. His Lordship made the tour of Italy three times; the second time with Dr. Conyers Middleton, about 1723, in which he made a noble collection of prints and drawings of all the antiquities, buildings, and pictures in Italy; given after his decease to Corpus Christi College. The esteem in which he was held by the Literati procured him admittance into the Republica Litteraria * di Arcadia, and the particular intimacy of the Marquis Scipio Maffei; who afterwards visited him at his antient manor and seat at Tottenham, in Middlesex, commonly called Bruce Castle, from having antiently belonged to the Bruces Earls of Huntingdon. His Lordship married, in 1717, Anne, only daughter of John Hanger, esq. some time governor of the Bank of England †. Her fortune from her father was near 100,000*l.* She survived her lord five years, dying Jan. 10, 1754, of the gout in her stomach. This marriage was not attended with the expected felicity. Within three years after it took place, her Ladyship thought proper "utterly to forsake his bed and house;" nor could his repeated solicitations for twenty years, and

to Dr. Turner, the president, who died a single man, and gave 20,000*l.* to the use of poor clergymen's widows.

* A Society whose business it was to correct, increase, and beautify the Italian poetry; as that of Crusca was to purify, illustrate, and fix their language. Some curious particulars of both are given by Baretti, in his "Account of Italy," vol. II. pp. 246. 248.

† In consequence of which marriage, Gabriel, third son of her elder brother, was, in 1762, created Baron Colerane; which title is now enjoyed by his third son, William.

offers

offers of the most ample forgiveness, induce her to return. He therefore, in 1740, formed a solemn engagement and connection with Miss Rose Duplessis *, daughter of Francis Duplessis, a French clergyman, born at Paris; as was his daughter, in 1710, at Neuf Chatel. Henrietta Rosa Peregrina, Mrs. Duplessis' daughter by Lord Colerane, was born at Crema in Italy, Sept. 12, 1745; and Dec. 13, 1748, baptized at the parish church of St. Mary, in Colchester †. His Lordship died at Bath,

* She set out with her father and mother, and one Mr. David Imer, her cousin, from Neuville, in Switzerland, for England, where they soon after arrived. In March 1744, or the beginning of the year 1745, being with child by Lord Colerane, she went with him from England to Brussels, and from thence into Germany and Italy, and other foreign countries, and did not return to England till September 1746.

† An entry was made in the register-book of that parish, whereby it is expressly mentioned, that she was born in September 1745, in foreign parts, and not known to have received baptism there. By his will, dated Sept. 17, N. S. 1746, executed at Rotterdam in Holland, he thus solemnly recognizes the mother and daughter: "Whereas it has been my heavy affliction that Anne Lady Colerane, whom I married with an affectionate and upright heart, did, in the third year of our marriage, about Oct. 1740, without any just cause or provocation by me given, but with the encouragement of selfish, mis-informed, and ill-disposed persons, in violation of her part of the solemn and mutual covenant which we entered into at our marriage, utterly forsake my bed and house; and whereas from thenceforward unto the year 1741 I did by letters and message, at sundry times, and on all the most proper occasions, solicit my said wife to return to her duty and cohabit with me again, according to the solemn engagements made between us at our marriage, which on my part I was ever disposed to keep and perform, and for that end had for so many years denied myself all the comforts of a married life, though very agreeable to my temper and constitution; and in my said overtures I solemnly and precisely offered to cancel all past offences, and receive, entertain, and support her in a proper and ample manner, according to my fortune; and lastly, about the beginning of April, 1740, I employed James West, esq. of Lincoln's Inn (who seemed to think her not averse to a reconciliation), to offer the like ample and honourable terms to the said Lady Anne Colerane, in order to prevail on her (if not determined to persist in a constant violation of her marriage vow) to come and live with me, govern my family, and partake in the enjoyment of my income; and to this I was not led by the lucre of that ample provision her father left her, nor deterred from it by the obvious apprehensions of the evils or inconveniences that might

Aug. 4, 1749; and was buried in the family vault at Tottenham, built, with the vestry, by his grandfather. His very valuable collection of drawings and prints, or loose sheets representing any buildings or antiquities in Great Britain (but not duplicates of any of them, or any prints engraved by their order or his) were bequeathed by his will to the

might follow, on taking into my bosom a person that for so many years had encouraged and habituated herself to a most obstinate, though undeserved, hatred and contempt of me; but when the said James West, esq. (as I have it under his hand), sent to ask leave to offer ample terms of reconciliation from me, she returned him word that she had no answer to give to such proposals, or to that effect; all which proceedings of the said Lady Colerane being well known, and maturely weighed to and by Mrs. Rose Duplessis, spinster, and myself, we two did, on the 29th of April, in the year last above mentioned, in the presence of God, enter into a solemn, mutual engagement to take each other for husband and wife, and perform to each other the negative and positive duties of that relationship (endeavouring to give as little offence as we may by our living together in the life-time of the said Lady Colerane); in consequence thereof, she the said Rose Duplessis, whom I esteem as my only true and virtuous wife, brought me a daughter, on the 12th of September, 1745, whom I have named Henrietta Rosa Peregrina." And to this daughter he gave, by his said will, in case she survived him, and lived to be 21, or to be married, all his estates, with several other devises over in case of her death.—Dec. 13, 1748, he granted an annuity, or yearly rent-charge, of 160*l.* a year, to Rose Duplessis during their joint lives, to be issuing out of his Lordship's estate in Norfolk; and expressed himself in this grant thus, "that it was in consideration of good services, and faithful offices done by Mrs. Duplessis;" and at the same time he made another grant to the said Mrs. Duplessis, of another annuity of 500*l.* a year, to commence immediately after his Lordship's death, during her life, and to issue likewise out of his lands in Norfolk.—After the decease of Lord Colerane, Mrs. Duplessis, on behalf of her daughter, entered on his estates. But the Lords of the Treasury, having an account given to them of the matters aforesaid, the Attorney General, in 1751, filed an information in the Exchequer for a discovery thereof; whereto Mrs. Duplessis demurred, for herself, and on behalf of her daughter; which came on to be argued in Court in Michaelmas Term, and was overruled. March 24, 1752, Mrs. Duplessis appealed from the last order to the House of Lords, which was heard March 9, 1753; when this question was put to the Judges, "Whether the disability of an alien to hold lands be a penalty, or a forfeiture?" Which was answered thus, "The legal disability of an alien to hold lands is not a penalty or forfeiture." Upon which the appeal was dismissed.

Society

Society of Antiquaries of London *, of which he had been admitted a member in 1725; but the codicil that bequeathed them being declared void, and the Society not choosing to commence a Chancery suit for their recovery, Mrs. Duplessis †, at the solicitation of his friend Mr. Henry Baker, made a present of them to that learned body; and afterwards a portrait of his Lordship, when young, by Richardson.

His books were sold to Mr. Thomas Osborne, who detained some of the family papers, which were with difficulty recovered from him.

The pictures, bronzes, marble tables, urns, vases, and other antiques, were sold by auction, March 13 and 14, 1754, for 904*l.* 13*s.* 6*d.* The coins, it is supposed, were disposed of privately.

Henrietta-Rosa-Peregrina Duplessis was married, May 2, 1763, to James Townsend, esq. Alderman of Bishopsgate ward, who enjoyed, under the grant from the Crown, the extensive manors of Tottenham, Pembroke's, Bruce's, Dauberey's, and Mockings, and repaired the family seat, which had been considerably modernized at the close of the seventeenth century. Mrs. Townsend died Nov. 8, 1785, aged 41; and the Alderman July 1, 1787, aged 50; when the estates at Tottenham devolved to their only son, Henry Hare Townsend, esq. who sold the whole, in 1792, for 30,000*l.* to Mr. Smith; by whom they were again sold, in 1805, to William Curtis, esq. eldest son of the present worthy Alderman.

* He gave them also the MS History of Hispello de Ferd. Passarini in 4to. bound in red leather, and augmented with one or more printed tract or tracts, and some MS notes of Roger Gale. —July 15, 1755, the cause which had been long depending, concerning Lord Colerane's estates was finally determined in Chancery, in favour of Mr. Knight and the heirs at law. The estate at Tottenham having thus escheated to the Crown, a grant of it was obtained by Chauncey Townsend, esq. a considerable merchant in Austin Fryars (through his interest with Lord Holland) in favour of his eldest son James Townsend, esq. and Henrietta Rosa Peregrina, his then wife; which grant was confirmed by act of parliament.

† Mrs. Duplessis died March 30, 1790.

GEORGE

GEORGE HOLMES (born at Skipton, in Craven, Yorkshire) became, about 1695, clerk to William Petyt, esq. keeper of the records at the Tower; and continued near 60 years deputy to Mr. Petyt, Mr. Topham, and Mr. Polhill. Upon the death of Mr. Petyt, which happened Oct. 9, 1707, Mr. Holmes was, on account of his singular abilities and industry, appointed by Lord Halifax (then chairman, in the House of Lords, of the Lords Committees) to methodize and digest the records deposited in the Tower, at a yearly salary of 200*l.* continued to his death, Feb. 16, 1748-9, in the 87th year of his age. Mr. Holmes was also barrack-master at the Tower. He re-published (as has been already mentioned, vol. I. pp. 386. 480.) the first seventeen volumes of Rymer's Fœdera, in 1727. In Strype's London, 1754, vol. I. p. 746, is a fac-simile of an antique inscription over the little door next to the cloister in the Temple church. It was in old Saxon capital letters, engraved within an half circle; denoting the year when the church was dedicated, and by whom, namely, Heraclius, the patriarch of the church of the Holy Resurrection in Jerusalem; and to whom, namely, the Blessed Virgin; and the indulgence of sixty days pardon to such who, according to the penance enjoined them, resorted thither yearly. This inscription, which was scarcely legible, and in 1695 was entirely broken by ignorant workmen, having been exactly transcribed by Mr. Holmes, was by him communicated to Strype. He married ——— daughter of Mr. Marshall, an eminent sword-cutler in Fleet-street, by whom he had an only son, George; who was bred at Eton, and was clerk under his father, but died, aged 25, many years before him. She out-lived her husband, and received from Government 200*l.* for his MSS. about the records, which were deposited and remain in his office to this day. His curious collections of books, prints, and coins, &c. were sold by auction, in 1749. His portrait was engraved by the Society of Antiquaries, with this inscription: "Vera effigies GEORGII HOLMES

generosi, R. S. S. et tabularii publici in Turre Londinensi Vicecustodis; quo munere annos circiter LX summâ fide et diligentia perfunctus, XIV kalend. Mart. A. D. MDCCXLVIII, ætatis suæ LXXXVII, fato demum concessit. In fratris sui erga se meritorum testimonium hanc tabulam SOCIETAS ANTIQUARIORUM Londini, cujus commoda semper promovit, sumptu suo æri incidendum curavit, MDCCXLIX. R. Van Bleeck p. 1743. G. Vertue del. & sculp." He well deserved this distinction, for no man ever was more able or more willing to serve all who applied to him; even in his office he had a pleasure in directing those who came to consult him in their researches: this, Browne Willis, Dr. Tovey, principal of New-Inn Hall, Oxford; Dr. Richardson, editor of "Godwin de Presulibus;" acknowledge, and very many others knew, by experience, to be true. He was particularly conversant in English history.

SAMUEL KNIGHT, D.D. a native of London (where his father was free of the Mercers' Company), received the early part of his education at St. Paul's school; and was thence admitted of Trinity College, Cambridge; where having taken his degree of B.A. 1702; and M.A. 1706; he became chaplain to Edward earl of Orford; who presented him to the vicarage of Chippenham in Cambridgeshire; and also to the rectory of Borough Green, in the same county; to which last he was instituted Nov. 3, 1707. He afterwards was collated by Bp. Moore to a prebendal stall in the church of Ely, June 8, 1714; and presented by him to the rectory of Bluntesham in Huntingdonshire, June 22, 1717; D.D. Regiis Comitiis 1717. He was made chaplain to King George II. in February 1730-1; and, promoted by Bishop Sherlock to the archdeaconry of Berks, 1735. He married Hannah, daughter of Talbot Pepys, esq. of Impington, near Cambridge; but soon became a widower, his wife dying in 1719, soon after the birth

birth of their only child. She was buried at Chippenham, where her memory is thus preserved:

" H. S. E. Hanna, filia natû major Talbott Pepys,
de Impington, in com. Cantabr. armigeri,
uxor charissima Samuelis Knight, S.T.P.
Canonici Eliensis, hujus ecclesiæ nuper vicarii,
et prænobilis Edwardi Comitis de Orford à sacris,
(copulâ felici, at fragili)
primum nempe infantulum enixa, tabe correpta,
ob. Apr. die 14°, 1719, ætat. suæ 39."

Dr. Knight died December 10, 1746, in the 72d year of his age; and was buried in the chancel of Bluntesham church, where a neat monument of white marble is erected to his memory, with an inscription written by his friend Mr. Castle*, dean of Hereford, who knew him well, and has given him a character, which all who remember Dr. Knight will readily allow to be a just one:

" Hic juxta situs est Samuel Knight, S.T.P.
ecclesiæ Eliensis præbendarius, com. Berkensis
archidiaconus, et hujus ecclesiæ rector;
Rei Antiquariæ cujuscumque generis cultor studiosus;
præcipuè verò famæ virorum ingenii,
virtutis et literarum laude maximè insignium,
fautor eximius; prout ea quæ scripsit
de vitâ rebusque gestis celeb. Erasmi et Coleti,
palàm testatum faciunt.
Concionando assiduus; rebusque gerendis sedulus,
præsertim iis quibus aut amorem inter amicos,
locorum longinquitate dissitos, fovere,
aut publicum Ecclesiæ commodum promovere,
aut quamplurimis prodesse potuerit:
adeò ut posteris jure commendetur,
tanquam humano generi amicus.
Laboribus, studiis, negotiis, tandem confectus,
in hoc loco placidam invenit quietem,
beatam expectans resurrectionem.

* Of whom, see vol. VI. p. 78.

Ob. Dec. 10, 1746, ætat. 72.
Hoc monumentum, reverentiæ et pietatis ergô,
posuit filius unicus *."

Dr. Knight published the "Life of Erasmus" in 1724; and in 1726 the "Life of Dean Colet." As a residentiary of Ely, he shewed himself an active and useful member of that church; and intended to have published an historical account of their antient documents. He lent Mr. Whiston a Life of Bp. Patrick, drawn up in the Bishop's own hand, ending with his birth-day, when he was 80 years old †. The MS. (it is believed) is now possessed by Dr. Knight's grandson.

Some specimens of his Epistolary Correspondence, taken from the originals, shall be given below ‡.

* Bentham's Ely, p. 264.

† See Whiston's Memoirs of his own Life, vol. I. p. 295.

‡ To Dr. Edmund Gibson, Bishop of Lincoln.

MY LORD, *Ely, Jan.* 26, 1719-20.

Since I have been here upon my residence, I have taken some pains in looking over and transcribing several of our antient charters and writings belonging to this church. I find more than I expected, or (as I think) have been taken notice of, which almost tempts me to set about the history and antiquities of this church, either in that way which Mr. Gunton wrote his of Peterborough in, or else *Annales ecclesiæ Elyensis ex autographis aliisque MSS. contexti, &c.* I have ventured to trouble your Lordship upon this affair for your advice and assistance, if your Lordship has any materials which may be of any use to me. My friend Dr. Tanner is abundantly more fit for such an undertaking than myself; but his hands are so full of other work that it must for ever be despaired of from him. I did hint to him in one of my last letters what your Lordship said to me when in town last about his finishing his Leland; I will give your Lordship his own words in answer to me: 'If it please God to spare my life, I shall not forget to put together what I have collected for the improvement of *Leland de Viris Illustribus;* but they having ten years since printed the text at Oxford (scarce with fair usage of me, whom they knew to be engaged about it before) I did cool a little—but, when I get through this edition of *Notitia Monastica,* I shall resume the other. Mr. Anthony Wood's papers were bequeathed to me under a condition to publish them; and no fairer can be offered than now, when Mr. Tonson is reprinting the *Athenæ.* If I should not have suffered them to

be

He published seven single sermons: 1. At a Funeral, 1724, Rev. xiv. 13.—2. In the same year,

be published, they might one time or other have fallen into hands less tender of the reputation of the dead and living. I believe you know me so well as to vouch for me that I am as seldom idle as any body, having not for some years allowed myself a week's time to relax among my friends, especially in London.'—I transcribed thus much from his letter to me, hoping it would not be unacceptable to your Lordship to know what he is doing now, and what we may expect hereafter from him. Dr. Watson, being now in town, can (if your Lordship thinks fit) give an account of those antiquities lately found in North Britain. Your Lordship has heard of those at Trumpington, in Mr. Thompson's possession. I am, &c. SAM. KNIGHT.

P. S. I saw last night that the two vacancies in the list of king's chaplains are filled up. I shall be contented to wait for another opportunity, or when my friends shall think proper.

2. To the Rev. Dr. Moss, Dean of Ely.

MR. DEAN, *Ely, Nov.* 25, 1725.

I doubt not of your receiving other letters from Dr. Ashton and Mr. Jones this post; yet, however, thought it not improper to let you know that I got loose from Lady Tipping on Monday morning, and got hither on Tuesday before dinner. Dr. Fleetwood and his cousin Powel are the only absent members. The former was frightened at the badness of the roads, the latter is in Berkshire. Tookie was forced hither by his Lord. So that we are enough for business, though it is not much. The organ is out of order. Something must go out of the money reserved out of Lord Onslow's fine for that. One Thomas Heblethwait is chosen vicar choral in the room of Serle. He has a tolerable voice. We have agreed to give 20*l.* towards the building in Cambridge. It is agreed likewise that the supernumerary sermons be paid out of the *Prælectura* money; that one pound be allowed for each of those sermons, and that the remainder be divided amongst those only that keep their residence. We all are for augmenting Stuntney and Churcham, if the bounty-money can be procured. We have not here that book of Mr. Ecton's which you refer to. We beg that you will see about that affair, whether feasible or not. I shall be in town about Christmas, if I can be serviceable. The scruple is that such curacies do not fall in with the design of the governors. The Bishop may be consulted. It is pity that the 400*l.* should lie dead till fixed somewhere else, if this project doth not take. Your matter about part of the *prælectura* money stands as it did, the same reasons being urged as before. You will excuse my bad writing, having but a quarter of an hour before the post goes out. I am, with humble service to your Lady, &c. SAM. KNIGHT.

Mr. Fleetwood thought the roads too bad for 7 miles, and I rid above 50 to come hither.

3. To

from Tit. iii. 1.—3. Before the House of Commons, May 29, 1725.—4. Before the Lord Mayor, &c. on

3. To the Rev. Dr. Moss, Dean of Ely.

MR. DEAN, *Ely, June 16, 1726.*

I know not whether any of our brethren write to you this post, waiting possibly till the conclusion of the Chapter; but, however, I was willing rather to give you an imperfect account of matters than none at all this post. We had the good fortune to finish with Mr. Swann before Mr. J—— made his appearance. He came through from London on Monday; so, being much tired, we were loth to disturb him, for fear also that he should disturb us; but soon after, when we had also fixed Mr. Acton's fine for Stoke manor, he came to us, and Mr. Needham was called to the bar. A storm very soon arose; and the old gentleman was as loud as Jones, and was escaping at last for his life; but the milder brethren persuading to come back, he *begged to be delivered from man.* With much ado at last Mr. N. complied; and we parted good friends, carrying away with him a terrible idea of the first prebendary. We went on more glibly with other tenants, only Mr. Marshal of Leverington and our spokesman had several brushes, both before and after his renewal, having exasperated him and Mr. N——m by telling them their design was to impose upon the chapter, &c. Before Mr. Tookie left us yesterday to meet his Lord Orford at Chippenham, we called over the matter of the Queen's bounty money. Mr. J—— stood stiff that the affair was not as we all represented it at the last chapter; but, however, since he was outvoted, he would acquiesce in having the seal put to the instrument for that purpose. The furniture is well liked in general; only sure the curtains should have been the same as the covering of the cushions; and they both sides alike, or at least so far as is seen above the desk. There wanted stuff to hang down and cover the deformity within-inside; for I think the work is very indifferent, being patched with new and old boards, which gives it a paltry view. The old stuff is under the cushions, and the new scarlet serge covers the women's desk, where they lay their books. But enough of this. I just send you what money we have already got, and so conclude, being, with humble service to your lady, &c.

Your very humble servant, SAM. KNIGHT.

Stoke manor - - - - -	50*l.*
Andry-Barne Magna - - -	48
Messuage in Kentford - - -	8
Swaffham manor and rectory - -	150
Mr. Swann - - - - -	270
Littlebury Burdeaux set - - -	100
Leverington manor - - - -	100
My brother Pepys being afraid desired his fine to be set for - - -	24

Pelham

Easter Tuesday, 1729.—5. At the Consecration of Two Bishops, 1731.—6. On Luke, ii. 52, 17 . . .— 7. On the Accession of King George II. 1738.

Pelham manor - - - -	36
Impington rectory - - - -	40
	796

I stay about a week longer here, or thereabouts.

There seems to be an inclination to divide the singing-man's place between two. Hawkins recommends Rider's son for the chorister's place, vacant by Tenant's son. Mr. Fleetwood, his wife, and sister, are in your house. Tookie went home on Tuesday, but returned yesterday.

We have chosen Powers and Beaumont Demi's, and given Kempton encouragement to hope for favour the next vacancy. Fox has been at London, sung at St. Paul's, and is like soon to make one. The chorister's place not fixed. It lies between Mr. Bentham's son and Rider's. Residences as last year. I write this while the brethren are at church I hope I shall not be called to account, as I was once about the Queen's Bounty.

4. To the Rev. Dr. Z. Grey.

DEAR SIR, *Bluntsham, near St. Ives, March* 24, 1733-4.

I have read over Mr. Neale's Review of the Answer to his first volume, which appears more plausible than I expected from him; and, may I add, is without that rancour which he seemed to shew in the work itself; I therefore do not wonder at its being acceptable to most readers, though I think it very easy to discover his trippings; and, if I had your Answer, I could easily point them out: however, I cannot but be of Mr. Neale's opinion as to our Articles. The compilers of them were certainly Calvinists; and the seeming latitude in some of them is more owing to chance, rather than any design in them to favour those of a contrary opinion; till about the time of Archbishop Laud the Clergy were universally so. I had once occasion to consult all our authors of any eminence within a large space of time till about 1620, and did not meet but with very few that had not been thoroughly tinged with very narrow notions relating to predestination, free-will, &c. I find among the Anabaptists, for a long period, there were some who opposed Calvinistical doctrines beyond any sect whatever; and they still continue so to do. The late ingenious Mr. Gale was pastor of a congregation in London, where they have always been great sticklers for the Remonstrant principles; as far as I have observed, the Presbyterians are pretty lax as to the Quinquarticular points, but the Independents otherwise; nay, Neale himself is not reckoned a Calvinist, at least not a strict one, by his own people; but, however, what he advances upon this head is plausible, and to his purpose. As to the strict opinion of the three orders, I believe

Dr. Knight's only son, Samuel, was fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, B. A. 1738; M. A.

lieve many of the Reformers amongst ourselves did (as Mr. Neale observes) speak very doubtfully of them, and seem to confound the two first of *Bishop* and *Presbyter* together: some of his quotations seem to favour much of this opinion. Till Laud's time we have little of the *Jus Divinum*. Bishop Stillingfleet's *Irenicum* carries this argument very far, and looks upon the particular forms of church government not to be fixed in Scripture, but left *ad libitum*, and to be determined by the wisdom of the Church, as should be found most suitable to the circumstances of it; he retracted this opinion afterwards, but never answered thoroughly his own arguments. I only mention this to shew, that the current opinion of the century after the Reformation was pretty uniform as to the point of Episcopacy; but, since, there have been better arguments produced than were before thought of. I made a visit to old father Strype, when in town last; he is turned ninety, yet very brisk, and with only a decay of sight and memory; he would fain have induced me to undertake Archbishop Bancroft's life; but I have not stomach to it, having no great opinion of him on more accounts than one. He had a greater inveteracy against the Puritans than any of his predecessors. Mr. Strype told me that he had great materials towards the life of the old Lord Burleigh and Mr. Fox the martyrologist, which he wished he could have finished, but most of his papers are in characters; his grandson is learning to decypher them. I shall tire you with my scribble; so shall only add, that if the Court be any where but at Richmond I shall have the pleasure of meeting you the 15th of June. There are three Sundays in the part assigned me and my colleague; I suppose we must take care of them; the fifth Sunday was used to be supplied by one who was no chaplain; but now I suppose it is otherwise. I suppose the chaplains did not go in the procession at the wedding. SAMUEL KNIGHT.

6. To the Rev. Dr. Z. Grey.

DEAR SIR, *Bluntsham, near St. Ive's, Sept. 4*, 1741.

I have thought it a long time since I had the pleasure of seeing you. Mr. Jones had more than once fixed a time of waiting upon you at Houghton; but he is so uncertain a man, that, if ever I have that pleasure, I believe it must be without him; but at present I am unfit for any journey, having been confined to my bed and chamber a full month, by a long and painful fit of the gravel; but (I thank God) all but the weakness is now over. I am glad to hear that you are preparing a new edition of *Butler's Hudibras*: no one is better prepared than you for such a work: many things want explanation, and you live in the very county that gave rise to the work. The Bishop of St. Asaph [Dr. Maddox] sends his service to you. He did not go to his diocese this summer, but is at a house he hires at Little-Marlow, Bucks. I went near him with the Bp. of Sarum, to his visitation

in

1741. By his father's interest with Bp. Sherlock he obtained the sinecure rectory of Fulham in Mid-

in Berks, but had not time to call on him. Mr. Moss went the whole visitation. I heard from his Lordship after he returned home, that he was taken very ill at the Devizes, so that he left him there when he returned to Salisbury, about a month ago. I have not heard since. When I was in London in July Mr. Hatton lay at the same inn as I did. He was very well then. There was a match talked of between Mr. Moss and one of the Dean of Sarum's daughters. Tom. Pyle coming into the canonry of Sarum may possibly break it off. He has a noble fine to come in from his prebend. I beg you would help me to a sight of my friend Dean Moss's Translation into Latin of the beginning of Milton's Paradise Lost *. I have the first book printed, done by Mr. Power, fellow of Trinity College. I would compare them together, and return them safe to you. I much lament (and I am sure you do) the loss of our worthy friend Mr. Baker. This alone will render Cambridge less agreeable to you. But I shall tire you: I am sure I have my weak hand; so conclude, with best respects to your lady, my being, dear Sir, your affectionate friend, SAM. KNIGHT.

7. To the Rev. Dr. Z. Grey.

DEAR SIR, *Sarum, May* 12, 1742.

Having finished my visitation in Berkshire, I am got here in order to preach my turn at the cathedral on Sunday, and to look over the scripts and charts in the Chapter-house, which (though very considerable) yet lie very much neglected: I hope to find out many things not yet taken notice of, relating to the antient state of this church. I gave the list of Convocational pieces to the Chancellor of Peterborough; he thanks you for it, and will borrow some of them when he fixes to writing. Nothing was done to any purpose at our last meeting in Convocation. There were some good speeches on both sides, but the reading of the paper delivered to the House by Dr. Reynolds was put off till the 19th instant. I hope to be there at the time: if nothing is done then, I think I shall never again put myself to any trouble of the same kind. I am sorry I could not be at the feast of the Sons of the Clergy last Thursday; but more sorry that the collection was so small. The collection for the Society for Propagation of the Gospel, &c. goes on very successfully: it is believed it will amount in the whole, through England, to 8000*l.* The Bishop of St. Asaph's Sermon on the Feast-day † is in the press; if out before I leave the town, I shall have one for you as a present from the Bishop; he is the first Bishop that ever preached on that occasion. Dr. Wilkins is ready to put to the

* Query, if ever printed.

† Dr. Isaac Maddox, before the Sons of the Clergy.

press

dlesex, to which the patronage of the vicarage is attached. He presented to the vicarage Dr. Denison Cumberland; and on his promotion, 1763, to the see of Clonfert, in Ireland, Dr. Anthony Hamilton,

press Bishop Tanner's *Boston de viris illustribus Angliæ* ‡; he brings it down to King James the First: the Literary Society have engaged in the printing of his *Notitia Monastica* §, in two volumes, folio. I hope the senior proctor, Mr. Beaby, sent the Archdeacon of Lincoln's letter to the prolocutor; be pleased to send it to my son with the enclosed. I am, with humble service to your lady, and Mrs. Moss, dear Sir, your affectionate humble servant, S. KNIGHT.

8. To the Rev. Dr. Z. Grey.

SIR, *February* 22, 1742-3.

Having an opportunity of a frank cover from the Bishop of St. Asaph, I had a mind to give you a line of the present situation of affairs. I never knew such a general harmony and coalition of parties in my time as at present. I had the honour yesterday to preach before his Majesty, the Prince and Princess of Wales, and the rest of the Royal Family, at St. James's chapel, the first time; there was a numerous court. Mr. Pulteney (who has had the greatest share in this happy union) was there; the Duke of Argyle, Mr. Sandys, Lord Carteret, were all with Lord Wilmington. Very steady measures are resolved upon in relation to the Queen of Hungary. The Duke of Argyle sets out on Thursday for Holland, to bring the Dutch to reason, and to engage them to break off their attachment to France. We have fresh and good news from Bavaria, that the Queen has great success against the new Emperor, and has regained her loss in Bohemia. I saw the new Earl of Orford || introduced into the House of Lords; he looks much dejected. Poor Doctor Twells died on Friday, and left a large family very destitute. That day Dr. Stebbing gave the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts a good sermon. Dean Pearce's *Clerum* is wrote against very sharply. The Bishop of St. David's goes to Exeter; Dr. Hutton succeeds him. I am, in haste, &c.

SAMUEL KNIGHT.

Dr. Mangey's Philo-Judæus is come out in two volumes; it is dedicated to the Archbishop of Canterbury. Bishop Tanner's son is to marry his Grace's daughter; he is to have Archdeacon Gerison's living in town, a prebend of Canterbury, &c. Alured Clark had been Bishop of St. David's in two days, if this change had not happened; but I think him now nearer death than a Bishoprick.

‡ He means "*Bioliotheca Britannico-Hibernica*," printed by the Literary Society, 1748, of which Boston's Catalogue of writers makes a very small part of the preface. Z. G.

§ It was printed by that Society in one volume, 1744, folio. Z. G.

|| Sir Robert Walpole, just made such. Z. G.

and

and in exchange had Dr. Cumberland's living of Stanwick, co. Northampton, belonging to the Crown. With the ample fortune that devolved to him from his father, Mr. Knight purchased the manor of Milton, near Cambridge; and held also the rectory, which, like Fulham, is a sinecure, and in the patronage of King's College; which, it is apprehended, Mr. Knight obtained by exchange with a fellow of King's for some other piece of preferment. The rectory-house of Milton is an old mansion, standing near the South-east corner of the church-yard, and has been uninhabited many years. The house in which Mr. Knight resided is the manor-house, and was not erected, but only repaired, by him. The cure of Milton is vested in a vicar, and the patronage of the vicarage is in the rector thereof.

Mr. Knight died in January 1790, at the house of his only son, Samuel Knight, esq. (of Trinity College, B.A. 1776; M.A. 1779); to whom the father's fortune, which was very considerable, devolved.

Stephen Martin Leake, Esq. descended from a family of the *Martins* in Devonshire, was son of Stephen Martin, a naval officer in the reign of Queen Anne, and for some time senior captain, an elder brother of the Trinity House, in the commission of the peace for Middlesex, Essex, and Surrey, and deputy lieutenant of the Tower Hamlets. Captain Martin married Elizabeth, daughter and coheir of Captain Richard Hill, of Yarmouth in Norfolk, by Mary his wife. Christian, the other daughter and coheir of Captain Hill, married Sir John Leake, knight, rear-admiral of Great Britain, admiral and commander-in-chief of the Fleet, and one of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty in the above reign. Sir John Leake and Captain Martin being united in the closest friendship by this matrimonial connexion, and still more by 20 years service together in the fleet, and Sir John having lost his lady and their issue, to evince his regard for his brother-in-law,

adopted

adopted him his heir; who, from affection and gratitude, obtained his Majesty's sign manual, authorizing him to assume the sirname and bear the arms of *Leake**, in addition to his own. Captain Martin Leake died Jan. 19, 1725-6, in the 70th year of his age; and Elizabeth his wife Sept. 14, 1723, aged 57. Their remains were deposited in a vault in the cemetery of Stepney in Middlesex, with those of Sir John Leake and his family.

Stephen Martin Leake, their only surviving son, having been educated at the school of Michael Maittaire, was admitted of the Middle Temple in 1723, and in the same year was sworn a younger brother of the Trinity House. He was appointed, in 1724, a deputy-lieutenant of the Tower Hamlets; in which station he afterwards distinguished himself by his exertions during the rebellion in 1745. On the revival of the order of the Bath, in 1725, he was one of the Esquires of the Earl of Sussex, Deputy Earl Marshal. He was elected F.S.A. March 2, 1726-7; and in the same year was created Lancaster Herald; in 1729 constituted Norroy; in 1741 Clarenceux; and, by patent, December 19, 1754, appointed Garter. In all his situations in the College, Mr. Leake was a constant advocate for the rights and privileges of the office. He obtained, after much solicitation, a letter, in 1731, from the Duke of Norfolk to the Earl of Sussex, his Deputy Earl Marshal, requesting him to sign a warrant for Mr. Leake's obtaining a commission of Visitation; which letter, however, was not attended with success. In the same year he promoted a prosecution against one Shiels, a painter, who pretended to keep an office of arms in Dean's Court. The Court of

* The arms of *Martin Leake* are, Quarterly, 1 and 4, Or, on a saltire engrailed Azure, eight annulets, Argent; in a canton, Gules, a castle triple towered of the third, *Leake*. 2 and 3, Paly of six, Or and Azure, in a chief Gules, 3 merleons of the first, *Martin*. Crest, a ship gun-carriage; on it, a piece of ordnance, mounted; all proper. Motto, *Pari Animo*.

Chivalry

Chivalry was opened with great solemnity, in the Painted Chamber, March 3, 1731-2, in relation to which he had taken a principal part. In 1733 he appointed Francis Bassans, of Chester, his deputy, as Norroy, for Chester and North Wales; and about the same time asserted his right, as Norroy, to grant arms in North Wales; which right was claimed by Mr. Longeville, who had been constituted Gloucester King of Arms *partium Walliæ*, annexed to that of Bath King of Arms, at the revival of that order. He drew up a petition in January 1737-8, which was presented to the King in Council, for a new Charter, with the sole power of painting arms, &c.; which petition was referred to the Attorney and Solicitor General; but they making their report favourable to the Painters, it did not succeed. He printed, in 1744, "Reasons for granting Commissions to the Provincial Kings at Arms for visiting their Provinces. Dr. Cromwell Malone having, in 1747, proposed to establish a Registry for Dissenters, in the College of Arms, he had many meetings with the heads of the several denominations, and also of the Jews; and drew up articles of agreement, which were approved by all parties; proposals were printed and discussed, a seal made to affix to certificates, and the Registry was opened, Feb. 20, 1747-8; but it did not succeed, owing to a misunderstanding between the ministers and deputies of the congregations. A bill having been brought in by the Proctors in the Session of Parliament for 1748, for taking the number of the people, with their marriages and births, he solicited a claim in favour of the College; but the bill did not pass. He being fixed upon to bstract the fair Register Books belonging to the most noble Order of St. George, they were delivered to him by Dr. Booth, dean of Windsor, in 1755; and, by Dr. Booth's importunity, he continued it from the death of Queen Anne; an undertaking the more necessary, as it had been wholly omitted from the decease of her Majesty. Garter completed the whole within that year.

year. This having been translated into Latin, was deposited in the Registrar's Office of the Order.

As Garter King of Arms, he was appointed, in 1769, as a Plenipotentiary, jointly with the Marquis of Granby, for investing Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick with the ensigns of the Order of St. George. For the execution of this duty he left England in September, attended by two of his sons; one an herald, the other his secretary. On the 44th of October his Highness received the habit and insignia, at his head-quarters of the camp of the allied army at Nordorf on the Lahne. And in 1764 he was joined in a like commission with Colonel David Grîeme, as Plenipotentiary for the investiture of his Serene Highness the Duke of Mecklenburg Strelitz, her Majesty's brother; which ceremony was performed at Nien Strelitz, on the 4th of June *.

Garter, in 1726, published his "*Nummi Britannici Historia*, or Historical Account of British Money." A second edition, with large additions, was printed in 1745, dedicated to the Duke of Norfolk. It is much to Mr. Leake's honour, that he was the first person who has written professedly upon the English coinage. From affectionate gratitude to Admiral Sir John Leake, and at the particular desire of his father, he had written a history of the life of that Admiral, prepared from a great collection of books and papers relating to the subject which were in his possession. This he published in 1750, in large octavo. Fifty copies only were printed, to be given to his friends: this book is therefore very scarce and difficult to be procured. Mr. Bowyer, in 1766, printed for him 50 copies of the Statutes of the Order of St. George, to enable him to supply each Knight at his Installation with one, as he was required to do officially.

* The particulars of this ceremony, "in honour of our excellent and justly beloved Queen," are given at large by Mr. Noble, in his valuable "History of the College of Arms," p. 410; a work which has enabled me to fill up the meagre skeleton given in a memoir of Mr. Leake in my former edition.

Garter,

Garter, ever attentive to promote sciences, was constantly adding to his store of knowledge, but more particularly in what related to arms, descents, honours, precedence, the history of the College, and of the several persons who had been officers of arms, and on every other subject in any way connected with his office. He also wrote several original essays on some of these subjects. These multifarious collections are contained in upwards of fifty volumes, all in his own hand-writing; which MSS. with many others, he bequeathed to his son, John Martin Leake, esq. to whom the publick, through the medium of Mr. Noble, are indebted for this particular narrative, and full detail.

This valuable Head of the College married Anne, youngest daughter, and at length sole heiress, of Fletcher Pervall, esq. of Downton, in the parish and county of Radnor, by Anne his wife, daughter of Samuel Hoole of London, by whom he had nine children, six sons and three daughters, all of whom survived him. He died, at his seat at Mile-end, Middlesex, March 24, 1773, in the 70th year of his age; and was buried in the chancel of Thorpe Soken church in Essex; of which parish he was long impropriator, and owner of the seat of Thorpe hall, and the estate belonging to it, inheriting them from his father. His widow died Jan. 29, 1782, in Hertfordshire, aged 86.

Three of his sons were connected with the College of Arms. His eldest son, Stephen Martin Leake, esq. was created Norfolk Herald Extraordinary, Sept. 21, 1761. John Martin Leake, esq. his second son, was constituted Chester Herald, by patent, Sept. 27, 1752; which post he surrendered, in 1791, by permission of the Duke of Norfolk, to his youngest brother, George Martin Leake, esq. now Chester Herald. John Martin Leake, esq. was also appointed secretary to the Earl of Suffolk, as Earl Marshal, Dec. 23, 1763; in which office he continued till his Lordship's resignation, in 1765, when the Earl of Scarborough was appointed Deputy

Earl

Earl Marshal; to whom Mr. John Martin Leake was also secretary *.

SMART LETHIEULLIER, esq. gentleman commoner of Trinity College, Oxford, was the second son of John Lethieullier †, esq. of Aldersbrook in Essex; where he had a noble collection of MSS. choice books, medals, and natural curiosities, which he had collected in his travels through France, Italy, and Germany. His father dying Jan. 1, 1736-7, and his elder brother being dead before, he became possessed of the paternal estates, which were very considerable. He was an excellent scholar, a polite gentleman, and universally esteemed by all the learned men of his time.

In a letter to Mr. Gale, in 1735, he gives a particular account of a Roman pavement at Wansted Park; of which the substance is transcribed below ‡.

* Noble's History of the College of Arms, pp. 408—415; where see a good portrait of Mr. Garter Leake, engraved by T. Milton, from a painting by R. F. Pine.

† Who died Jan. 1, 1737, æt. 78.

‡ "Though my attendance in the country at this season of the year will not permit me to be present at the weekly meetings of the Society at the Mitre, yet I shall have the greatest respect for it, and be glad on all occasions to do what lies within the compass of my poor abilities, either to promote the end of its institution, or entertain the gentlemen who compose it. As I remember, there is only a slight memorandum in the great drawing-book relating to a Roman pavement discovered about twenty years ago in Sir Richard Child's (now Earl Tylney's) park at Wansted in Essex. As the whole is now obliterated, and the face of the ground so much changed, that a curious enquirer must ask, *Ubi Troja fuit?* I hope the following account of it will not be thought an intrusion upon your time. The occasion of this discovery was, the digging holes for an avenue of trees from the gardens. Mr. Adam Holt, the gardener, perceiving several of the tesseræ thrown up, soon conjectured what he was upon, and earnestly endeavoured, though in vain, to obtain leave to lay it quite open: however, he examined it so far as to find that its extent from North to South was about twenty feet, and from East to West about sixteen; that it was composed of small square brick tesseræ of different sizes and colours, as black, white, red, &c. of all which I have specimens. That there was a border about a foot broad went round it, composed of red dice, about three-

Amongst other proofs of Mr. Lethieullier's attention to antiquarian pursuits, may be mentioned

three-fourths of an inch square, within which were several ornaments, and in the middle the figure of a man riding upon some beast, and holding something in his hand; but, as he opened it only in a hurry, and in different places, he was able to give no better account of it. There was then found a silver coin, but of what Emperor I have not been able to learn, and one of the small brass of Valens, DN VALENS PF AVG; Reverse, SECVRITAS REIPVB; Exergue, LVG. P.; now in my possession; which are all the coins or other antiquities that were ever found at this place, at least to my knowledge. I have frequently visited it (once I think with you, when you favoured me with your company at Aldersbrook), and have found not only many of the aforesaid tesseræ, but several pieces of large Roman brick, some hollowed, probably for gutters. This pavement was situated on a gentle gravelly ascent toward the North, and at a small distance from the South end of it I remember a well of exceeding fine water, now absorbed in a great pond. From this well the ground rises likewise toward the South till it comes to a plain, which extends a considerable way, and is now my warren; but by tradition was once covered with wood. On the brink of this very plain, and about 300 yards due South from the said well and pavement, there were in my memory the ruins of foundations to be seen, though now destroyed by planting trees round the park pales; the mounds about them having been since levelled, has raised the ground very much. The place where this antiquity was discovered is a part, as I said before, of Earl Tylney's park, which lies on the South side of his gardens, and is bounded to the South by my estate at Aldersbrook, a part of which it was, till King Henry VIII. inclosed it within his new-made park, as the words in his grant to my predecessors express. As it both is and probably ever was a retired corner, no vestigia of camps, roads, or other Roman antiquities near it, this pavement can hardly be presumed to have been the floor of a prætorium, or a Roman general's tent, as many of them doubtless were. Will it bear the face of a tolerable conjecture, therefore, that the aforesaid ruins were the foundations of a Roman villa, the retirement perhaps of some inhabitant of *Londinum*, which is scarce six miles distant; or of *Durolitum*, which is hardly three, if Low Leyton be allowed to have been that station? The soil thereabout is dry and inviting, the opening to the South, and directly opposite to Shooter's-hill in Kent, very agreeable and pleasing. The aforementioned spring or well might perhaps induce the owner to make a walk or garden down to it, and the pavement be of the banqueting-house, or room for entertainments, which terminated his view. That luxuries of this nature were introduced into Britain will not, I believe, be denied. But I fear I go too far with my conjectures and your patience; perhaps the *Natale Solum* prevails; and the

a Letter to Mr. Gale, in 1735, on the Icening Street, and other Roman Roads in England; Archæologia, vol. I. p. 56. Another Letter to Mr. Gale, in 1736, relating to the Shrine of St. Hugh, the crucified Child, at Lincoln; Ibid. p. 26. A Letter to Mr. G. Vertue, in 1746, relating to some Antiquities at Bordeaux in France; ibid. p. 73. Observations on Sepulchral Monuments, in a Letter to James West, esq.; ibid. vol. II. p. 291. An Account of the Burning of the Steeple at Danbury by Lightning, 1749; Phil. Trans. vol. XLVI. p. 611.

He married, Feb. 5, 1725-6, Margaret*, daughter of William Sloper, esq. of Woodhay, Berks; but died without issue; and is thus noticed on an elegant tomb at Little Ilford:

"In memory of SMART LETHIEULLIER, esq.
a gentleman of polite literature and elegant taste;
an encourager of art and ingenious artists;
a studious promoter of literary enquiries;
a companion, and a friend, of learned men;
judiciously versed in the study of Antiquity,
and richly possessed of the curious productions of Nature:
But who modestly desired no other Inscription on his Tomb
than what he had made the Rule of his Life;
To do justly, to love mercy,
and to walk humbly with his God.
He was born Nov. 3, 1701;
and deceased, without issue, Aug. 27, 1760."

The following eloge was written, by the late Mr. Collinson, immediately after the death of Mr. Smart Lethieullier: "He was descended from an antient family which fled from France in time of persecution, and a gentleman every way eminent for his excellent endowments. His desire to improve in the civil

fancy that a situation and country I love was approved as pleasant 1200 years ago, may be the only foundation of these conjectures. I submit this, and every thing else, to your superior judgment; and beg you would suppress or communicate it to the Society, which you think most proper; being, Sir,

"Your most humble servant, SMART LETHIEULLIER."

See the Archæologia, vol. I. p. 73, for another letter on the above subject, from Mr. Lethieullier to Dr. Lyttelton, wherein this Letter is referred to.

* This lady died June 19, 1753, æt. 45.

and

and natural history of his country, led him to visit all parts of it. The Itineraries in his library, and the discoveries he made relating to its antiquities, with drawings of every thing remarkable, are evidences of his great application to rescue so many antient remains from mouldering in oblivion. His happy turn of mind was not confined solely to antiquities; but in these journeys he was indefatigable in collecting all the variety of English fossils, with a view to investigate their origin. This great collection, which excels most others, is deposited in two large cabinets, disposed under their proper classes. The most rare are elegantly drawn, and disposed in a folio book, with his observations on them. As the variety of antient marbles had engaged his attention, and he found so little said on them with respect to their natural history, it was one of his motives in visiting Italy, to furnish himself with such materials as he was able to procure from books, and learned men, relating to them. He collected specimens of the most curious, and had drawings, finely painted, of the most remarkable monuments of the antient marbles; these are bound up in a folio volume, with all the observations he could gather relating to their natural history and antiquity. His cabinet of medals, his collection of antiquities of various kinds, and most elegant books of the finest engravings, are instances of the fine taste with which he has enriched his library and cabinet with the spoils of Italy. This short, but imperfect memoir, is candidly offered as a tribute due to a long friendship. It is wished it may excite an abler pen to do more justice to the memory of this great and good man. But it is humbly hoped that these hints will be accepted, not only as a testimony of respect, but may also inform an inquisitive genius in these branches of science where he may be assisted with such valuable materials for the prosecution of his future studies. *P. C.*"

Mr. Lethieullier's library was sold by auction, 1760. He was succeeded in his estates, to which he had added the manor of Birch-Hall in Theydon Bois,

by Mary*, only daughter of his next brother, Charles Lethieullier, LL. D. fellow of All Souls College, F. A. S. and counsellor-at-law, who died Dec. 10, 1759, æt. 41.

His cousin, Colonel William Lethieullier, who was also F. A. S. travelled into Egypt, and brought over a very perfect mummy, described by Mr. Gordon, in a tract mentioned in p. 336, and now in the British Museum, with most of the Colonel's collections, the rest having been in Mr. Smart Lethieullier's hands. A Committee of the Trustees waited on the Colonel's Executors, February 23, 1756, to return thanks for a valuable legacy of a fine mummy, and a curious collection of English antiquities. On this occasion Pitt Lethieullier, esq. nephew to the Colonel, presented them with several antiquities, which he himself had collected during his residence in Grand Cairo.

JOHN LOCKER, esq. barrister-at-law, commissioner of bankrupts, and clerk of the companies of Leathersellers and Clockmakers, was the son of Mr. Locker†, a scrivener in the Old Jewry. He is styled by Dr. Ward, "a gentleman much esteemed for his knowledge of polite literature;" and by Dr. Johnson‡, "a gentleman eminent for curiosity and literature §." He was remarkable for his skill in the Greek language, particularly the *modern*, of

* Married to Edward Hulse, esq the eldest son of Sir Edward Hulse.

† Who had been elected Clerk of the Leathersellers' Company Aug. 21, 1700; the place then being worth 200*l.* a year.

‡ To whom Mr. Locker had communicated a collection of examples selected by Addison from the writings of Tillotson, with an intention of making an English Dictionary. See Johnson's Life of Addison.

§ The following epitaph was written by Mr. Locker:

"Hoc marmor contra, propè exuvias matris,
suas etiam voluit deponi
Freston Rant, de hospitio Greyensi, armiger.
Cum illo juvene sepeliuntur una
exemplar amicitiæ jucundum,
urbana morum comitas,
et placere ditissima facetiarum vena."

which

which he became master by accident. Coming home late one evening, he was addressed in modern Greek by a poor Greek priest, a man of literature, from the Archipelago, who had lost his way in the streets of London. He took him to his house; where he and Dr. Mead jointly maintained him some years, and by him was perfected in that language, so as to write it fluently; and had translated a part, if not the whole, of one of Congreve's Comedies, into Greek. He married Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Dr. Stillingfleet; and died a widower, much respected, May 29, 1760, aged 67. In the preface to the complete edition of Bacon's Works, by Dr. Birch and Mr. Mallet, in 5 volumes, 4to, 1765, the advantages of that edition above all the preceding ones are said to be "chiefly owing to two gentlemen now deceased, Robert Stephens *, esq. Historiographer Royal, and John Locker, esq. fellow of the Society of Antiquaries; both of whom had made a particular study of Lord Bacon's writings, and a great object of their industry the correcting from original or authentic manuscripts, and the earliest and best editions, whatever of his works had been already published, and adding to them such, as could be recovered, that had never seen the light." Mr. Stephens dying in November 1732, his papers came into the hands of Mr. Locker, whose death prevented the world from enjoying the fruits of his labours, though he had actually finished his correction of the fourth volume of Mr. Blackburne's edition, containing the Law-tracts, Letters, &c. After his decease, his collections, including those of Mr. Stephens, were purchased by Dr. Birch.

William Locker, esq. eldest son of Mr. John Locker, entered early into the Royal Navy. The spotless excellence of this gentleman's character would alone entitle him to the notice of the Biographer. While distinguished by good natural parts,

* Of whom see vol. II. p. 51.

by

by the highest sense of honour, by an enlarged intercourse with the world, and by that inartificial politeness which had been contracted in the highest society, his conduct uniformly displayed the innocence of a child, and the humility as well as the piety of a saint. His personal courage was equalled only by his kindness, and his general benevolence only by the warmth of his private friendships. As a son, a father, a brother, and a master, he stood unrivalled. Such were the excellencies by which his private station was adorned; nor was his professional life less admirable. It is difficult to say whether his prudence, his bravery, his humanity, his zeal for the service, or his discipline, were the most remarkable. This is the uniform account given by those who had the happiness to serve with him; for not a word ever fell from himself on these subjects. His virtues, if we may venture so to say, received their last polish from his perfect modesty. He was appointed a lieutenant in 1756; and, holding that station on board the Experiment in 1758, was wounded in a very gallant action with the Telemaque. He was appointed a master and commander in 1763; a post-captain 1768; in the American war commanded the Lowestoffe on the Jamaica station; and at that time had with him young *Nelson*, the future gallant *Hero of the Nile*, to whom he had the honour of being nautical tutor. In February 1793 (being then commodore at the Nore) he succeeded Captain James Ferguson as Lieutenant-governor of Greenwich hospital. He married Lucy, daughter of William Parry*, esq. by whom he left three sons and two daughters. Of the sons, 1. William, is a captain of a troop of dragoons; 2. John, Deputy

* This gentleman, after having passed through the various gradations of the Navy, from a midshipman in 1732, to the rank of Admiral of the Blue in 1778; and having very justly acquired the universal reputation of a good commander, as well as a truly honourable and worthy man, died, at his house at Addington-brook in Kent, where he had passed the evening of life in honourable and happy retirement, April 29, 1779.

Judge

Judge Advocate in the Island of Malta; and, 3. Edward, just now returned from the East Indies, where he has for some years been secretary to Sir Edward Pellew, our admiral on that station. The daughters are Lucy and Eliza, both of whom are unmarried.

This noble-hearted Officer died at Greenwich, Dec. 26, 1800, at the age of 70; and his funeral was attended by his sons, his noble pupil Lord Nelson, and two old private friends.

Bred as it were in the lap of literature, under the immediate superintendance of his father and of Mr. Stillingfleet, it is not at all surprizing that he imbibed an early attachment to literature, which he retained to the close of his life. A short specimen of it, and of his uniform inclination to confer favours, shall be given, from one of his familiar letters:

"SIR, West Malling, Kent, July 9, 1783.

"I have at last sent you the book I mentioned to you, of my late worthy uncle [Oratorios *], and the drawing † of some Stones, much of the same kind as Stonehenge in Wiltshire. They are in the grounds of Mr. Bartholomew, an acquaintance of mine, at Addington Place, in the parish of Addington, in this neighbourhood. He says they have been examined two or three different times, but undetermined what they were. If you will favour me with a call, I will attend you there, or any where in this neighbourhood, with great pleasure. I did not recollect to tell you, that Mr. Stillingfleet had ordered all his papers to be destroyed at his death, possibly not choosing any thing of his might be published afterwards. I wrote to my brother to know if he could furnish you with any anecdotes of our worthy

* A small volume of "Oratorios" by Mr. Stillingfleet, of which a very small number had been printed for private use, but which Mr. Locker was very desirous should be published. After the lapse of many years, they are now actually in the press; and will probably appear long before this Memoir, as part of a selection of the Works of Mr. Stillingfleet, with Notes and Illustrations, and Memoirs of that ingenious and unassuming Writer, by a Gentleman every way qualified to do justice to his memory.

† By Serres, the celebrated Sea-painter,

father

father and uncle; but he does not recollect any worth the notice of the publick, but what you have mentioned. Yours, &c. W. LOCKER."

The Lieutenant-governor had a good collection of books and pictures; and, among the latter, particularly, a considerable number of portraits of naval officers, many of whom, with honest exultation, he generally styled "his *younkers*." A good portrait of him, from a painting by Abbott, was engraved soon after his death, by Heath, at the expence of the family, as a private plate, to be presented to his intimates, in lieu of the customary gift of mourning rings; an example worthy of imitation, and infinitely to be preferred in every case where the person deceased has acquired a right to be perpetuated.

He was indefatigable, not only as an active and gallant officer, but in his researches into whatever related to the history of his profession; and in 1792 we find him sanctioning the annexed advertisement: "Captain William Locker, of the Royal Navy, resident at Kensington, having put various naval papers * for publication into the hands of Mr. Nicholson, of Red Lion-square; it is agreed that Mr. Nicholson shall select the most interesting and valuable, and publish the same on the ac-

* These papers appear to have been the principal basis of the six volumes of "Biographia Navalis," published by the late John Charnock, esq.; who, after paying proper acknowledgments "to the British Museum and the College of Arms; the former, as a repository to which the munificence and liberality of the Nation affords admittance to us in common with the rest of our fellow-citizens, and the latter, to which we owe our admission to the private friendship and politeness of its individual members;" makes his acknowledgments to William Locker, esq. Lieutenant-governor of Greenwich hospital; who, by an indefatigable attention to the study of naval biography for many years, has collected from authentic documents, or private information not less respectable, the major part of those anecdotes which are here arranged collectively. We need only say of them, that they relate not only to the public conduct, but the private history also, of the principal number of those characters, who have contributed, under different sovereigns, to defend and aggrandize their native country.

count

count of Messrs. Faulder and Leigh and Sotheby, with such annotations as he shall think necessary: that Captain Locker will add his name to a prefatory advertisement in support of the authenticity of the papers to the purport of the annexed; and lastly, that the size shall be quarto, and the printing, &c. in every respect beautifully executed.

"WM. NICHOLSON, WM. FAULDER, LEIGH and SOTHEBY, } Booksellers.

"The following authentic letters, journals, and other naval papers, were collected by Capt. William Locker of the Royal Navy. The chief motive for his giving them to be published was, to rescue several worthy characters of sea-officers from the malevolent aspersions of different parties, as will appear by some of their instructions from the Crowns they served under. Another inducement was, to form a foundation for an authentic naval history, which this kingdom has hitherto been shamefully without. He has given them to the publishers only on the following conditions: In the first place, that nothing shall be admitted into this work but what is manifestly authentic; and in the next, that it shall be printed on a good paper, with a good letter; and that the publishers shall give him a number of copies, not exceeding twenty, for himself and friends who have supplied him with materials for the work. This being all the advantage the Captain derives from the publication, he therefore hopes those Families who are possessed of authentic naval papers will be induced, both from justice to their ancestors and the country, to send them to Mr. Nicholson, the editor; or the publishers, Mr. Faulder, bookseller in Bond-street; and Messrs. Leigh and Sotheby, York-street, Covent Garden.—Sir John Narbrough's papers, from Lady D'Aeth and Sir Narbrough D'Aeth of Kent; Sir Richard Haddock's, and Vice-admiral Haddock's, from their descendant Charles Haddock, esq. of Wrotham, Kent; Sir George Rooke's, from Robert Kingsmill, esq. Capt. R. N. of Sidemontone Place, Hants;

Sir

Sir John Norris's, from Mrs. Norris, his granddaughter, of Kent; Sir Cloudsley Shovell's, from Lord Romney, and the honourable Mrs. Marsham, of Kent; Sir Hovenden Walker's, from F. J. Hartwell, esq. Capt. R. N.; Vice-admiral Man's, from Robert Man, esq. Capt. R. N.; Lord Berkeley's, &c. from the honourable G. C. Berkeley, Capt. R. N."

CHARLES LYTTELTON, third son of Sir Thomas, and brother to George first Lord Lyttelton, was born at Hagley hall, in 1714; educated at Eton, went from University college, Oxford, to the Inner Temple, and became a barrister-at-law; but entering into holy orders, was collated by the venerable Bp. Hough to the rectory of Alvechurch, in Worcestershire, Aug. 13, 1742. He took the degree of LL. B. March 28, 1745; and LL. D. June 18, the same year.

In a letter to Mr. Neve, July 5, 1746, Mr. Johnson says, "I request you, Sir, to make my services acceptable to Dr. Charles Lyttelton. That learned, ingenious, and worthy gentleman does us great honour in permitting us to number him amongst our members, as approving of our institution and endeavours, whereby we shew our love to learning at least." Again, Feb. 11, 1746-7, "I request you to acquaint Dr. Lyttelton he was, according to our rules, proposed September 18, and elected upon ballot October the 2d last, of which I wish myself joy in being of two Societies with him." And March 30, 1750, "I pray make my services acceptable to Mr. Dean of Exeter, to whom I notified his being admitted a member of our Gentlemen's Society here (as he desired by you), but have not been favoured with an answer; and to Dr. Ernely Bertie, another of our members and good friend of mine, when you see them *."

* In the same letter Mr. Johnson writes, "We keep up well, and have had a kind present, from another member, of a quarto MS. and his memoirs taken from memory at returning home from

Dr. Lyttelton was appointed king's chaplain in December 1747; dean of Exeter in May 1748; and was consecrated Bishop of Carlisle March 21, 1762. In 1754 he caused the ceiling and cornices of the chancel of Hagley church to be ornamented with shields of arms in their proper colours, representing the paternal coats of his antient and respectable family.

In Gutch's "Collectanea Curiosa," vol. II. p. 354, is "Dean Lyttelton's Memoir concerning the authenticity of *his* [copy of] Magna Charta, from the Minutes of the Antiquary Society, June 3, 1761;" and in p. 357 of the same work, is "Mr. Blackstone's Memoir in answer to the late Dean of Exeter [Dr. Lyttelton], now Bishop of Carlisle, May 29, 1762."

In 1765, on the death of Hugh lord Willoughby of Parham *, Bp. Lyttelton was unanimously elected President of the Society of Antiquaries; a station in

from meetings of the Royal Society in 1740 and 1741, and of these we read one memoir at a meeting; and they are very judicious, of variety of matter, and afford much improvement and entertainment, which every letter from our few good correspondents and occasional occurrences sets me in stock, so that our Secretary is sure of something worth the hearing to read to the company, and making mention of in the Minutes of our Society's observations, whereof he is now filling a *fifth* volume in folio, bound up and indexed. When we have indexed and bound up our literary correspondences, essays, poems, and dissertations, they will make a valuable set of papers, and may be of use to posterity; but we have long staid for a hand, having as yet no binder here; and these are a sort of papers I never thought proper to trust abroad to be bound, as I did the Minutes of our accounts and observations; or they had been bound up ere this, as those are, in vellum, and *gratis;* but I hope to have a man to do them here under my own care and inspection, for I think them too great a treasure to trust otherwise; and, when bound, not out of the Museum of the Society, but in the Secretary's hands."

* This ingenious and learned Nobleman, who was elected Vice-president of the Royal Society Nov. 30, 1752; accepted the Presidentship of the Society of Antiquaries July 26, 1754. His Lordship was also one of the Trustees of the British Museum; President of the Society for equitable assurance on lives and survivorship, in Nicholas-lane, near Lombard-street, London; and one of the Vice-presidents of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce. He died a bachelor, Jan. 21, 1765.

which

which his distinguished abilities were eminently displayed, particularly by his assistance in obtaining their charter. He died unmarried, at his house in Clifford-street, London, Dec. 22, 1768; and was buried in the family vault at Hagley. His merits and good qualities are universally acknowledged; and those parts of his character which more particularly endeared him to the respectable Society over which he so worthily presided, I will point out in the words of his learned Successor *:

"The study of antiquity, especially that part of it which relates to the history and constitution of these kingdoms, was one of his earliest and most favourite pursuits; and he acquired great knowledge in it by constant study and application, to which he was led, not only by his natural disposition, but also by his state and situation in life. He took frequent opportunities of improving and enriching this knowledge, by judicious observations in the course of several journeys which he made through every county in England, and through many parts of Scotland and Wales. The Society has reaped the fruits of these observations in the many valuable papers †, which his Lordship from time to time has communicated to us; which are more in number, and not inferior either in merit or importance, to those conveyed to us by other hands. Blest with a retentive memory, and happy both in the disposition and facility of communicating his knowledge, he was enabled also to act the part of a judicious commentator and candid critic, explaining, illustrating, and correcting, from his own observations, many of the papers which have been read at this Society. His station and connexions in the world, which necessarily engaged a very considerable part of his time, did not lessen his attention to the busi-

* See the Speech of Dr. Milles, dean of Exeter, on succeeding to the Presidency, Jan. 12, 1769, prefixed to the Archæologia, vol. I. p. xli—xliv.

† These are preserved in the Archæologia, vol. I. pp. 9. 140. 213. 228. 310.

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ness and interests of the Society. His doors were always open to his friends, amongst whom none were more welcome to him than the friends of literature, which he endeavoured to promote in all its various branches, especially in those which are the more immediate objects of our attention. Even this circumstance proved beneficial to the Society; for, if I may be allowed the expression, he was the centré in which the various informations on points of Antiquity from the different parts of the kingdom united, and the medium through which they were conveyed to us. His literary merit with the Society received an additional lustre from the affability of his temper, the gentleness of his manners, and the benevolence of his heart; which united every member of the Society in esteem to their Head, and in harmony and friendship with each other. A principle so essentially necessary to the prosperity, and even to the existence of all communities, especially those which have arts and literature for their object, that its beneficial effects are visibly to be discerned in the present flourishing state of our Society, which I flatter myself will be long continued under the influence of the same agreeable principles. I shall conclude this imperfect sketch of a most worthy character, by observing, that the warmth of his affection to the Society continued to his latest breath; and he has given a signal proof of it in the last great act which a wise man does with respect to his worldly affairs; for, amongst the many charitable and generous donations contained in his will, he has made a very useful and valuable bequest of manuscripts* and printed books to the Society, as a token of his affection for them, and of his earnest desire to promote those laudable purposes for which they were instituted."

The Society expressed their gratitude and respect to his memory by a very fine mezzotinto portrait of him, engraved by James Watson, after Cotes, at their expence, in 1770.

* Among these is a MS history of the building of Exeter Cathedral, by himself; and his large collections towards a History of Worcestershire.

WILLIAM

WILLIAM MAITLAND, whose relations resided at or near the town of Montross, was originally a hair-merchant; and went to Sweden, Denmark, Hamburgh, &c. in that employ. It is uncertain if he followed that branch of business in Edinburgh; but latterly he applied entirely to the antiquities of his native country. His first publication was, "The History of London, from its foundation by the Romans, to the present time; containing a faithful relation of the public transactions of the citizens; accounts of the several parishes; parallels between London and other great cities; its government, civil, ecclesiastical, and military; commerce, state of learning, charitable foundations, &c. With the several accounts of Westminster, Middlesex, Southwark, and other parts within the Bill of Mortality. In nine books. The whole illustrated with a variety of fine cuts. With a complete Index. By William Maitland, F. R. S. 1739," folio*. This was followed by "The History of Edinburgh, from its foundation to the present time: containing a faithful relation of the public transactions of the citizens; accounts of the several parishes; its governments, civil, ecclesiastical, and military; incorporations of trade and manufactures; courts of justice; state of learning; charitable foundations, &c. with the several accounts of the parishes of Canongate, St. Cuthbert, and other districts within the suburbs of Edinburgh. Together with the antient and present state of the town of Leith, and a perambulation of divers miles round the city. With an alphabetical index. In nine books. By William Maitland, F. R. S. author of the History of London. The whole illustrated with a plan of the town, and a great variety of other fine cuts of the principal buildings within the city and suburbs. Edinb. 1753," folio. About the year

* A second edition was published in 1765, folio, enlarged to two volumes, continued to the time of publication, and illustrated with plans of the city and wards, views of the former at different times, and of all the churches and public buildings, and a map of the country ten miles round.—The plates of this latter edition are, by purchase, in my possession.

1750

1750 (in the autumn of which year, it appears, he was six weeks at Bath for the recovery of his health) he proposed to write a general description of Scotland; for which purpose he printed a large set of queries, with a general letter, and transmitted both to every clergyman in Scotland. The return fell so very short of his expectation, that he laid aside his design in disgust; but several years after made a tour over the whole kingdom himself; the result of which has appeared in the first volume of his "History and Antiquities of Scotland," written in a most uncouth style, and printed in two volumes, folio, at London, 1757, after his death. What few descriptions came to his hands are mentioned by Mr. Gough in his "British Topography," under the respective counties.—"Upon the whole," Mr. Gough observes, "it is very unfortunate that few or no copies of these descriptions were kept by the collectors of them, and what use Maitland made of them is hard to get information: none such appear amongst his papers now in the hands of his heirs. He was self-conceited, credulous, knew little, and wrote worse *."

* One of his Letters to Mr. Ames, dated "Poultry, July 1, 1740," will justify this assertion: "Sir, In your answer to mine of the 28th ult. I observe, you take notice of your having helped me to divers subscribers: you recommended Messrs. Cotes and Scatliff; which favour I should ever have gratefully acknowledged, had your latter conduct quadrated with your former. But the reason assigned by you to Scatliff for your parting with my book, *viz.* that it was not worth keeping, is the cause of my late and present writing. However, as my Work has met with the approbation of the most judicious and best judges, I despise what others say of it, considering it is not in their power to do me an injury in the sale thereof, seeing I have not one copy left. How to understand the following sentence in your letter, *viz.* 'when you know I helped you to several subscribers, and you had a Greek inscription or two of me, &c.' I know not, unless you mean, that your getting me the aforesaid subscribers was with a view to your own interest. If this be the case, you should have got six subscribers instead of two; whereby, according to my Proposals, in lieu of nine shillings, which you seem to expect, you would have been intitled to a whole book. And as to the hint of your having given me a Greek inscription or two, &c. I acknowledge I received from you a paper, whereon are two Greek inscriptions, together with a print of Admiral Blake, which

MR. THOMAS MARTIN was born at Thetford, in the school-house in St. Mary's parish (the only remaining parish of that town in Suffolk) March 8, 1696-7. His grandfather, William Martin, was rector of Stanton St. John in Suffolk, where he was buried in 1677. His father, William Martin, was rector of Great Livermere, and of St. Mary's, in Thetford, both in the same county. He married Elizabeth, only daughter of Mr. Thomas Burrough, of Bury St. Edmond's, and aunt to the late Sir James Burrough, master of Caius college, Cambridge; he died in 1721, aged 71, and was buried in Livermere chancel, where his son Thomas, not long before his death, placed a monument for him, and his mother, and their children, who were then all dead except himself, "now by God's permission residing at Palgrave."

Thomas was the seventh of nine children. His school education was probably at Thetford. In 1715 he had been some time clerk to his brother Robert, who practised as an attorney there; but it appears by some objections to that employment in his own hand-writing that year, that he was very uneasy and dissatisfied with that way of life. As these give us the state of his mind, and the bent of his inclination at that early period, and may perhaps account for his succeeding unsettled turn, and little application to his business, they may be worth preserving in his own words.

"*Objections.*

I. "First my mind and inclinations are wholly to Cambridge, having already found by experience that I can never settle to my present employment.

II. I was always designed for Cambridge by my father, and I believe am the only instance in the

which, I suppose, is what you mean. These I took to have been given in return for the 23d number of my work, I promised and since gave you. But, lest you should have given me them through inadvertence and without design, you have the same herewith returned, by, Yours, WILLIAM MAITLAND."

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world that ever went to school so long to be a lawyer's clerk.

III. I always wished that I might lead a private retired life, which can never happen if I be an attorney; but, on the contrary, I must have the care and concern of several people's business besides mine own, &c.

IV. If I be a lawyer, the will of the dead can never be fulfilled; *viz.* of my sister Elizabeth, who left 10*l.* to enter me at college; and aunt Burrough, to whom I have promised (at her earnest request) that I never would be a lawyer; nay, my brother himself had promised her I never should.

V. It was always counted ruination for young persons to be brought up at home, and I am sure there is no worse town under the sun for breeding or conversation than this.

VI. Though I should serve my time out with my brother, I should never fancy the study of the law, having got a taste of a more noble and pleasant study.

Questions.

But perhaps these questions may be asked me, to which I shall answer as follows: 1. Why I came to my brother at all; 2. And have absented myself thus long from school? 3. Or why I have not spoke my mind before this time?

Answers.

I. Though I am with my brother, it was none of my desire (having always confessed an aversion to his employment), but was almost forced to it by the persuasion of a great many, ringing in my ears that this was the gainfullest employment, &c.

II. Though I have lost some time in school learning, I have read a great deal of history, poetry, &c. which might have taken up as much time at Cambridge had I kept at school.

III. I have staid thus long, thinking continual use might have made it easy to me; but the longer I stay, the worse I like it. THOMAS MARTIN, 1715."

He was, however, by some means or other, kept from executing his favourite plan of going to Cambridge. In 1722 he still probably resided at Thetford; for, having married Sarah, the widow of Mr. Thomas Hopley, and daughter of Mr. John Tyrrel of Thetford, his first child was born there that year; in 1723, his second was born at Palgrave in Suffolk, as were the rest. This wife bore him eight children, and died November 15, 1731, ten days after she had been delivered of twins. He very soon, however, repaired this loss, by marrying Frances, the widow of Peter Le Neve, Norroy, who had not been long dead, and to whom he was executor. By this lady he came into the possession of a very valuable collection of English antiquities, pictures, &c. She bore him also about as many children as his former spouse (four of whom, as well as five of the others, arrived at manhood), and died, I think, before him.

He died March 1, 1771, and was buried, with others of his family, in Palgrave church-porch, where no epitaph as yet records the name of that man who has so industriously preserved those of others, though Mr. Ives had promised his friends that he would erect a monument for him, and had actually drawn up the following inscription, such as it is, to be put upon it:

"Near
this place are deposited
the remains of
THOMAS MARTIN
who studied and preserved Antiquities.
Died March 7, 1771, aged 74.
To whose memory
this marble was erected by
John Ives, F. S. A."

Mr. Martin seems to have presaged that he might want this posthumous honour, as in a curious manuscript of church collections made by him, he had inserted the following pieces of poetry:

When

When Death shall have his due of me,
This book my monument shall be.

Or,

These tombs by me collected here in one
When dead shall be my monumental stone.

Or in the old phrase:

Thus many tombs from different rooms,
By me collected into one;
When I am dead, shall be instead
Of my own monumental stone.

What is become of this book, I know not; Mr. Ives, after Mr. Martin's death, solicited and obtained it of the family; and, upon his death, the Martins made very earnest applications to his friends to have it returned, but were refused. Mr. Martin refers to it sometimes in his church notes in my possession. I think it was not in Mr. Ives's auction in 1777.

Mr. Martin's desire was, not only to be esteemed, but to be known and distinguished by the name of *Honest Tom Martin of Palgrave**, an ambition in which his acquaintance saw no reason not to gratify him; and I have observed with pleasure several strokes of moral sentiment scattered about his rough church notes. These were the genuine effusions of his heart, not designed for the public eye, and therefore mark his real character in that respect. Had he desired the appellation of wise and prudent, his inattention to his business, his contempt and improper use of money, and his fondness for mixed and festive company, would have debarred him, as the father of a numerous family, of that pretension.

As an Antiquary, he was most skilful and indefatigable; and when he was employed as an attorney and genealogist, he was in his element. I have two or three of his collections in that way that shew his prodigious industry. He had the happiest use of

* He is thus called among the subscribers to Grey's Hudibras, 1744.

his pen, copying, as well as tracing, with dispatch and exactness, the different writing of every æra, and tricking arms, seals, &c. with great neatness. His taste for antient lore seems to have possessed him from his earliest to his latest days. He dated all the scraps of paper on which he made his church notes, &c. Some of these begin as early as 1721, and end but the autumn before his death, when he still wrote an excellent hand; but he certainly began his collections even before the first-mentioned period, for he appears among the contributors to Mr. Le Neve's "Monumenta Anglicana," printed in 1719 *.

His collection of antiquities, particularly of such as relate to Suffolk, was very considerable, greater than probably ever was before, or will be hereafter, in the possession of an individual; their fragments † have enriched several private libraries; and, from the liberal spirit of communication that distinguishes the present age, would undoubtedly be accessible to any gentleman whose time should enable, and incli-

* All the old deeds and archives of Eton college were many years ago digested and indexed by Mr. Martin; whose index, under his own hand, remains there to this day.

† His distresses obliged him to dispose of many of his books, with his MS notes on them, to Mr. T. Payne, in his life-time, 1769. A Catalogue of his library was printed after his death at Lynn, in 8vo, 1771, in hopes of disposing of the whole at once. Mr. Worth, chemist, at Diss, F.S.A. purchased the rest, with all his other collections, for 600*l*. The printed books he immediately sold to Booth and Berry of Norwich; who disposed of them in a catalogue, 1773. The pictures and lesser curiosities Mr. Worth sold by auction at Diss; part of his MSS. in London, in April 1773, by Mr. Samuel Baker; and by a second sale there, in May 1774, MSS. scarce books, deeds, grants, pedigrees, drawings, prints, coins, and curiosities. What remained on the death of Mr. Worth, consisting chiefly of the papers relating to Thetford, Bury, and the county of Suffolk, were purchased by Mr. Hunt, bookseller at Harleston, who incorporated them into a marked catalogue, and sold the rest to private purchasers. Mr. Gough became possessed of the Bury, and Sir John Cullum of the county, papers. The dispersion was completed by the sale of Mr. Ives's collection in London, March 1777, he having been a principal purchaser at every former one.

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nation induce him, to arrange and give them to the publick."

Thus far in the words of that elegant Antiquary the late Rev. Sir John Cullum, bart.

The "History of Thetford" was published in 1789, by my late worthy friend Mr. Gough, whose advertisement shall be transcribed below *.

EDWARD-ROWE MORES, M.A. F.S.A. descended from an antient family, which had been seated from the beginning of the sixteenth century at Great Coxwell †, in the county of Berks, and allied by his grandmother to that of Rowe, which had been set-

* "The abilities of Mr. Thomas Martin, and the opportunities he derived from the collections of Peter Le Neve, esq. Norroy King at Arms, render it unnecessary to enlarge on the History of his native town of Thetford, which Mr. Blomefield, thirty years ago, encouraged the publick to expect from his hands. The materials, being left without the last finishing at Mr. Martin's death, were purchased by John Worth, chemist, of Diss, F.S.A. who entertained thoughts of giving them to the publick, and circulated proposals, dated July 1, 1774, for printing them by subscription. Upon the encouragement he received, he had actually printed five sheets of the work, and engraved four plates.

This second effort was blasted by the immature death of Mr. Worth, 1775; who dying insolvent, his library, including what he had reserved of the immense collections of Le Neve and Martin, at their dispersion on the death of the latter, being sold with his other effects for the benefit of his creditors, were purchased the same year, by Mr. Thomas Hunt, bookseller, at Harleston. Of him I bought (in conjunction with Mr. Nichols) the MS. with the undigested materials, copy-right, and plates. The first of these required a general revisal. The publick are indebted to Francis Grose, esq. for a new set of the last. The coins are arranged by that able master Mr. Benjamin Bartlett. The Rev. Sir John Cullum, bart. communicated the memoirs of the Author; and the Rev. Mr. Thomas the plate of his portrait, which had been engraved at the expence of the late Mr. Ives.

Thus presuming on the favourable disposition of the publick to such works, and to this in particular, from the respectable list of subscribers to Mr. Worth's Proposals, I (as his representative so far as the history of this antient and famous town is concerned) now offer it to the public patronage. R. G."

† Another branch of this family was seated at Langford, in the same county, from 1552 to 1602. Excerpta ex Registris paroch. penès E. R. Mores, among his Coxwell collections, purchased by Mr. Gough, with six plates; and afterwards published in the XIIIth Number of the "Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica."

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tled at Higham-Bensted*, in Walthamstow, in the county of Essex, ever since the middle of the same century, was born January 13, 1730, at Tunstall in Kent, where his father was rector near thirty years†. He was educated at Merchant Taylors

* The seat of the Rowes from 1568, when it was purchased by Sir Thomas Rowe, lord mayor of London that year, who died 1570; and was buried in Hackney church, in a chapel built by him, as was also his son Sir Henry, lord mayor of London 1607, who died 1612, and his grandson Henry, all successively lords of the manor of Shaklewell. Susan, daughter of the last Henry, married William Haliday, alderman of London, and chairman of the East-India Company; who died 1623, and was buried in St. Lawrence Jewry, with his wife (who died 1645) and two daughters. (Strype's Survey of London, vol. I. b. 3. p. 57.) Their four monuments, and a view of Higham hall, were engraved at the expence of Mr. Mores, whose grandmother was of this family.

On an oval marble monument against the South side of the North aile of Walthamstow church is this inscription:

"Near this place
lyeth interred the body
of Mistress Anne Mores, daugh-
ter of Robert Rowe Esq. the eldest
surviving son of Sir William Rowe of
Higham Hill in this parish Knight. She
was married to Edward Mores of Great
Coxwell in the county of Berks, Gent. by
whome she had four children; but of them
only remains her entirely devoted & af-
fectionate son Edward Rector of Tunstall in
Kent, who in memory of her, the most tender
and indulgent yet prudent and best of Mothers
exemplary for all the duties of a truly humble
devout & zealous Christian, hath erected
this monument.
She died at the parsonage of Tunstall
aforesaid, Jan. the fifth A. D. MDCCXXIV. aged
LXXVII years & XI days.
Psalm xxxv. 14. *I went heavily as one*
that mourneth for his mother.
Here also lyes the body of the above named Edward
Mores, who died on the 8th day of April 1740 in Grace
Church street London & whose especial desire
it was to be buried in the same grave with his
said dearest mother.
In a lozenge, *Mores* impaling *Rowe*."

† That the Rector of Tunstall was of a litigious disposition, appears not only from the squabble with his parishioners recorded

in

School*; and admitted a commoner of Queen's college, Oxford, June 24, 1746. While he resided at that University† he assisted in correcting an edition of Calasio's Concordance‡, 1746, intended by Jacob Ilive§, a crazy printer, who afterwards associated with the Rev. William Romaine, and published this Concordance in 4 volumes folio, 1747.

Before he was 20, Mr. Mores published, in 4to, 1748, "Nomina et Insignia gentilitia Nobilium Equitumque sub Edvardo primo rege militantium;" the oldest treasure, as he styles it, of our Nobility after Domesday and the Black Book of the Exchequer. He had also printed, except notes and preface, a new edition, in 8vo, of Dionysius Halicarnassensis "de claris Rhetoribus," with vignettes engraved by Green, the few copies of which were sold after his death‖.

in his son's history of the parish, p. 58; but from a perusal of several of his original letters to Mr. Strype, a man of a quiet, humane, and meek disposition, with whom Mr. Mores had disputes; and from his own letters his boisterous and wrangling nature may easily be discovered. He married the sister of Mr. Windsor, an eminent undertaker, in Union-court, Broad-street. His father was Edward Mores of Great Coxwell, in the county of Berks; where his grandfather Francis died, and is buried in the chancel; on the South wall of which the following epitaph is erected to his and his wife's memory:

"Here lieth the body of Margaret the loveing wife of Francis Mores of Great Coxwell Gentleman. Shee wase the mother of ten children, viz. four sonns, six daughters, and the two and twenty child of Francis Moore of Clanfield in the county of Oxford, esq. and of Mary his wife. She deceased this life in hope of a better the eleventh day of September in the yeare of our Lord God 1675."

* Mr. Mores had made a few collections for a history of this school, and lists of persons educated there. A view of it was engraved by Mynde, in 1756, for Maitland's edition of Stowe's Survey," 1756, inscribed, "Scholæ Mercatorum Scissorum Lond. facies orientalis. Negatam à Patronis D. Scholaris, *Edv. Rowe Mores*, arm. A. M. S. A. S."

† The late Mr. Scott of Wolstan-hall, near Chigwell, Essex, observes of him, in a MS memorandum, that he had a distinguished character for literature at Oxford.

‡ See his "Dissertation on Typographical Founders," p. 64.

§ Of whom see more in vol. I. p. 309.

‖ The edition of Dionysius, which Mr. Mores had nearly finished in 1749, was published in 1781, with the following short preface:

In 1752 he printed in half a sheet 4to, some corrections made by Junius in his own copy of his edition of Cædmon's Saxon Paraphrase of Genesis, and other parts of the Old Testament, Amstelod. 1655; and in 1754 he engraved 15 of the drawings from the MS. in the Bodleian library. The title of these plates is, "Figuræ quædam antiquæ ex Cædmonis monachi paraphraseos in Genesim exemplari pervetusto in bibliothecâ Bodleianâ adservato delineatæ; ad Anglo-Saxonum mores, ritus, atque ædificia seculi, præcipuè decimi, illustranda in lucem editæ; anno Domini MDCCLIV." These plates were purchased by Mr. Gough; and by him have been bequeathed to the Bodleian Library.

In 1752 Mr. Mores was elected a member of the Society of Antiquaries; and two years after was one of a Committee for examining the Minute-books of that Society, with a view to select from thence papers proper for publication *.

preface: "Quæ sequitur Dionysii Commentariorum Editio est à manu viri, doctissimi Edvardi-Rowe Mores, armigeri, nuper defuncti. Eam typis jam olim mandatam fuisse, ex paginâ 161 perspicies." Quo minùs in publicum tunc prodiret, in causâ erat annotationum desiderium, quas in animo habebat vir eruditus conficere: modo per negotia inopinata licuisset. Annotationibus tamen assiduè meditabatur hanc suam editionem cumulare; quod consilium per mortem tandem irritum factum est. Etenim, cum ex hæredibus statim quæsitum esset, utrùm ejusmodi quidquam inter scripta ejus extaret, re solicitè explorată verò nimis compertum est, nihil omnino superesse; nisi fortasse suo editionis Hudsonianæ exemplari ab editore nostro notæ quædam adscriptæ fuerint: quod exemplar, cujus in manus jam inciderit, non liquet. Cum itaque frustra expectarent bibliopolæ, si quis illius messi falcem suam vellet inserere; maluerunt libellum inchoatum in lucem emittere, quàm juventutis academicæ, hanc editionem jam diu efflagitantis, votis æquissimis non obsequi."

"I bought at Mr. Mores's sale the very set of Hudson's Dionysius Halicarnassensis from whence the leaves had been cut to compose by; and there are no other notes in them than have been inserted, with much new translation, in the new edition; so that it may be doubted after all if Mr. Mores wrote any other notes. This folio copy is dated by him May 5, 1749." R. G.

* "A more numerous Committee was appointed for the same purpose in 1762. But still the publication lingered till 1770, when the first volume of the Archæologia appeared. Many valuable Dissertations and Communications still remain unselected from the early Minute-books." R. G.

Being

Being intended for orders * by his father, he took the degrees of B. A. May 12, 1750; and M. A. Jan. 15, 1753; before which time he had formed considerable collections relative to the Antiquities, &c. of Oxford, and particularly to those of his own College, whose archives he arranged, and made large extracts from, with a view to its history. He had three plates of the Black Prince's apartments there, since pulled down, drawn and engraved by that very ingenious artist B. Green. Twenty-eight drawings at his expence, by the same hand, of antient gates, halls, &c. since ruined or taken down, were purchased by Mr. Gough; as also some collections for a history of Godstow Nunnery, by Mr. Mores, for which a plate of its ruins was engraved, and another of Iffley church †.

His MSS. relative to his College, with his collections about All Souls College, fell after his death into the hands of Mr. Astle, who presented the former to Mr. Price of the Bodleian.

Mr. Mores appears to have assisted Mr. Bilson in his burlesque on the latter Society, published in a folio sheet, intituled, "Proposals for printing by

* He was at one time in treaty for the advowson of the rectory of Bradwell juxta Mare in Essex, which he intended for his son; who being then very young, Mr. Mores talked to his friends of going into orders himself, that he might be able to hold it. It was held till the year 1770, by Dr. Roger Long, master of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge. The advowson of it, with immediate resignation, was sold in 1781 (when the annual profits were supposed to exceed 700*l.*) for 1500*l.* to the celebrated Mr. Bate-Dudley; who, by gaining land from the sea, and causing the roads to be made passable, wonderfully improved the whole parish, and the neighbourhood for many miles.

† Other plates engraved at Mr. Mores's expence were four of antique seals, two silver coins of Richard and John, found in digging the foundation of the new Town-hall at Oxford. These coins are inscribed IOHAES ----- Rev. ---ONETA MERIIARI ---ICI--- Rev. MONETA MERTVN; and were published by the late Sir William Burrell. A seal found near Canterbury, in the possession of Edward Jacob, mayor of Feversham, 1750; another of Dunscroft, cell to Roche Abbey, in the county of York, in the hands of Mr. Warburton; another of William Bate, master of St. John Baptist's hospital, near the old castle at Carlisle, in those of Dr. Ducarel.

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subscription the History of the Mallardians," treating them as a set of stupid *bon vivans;* at least he may be presumed to have contributed the prints of a cat said to have been starved in their library, and of two antient grotesque busts carved on the South wall of the College, the plates of which were in his possession.

When Mr. Mores left the University, he went abroad, and is reported to have actually taken orders; but whether this tradition has any better foundation than his affectation of wearing his academical habit, and calling it that of a Dominican friar, we do not pretend to vouch. It has been said that he entered into deacon's orders in the Church of England, to exempt himself from serving civil offices; but it does not appear that he received ordination from the Bishop of London.

In the original warrant for letters of administration granted to his son, on his dying intestate, and in the bond given on that occasion (which I have seen in the Prerogative-office), he is styled "*The Reverend Edward-Rowe Mores*, late of the parish of Leyton, in the county of Essex, *Doctor in Divinity*." When, where, or how, he came by this degree, is extremely unaccountable; nor would this have been inserted, had I not been assured by a very intimate friend * of his, that Mr. Mores received the honorary title of D. D. in consequence of

* The Rev. William Ellis, M.A. and master of the grammar-school at Alford, Lincolnshire; author of 1. "A Summary of the Roman Laws; taken from Dr. Taylor's Elements of the Civil Law; to which is prefixed, a Dissertation on Obligation," 8vo. —2. "A Treatise on Government, from the Greek of Aristotle," 4to.—3. "A Collection of English Exercises, translated from the Writings of Cicero only, for school-boys to re-translate into Latin; and adapted to the principal Rules in the Compendium of Erasmus's Syntax, 1782," 12mo.—4. "A Translation of Cicero's Dialogue on Friendship, adapted to the Exercise Book, 1782," 12mo.—He had in 1781 an intention of preparing for the press the "Public Orations of Demosthenes, in Greek, with useful explanatory notes in English, together with a Greek and English Lexicon, in the manner of Henry Stephens's Greek Thesaurus, and full as copious."

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a literary favour which he had conferred on some foreign Roman Catholic Ecclesiastics*, who wished

* From what University in particular this degree was received, though I have inquired wherever I thought it likely to gain intelligence, I cannot precisely ascertain. In the original information given me by Mr. Ellis, he says, "I cannot at this distance of time speak positively to its being them [the Society of the Sorbonne], though I think I am not mistaken. This I am sure of, that the degree given was a Doctor's of Divinity, of the Sorbonne. Whether or no they have it in their power to confer degrees I know not: but this I am sure of, that it was procured by the interest of those Ecclesiastics, whom Dr. Mores had obliged. I remember, when he told me of this affair, he added, 'I could shew you my diploma; but,' says he, smiling, 'I question whether I could do it safely, for I do not know whether there are not some things in it which might subject me to a *Præmunire*.' The discourse unluckily happened to take another turn, which prevented my requesting to see it. I heartily wish that you could meet with the diploma itself; and that a matter of this consequence should not be delivered to posterity upon hearsay-evidence. I dare to say the correspondence which passed between him and those gentlemen is preserved, which would throw further light on this matter."

Desirous of ascertaining the precise fact, I made the following application to our very learned countryman Dr. Hooke, who had long done honour to the Professor's chair of Astronomy in that illustrious Body: "It is believed that the Rev. Edward-Rowe Mores (who died in November 1778 at Leyton in Essex) had the honour of being a Doctor of the Sorbonne. A friend to his memory wishes to ascertain this fact, as his Life will be recorded in the Biographia Britannica. Mr. Mores was a man of great learning, and is said to have conferred some literary favour on the Society of the Sorbonne, and to have refused any pecuniary reward; he is said also to have requested the honour of admission into that illustrious body, who obtained for him the degree of D. D. and admitted him as a Doctor of the Sorbonne.—If this turns out to be fact, query, 1. What *was* the literary favour? 2. What was the date of the diploma; and can a copy of it be obtained? 3. Have the Sorbonne, as a body, a power of bestowing literary degrees? 4. Is it usual, or has it ever been practised, to bestow such degrees on a Protestant Divine? It should be observed, however, that Mr. Mores, though a member of the Church of England, had very peculiar notions of Religion, and professed himself to his friends to be of the *Religion of Erasmus*. If Dr. Hooke would take the trouble to answer these queries, he would do an essential service to English Biography. It would do still a greater service, if he would have the goodness to communicate any Memoirs of his excellent Father, the admirable Historian of Rome."—These queries almost immediately produced the following polite and satisfactory answer: "*Paris, à la Bib.*

to repay him by a pecuniary acknowledgment, which he politely declined accepting. Mr. Mores was as ambitious of singularity in Religion as in other pursuits; and if he could be said to be a member of any particular church, it was that of Erasmus, whom he endeavoured to imitate. He thought the Latin language peculiarly adapted to devotion, and wished, for the sake of *unity*, that it was universally in use. He composed a Creed in it, with a kind of Mass on the death of his wife, of which he printed a few copies, in his own house, under the disguised title of "Ordinale Quotidianum, 1685. Ordo Trigintalis;" beginning "Susannæ Mores," &c. Hymnus, "Cœlos vidimus," &c. Of his daughter's education he was particularly careful. From her earliest in-

Bibliotheque Mazarine, ce 13 *Avril*, 1781. Sir, The letter you honoured me with bears no date, so I cannot judge how long it may have been on the road to Paris: but I do not defer an instant returning you an answer, and giving you all the satisfaction in my power. It never was customary in the Sorbonne to bestow the degree of Doctor on any person who had not studied in Paris, and taken all the inferior degrees according to the statutes of the University; nor is there upon record one example to the contrary. Besides, I can attest, that for these forty years past there has been no literary correspondence between the Society of the Sorbonne and the Rev. Mr. Rowe Mores; for, having never been absent during all that time from the said Society, I should certainly have been privy to it.—As to Mr. Hooke, the author of the Roman History, he lived always a very private life, distinguished by no peculiar or remarkable event. It can furnish, therefore, but few materials for history. I am, with great regard, Sir, your very humble and obedient servant, HOOKE."

On the preceding testimony of Dr. Hooke, another Friend remarks, "May there not be that distinction between an honorary degree, and a regular one, in the Sorbonne, that there is in our Universities? The one, we know, cannot be taken without having gone through the previous degrees, and performed the usual exercises; but the other may. The one is claimed as a right, the other given as a favour. As to its not being upon record, they might not choose that, to prevent its being made a precedent of. With respect to Dr. Hooke's not being acquainted with any correspondence between Dr. Mores and the gentlemen of the Sorbonne, it is no proof that there was none; for, though his situation in the Society might enable him to know particularly what they did as a body, yet surely it could not give him an opportunity of being privy to whatever letters any of them might write as individuals."

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fancy he talked to her principally in Latin. The gentleman from whom I received this information dined with Mr. Mores when his daughter was not more than two years old. Among other articles they had soup, with which the child had soiled her lip. *Absterge labium*, said the father. The child understood the Latin, and wiped her *upper* lip. *Inferius*, said Mr. Mores, and she did as he meant she should. She was sent to Rouen, for education; but without the least view to her being a Roman Catholic: on the contrary, he was much displeased when he found she had been perverted. Two original letters to the Superior of the House under whose care she was placed, which are printed below, contain a sufficient refutation of the report of his being himself a member of the Church of Rome. They are carefully transcribed from an original copy delivered by Mr. Mores himself to the gentleman who communicated them to me, without any material alteration even in the punctuation *.

* In my former edition *both* these letters were printed in the original Latin. A translation of the first of them is now first printed from Mr. Mores's own hand-writing.

1. "To the worshipful Matron the Superior of the Convent of S. Joseph at Roüen, Edward-Rowe Mores greeting:

"We commit, worshipful Madam, our only daughter to your keeping and management: and the more willingly for that, besides the strict discipline of your house, we understand that none others of our Nation are at present with you.

She is a child of a ready wit, an acute judgement, and of a temper not unamiable; docile and tractable: but, being deprived of her mother (who whilst living was afflicted with almost continual illness) and being too much loved and indulged by me, and entrusted rather beyond what her years might justify, and being in some respects superior to the generality of her age and sex, she refused obedience to all command but mine; who, being busied about many things, had not nor have sufficient leisure to superintend and direct her conduct.

Nevertheless she comes to you, most venerable Matron, from her father's house; brought up and fostered there (and only there) from the first moment of her existence, not transporting with her from any female school of ours (all which I detest and hate) any spot or blemish to your sacred flock; but pure and blameless,

On his return to London, Mr. Mores resided some years in the Heralds' College, intending to

blameless, and innocent from the corruptions of the world: and I trust that in the same purity and blamelesness and innocence she shall with the blessing of Providence be restored to us again.

Touching works to be performed by a needle, and how far it may be proper for her to be exercised therein, as they are matters out of my knowledge, I leave them to the women who accompany her.—Let them be useful, not trifling; accommodated to the purposes of domestic œconomy.

Touching other works which more properly fall within my direction and judgement—let her be well instructed in the arts of writing, drawing, and arithmetic.

We place her in the upper order of pensioners; not that upon that account the reins may be let loose to indolence or idleness, or that the most rigid discipline exerted amongst the nuns of your house and order may in any wise be infringed or relaxed. Though in station she is superior, yet in obsequiousness and duty let her be as the lowest; and though she is lay, let her be as religious. By no means, upon any pretence whatever, let her go into the city, or pass the walls of the convent, or form any acquaintance but with the nuns of your own house. With them let her dine; with them let her sup; and with them let her be a companion: for, having been trained hitherto with grown persons, we would not have her now associated with children. Let her diligently attend the service of the church; matins I mean and vespers. Let her rise early and go to rest early, and with sedulity perform the businesses allotted to her. And by how much the more, reverend Madam, you shall enforce obedience in these particulars, by so much the more will you rise in our respect and estimation, and claim the tribute of our obligations and thankfulness.

All letters directed by the child to me, and all letters directed by me to her, I wish to pass unopened. As to any others, if any such should be, which I believe not, let them be opened, let them be read, and do with them according to your discretion.

Nearly the same request I am to make as to the books which she brings with her. Let her be permitted to read them in her chamber. Not any of them concern Religion but the Bible.

And having said thus much, most excellent lady, I might commit both you and her to the protection of the Almighty; but I cannot fail to add, that as I, a Divine of another church, have committed my daughter to your care, I must expect the same indulgence and the same fidelity as I myself should shew were your daughter committed to my care. Your dictates I should strictly obey, your directions observe in all things. And as we are both devoted to the same service, the glory of God and the salvation of souls, bear in mind the affinity which is betwixt us; and consider me as your brother, even as I consider you as my

sister

have become a member of that Society, for which he was extremely well qualified, by his great knowledge and skill in heraldic matters.

In 1759 he circulated Queries for a Parochial History of Berkshire *, but made no considerable progress.

He retired about 1760 to Low-Leyton; in which village he had resided some time before, and, while he

sister in the Lord. The end we aim at is the same, though the means we use to attain that end in some things differ. May the blessing of God be upon you and your holy house! Amen.

From Leyton in the county of Essex,
the day of the decollation of
St. John the Bapt. 1768."

2. "Matronæ venerabili sororum hospitalar. sodalitatis S. Josephi, in civitate Rothomagens. Superiori, Edoardus-Rowe Mores S.

"Lætabar admodum et gratias rependo maximas, insignissima Matrona, quod filiam meam peregrinam, ignoti parentis prolem, ex desideriis meis in sodalitium cooptare vestrum dignata es. Adaugetur mihi mentis oblectatio quod in camerâ Superiori vicina novitia diversetur hospes—quanto magis vicinia tibi propinqua sit, Reverenda, tanto magis in literaturâ propinqua sit, et in moribus, et in virtute omni. Tot inter versata pietatis exemplaria fieri vix potest ut in delictum cadat: advena autem cum sit, et externæ gentis, et exteris assuefacta moribus, inscitè labescenti concedatur delicti venia: sin autem hosce supergrediatur limites, et vel apud te, vel apud aliquam, in offensu magis sit, ut certior sim factus obsecro; neque paterna deerit ad corrigendum auctoritas. Lætitiam verò meam nonnihil diluit, Rev. epistolium futile satis et ineptum W*** meæ, vobis, vestrisque jure devinctissimæ (datum ab entheâ quadam nostræ gentis ut conjicere est), insciente te dictitatum: vestram etenim vestrasque alias esse censeo quam quæ sic ineptè blaterarent. exinde discimus de religione cum puellulâ fuisse actum. ægrè profectò fero, et præter fidem mihi præstitam arbitror, quod in messem meam alter ingerat falcem: ægriùs, quod cum tutissimæ natam meam fidei commissam crederem, spreta sentire videar præcepta mea. ex votis erat meis ut de rebus hujusmodi ætati teneræ minus idoneis omninò conticeretur, ex mandatis verò ut cum Anglicis sociaretur nullis. idem repetimus votum; mandatum iteramus idem.—ut in iis edoceatur quæ statuimus olim, Rev. exorare liceat. Cætera mihi curæ sunto.

"Valeas, et (ignotum licet) ames me.

"*e Leytona in com. Essex. postridie concept.* 1768."

* His collections on that subject were purchased by Mr. Gough, and added to the "History of Coxwell."

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was churchwarden there, considerably improved the church. Here, on an estate left him by his father, he built a whimsical house, called *Etlow Place*, on a plan, it is said, of one in France.

The Equitable Society for assurance on lives and survivorship by annuities of 100*l.* increasing to the survivors, in six classes of ages from 1 to 10—10 to 20—20 to 30—30 to 40—40 to 50—50 to the extremity of life, owes its existence to Mr. Mores. It had been first suggested and recommended in lectures in 1756, by Mr. James Dodson, mathematical master at Christ's Hospital, and author of "The Mathematical Repository," who had been refused admission into the Amicable Society on account of his age; but he dying, November 23, 1757, before his design was completed, except the plan of reimbursement to him and his 54 associates, Mr. Mores undertook to apply for a charter, in 1761; but, failing of success, he, with 16 more of the original subscribers, resolved to persevere in establishing their Society by deed. It was hereby provided that Mr. Mores should be perpetual director, with an annuity of 100*l.* He drew up and published, in 1765, "A short Account of the Society," in 8vo. (of which a seventh edition with additions was printed in 1767), "The Plan and Substance of the Deed of Settlement," "The Statutes," "Precedents of sundry Instruments relating to the Constitution and Practice of the Society, London, 1766," 8vo. The "Deed of Settlement, and the Declaration of Trust, 1768," "A List of the Policies and other Instruments of the Society, as well general as special," 8vo; but, some disputes arising between Mr. Mores and the original members of this Society, he separated from them that year. There were printed, "Papers relating to the Disputes with the Charter Fund Proprietors in the Equitable Society, by Order of a General Court held the 3d day of November, 1767, for the Use

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of those assured on the Lives of others, who shall apply for the same, 1769," 8vo. This Society still subsists in a high degree of credit and respectability: and their office is in Bridge-street, near Black-Friars bridge; to which it was removed from Nicholas-lane, Lombard-street, 1775*. All Mr. Mores' papers on this subject came into the hands of Mr. Astle.

In the latter part of his life, Mr. Mores (who had long turned his thoughts to the subject of early Printing) began to correct the useful publication of Mr. Ames†. On the death of Mr. John James of Bartholomew Close (the last of the *old* race of letter-founders), in June 1772, Mr. Mores purchased all the curious parts of that immense collection of punches, matrices, and types, which had been accumulating from the days of Wynkyn de Worde to those of Mr James. From these a large fund of entertainment would probably have been given to the curious, if the life of Mr. Mores had been prolonged. His intentions may be judged of from his valuable "Dissertation on Typographical Founders and Founderies;" and as no more than 80 copies of that pamphlet were printed, it will always be a typographical curiosity. The Editor of these Anecdotes bought the whole impression, at the sale of Mr. Mores' curiosities; and, after subjoining a small Appendix, gave it to the publick.

Mr. Mores was a most indefatigable collector, and possessed great application in the early part

* "It assures any sums or reversionary annuities on any lives, for any number of years, as well as for the whole continuance of the lives, at rates settled by particular calculations, and in any manner that may be best adapted to the views of the persons assured: that is, either by making the assured sums payable certainly at the failure of any given number of lives, or on condition of survivorship, and also by taking the price of the assurance in one present payment, or in annual payments, during any single or joint lives, or any terms less than the whole continuance of the lives. The plan of this Society is so extensive and important, that, if due care is taken, it may prove a very great public benefit." Dr. Price on Reversionary Payments, 1771, p. 128, who proposed some improvements on this plan.

† His few corrections on that book were communicated to Mr. Herbert by the Editor of these Anecdotes.

of his life; but in the latter part gave himself up to habits of negligence and dissipation; which brought him to his end *, by a mortification, in the 49th year of his age, at his house in Low Leyton, Nov. 28, 1778. His large collection of curious MSS. and his valuable library of books were sold by auction, by Mr. Paterson, in August following. Of the former, his "History and Antiquities of Tunstall in Kent †" (the only papers that were completed for the press, and for which he had engraved a set of plates out of the many drawings taken at his expence) was purchased at the sale by Mr. Nichols, who printed it in 1780 as a specimen of Parochial Antiquities, which served to shew the ideas of this industrious Antiquary, and his endeavour to make even the minutest record subservient to the great plan of National History.

Several books of English Antiquities with his MS notes, and the most valuable part of such of the MSS. and scarce tracts as relate to our local antiquities, were purchased by Mr. Gough ‡; and, by his bountiful bequest, now enrich the Antiquaries Closet in the Bodleian Library.

* Mr. Mores died of a mortification in his leg, which he suffered to reach his vitals, sitting in an arm-chair, while the workmen passed through the room to repair the next. He would not admit physician or nurse; and scarcely his own mother, who constantly resided with him after she had lost an annuity of 100*l.* His daughter had been some time married, and was dead; and his son had been sent to Holland for education. —Mr. Mores would be chosen churchwarden of Leyton; and, to let him bring in another, the parish were obliged to choose two more.—He once took it in his head to read the service in that church; and, being cited before the Bishop's visitation to settle his accounts as churchwarden, replied, "he came there only for that purpose, and would say nothing to the irregularity."—He walked about in his academical habit, calling himself a Dominican friar." *Mr. Gough, MS.*

† Several Visitations of Kent, with large additions by Mr. Mores, were purchased by Mr. Hasted.

‡ Among these last were imperfect alphabetical lists of incumbents in Canterbury and Rochester dioceses, some corporation rentals for Salisbury; some other collections for which place, and several rolls of antient deeds, were bought by Mr. Topham:

Mr. Astle purchased his Epitome of the Registers of the See of Canterbury, preserved in the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth, beginning with the first Register called Peckham, A.D. 1279, and ending with that of Archbishop Tenison in 1710; and his "Excerpta ex Registris Cur. Prærog. Cantuar." 3 vols. 8vo; vol. I. containing Extracts from Wills in the Prerogative-office, from 1385 to 1533; vol. II. extracts from 1533 to 1561; vol. III. extracts from 1592 to 1660. To the first volume is prefixed a learned and curious dissertation concerning the authority of the Prerogative Court, with the names of the several Registers. Mr. Astle had also his catalogue of the Rolls preserved in the Lambeth Library, made in the year 1758; his collections for the History and Antiquities of the City of Salisbury, containing several curious particulars and transcripts of records, &c. with some short Annals of the University of Oxford, from 1066 to 1310; and a MS. in Latin intituled "De Ælfrico Archiepiscopo Doroverneusi Commentarius. Auctore Edwardo-Rowe Mores, A. M. Soc. Antiq. Lond. Soc." This last MS. is in the hand-writing of Mr. Morés, and seems to have been intended for publication *. It

Topham: the original of Batteley's "Antiquitates Rutupinæ," Ballard's "Memoirs of illustrious Ladies," &c. Among the former, Browne Willis's "Mitred Abbies," and Dr. Tanner's "Notitia Monastica."

* His zeal for Saxon Literature will appear by the following Letter to Dr. Ducarel:

"Dear Sir, *Queen's Coll. Oxon. Jan.* 13, 1753.

"The drawings you mention are not in our Library, but in the Bodleian, in the MS. Cædmon which we have so often talked about. What we have lately discovered at our College is an index drawn up by Junius to his edition of Cædmon, which in the Bodleian Catalogue is said to have been stolen; but we suppose that, as Junius's MSS. were formerly kept in a closet in the School-gallery, Mr. Thwaites might borrow it from thence; and, it being afterwards found in his study, was, with his other papers, inadvertently reposited in our archives. The Dean of Exeter is very desirous that this index should be printed, and annexed to the drawings; which he says he proposed to the Antiquarian Society, to be engraved at their expence; but without success. I did myself at first think that this work might be published by our Society; but, for some reasons which have since

contains ten chapters; the first seven relate to Archbishop Ælfric; Cap. 8. is intituled "De Ælfrico Bata;" Cap. 9. "De Ælfrico Abbate Meildunensi;" Cap. 10. "De allis Ælfricis." An Appendix is subjoined, containing transcripts of Saxon charters and extracts from historians concerning Archbishop Ælfric.

Mr. Mores married Susannah, daughter of Mr. Bridgman, an eminent grocer in Whitechapel, who was before his father-in-law by having married the widow of his father. By this lady, who died in 1767, and is buried in the church-yard at Walthamstow, with the inscription given below *, he had a daughter, Sarah, who married, in 1774, to Mr. John Davis, house-painter at Walthamstow, and died before her father; and a son, Edward-Rowe, married, in 1779, to Miss Spence.

occurred to me, I am now of a different opinion. Mr. Lye has been at Oxford lately; and Messrs. Wise, Lye, Ballard, and myself, have held several consultations about republishing Cædmon entire, with a translation, and adorned with all the drawings in the Bodleian copy. Mr. Lye seems inclined to undertake the translation; and Fletcher is willing to pay all expences of printing, if we will engrave the drawings. Mr. Wise is about printing a dissertation on the true age of Cædmon, the dialects, and several other curious Saxon matters, which I hope will put some of us upon studying this part of antiquity. I know of none at present who apply their studies this way but Mr. Buckler; who, though a Mallardian, is nevertheless, I believe, a diligent and a learned Antiquary. I am, dear Sir, yours very sincerely,

EDW. ROWE MORES."

* "SUSANNÆ MORES,
annorum triginta septem, liberorum binorum matri
amantissimæ, fidelissimæ, dilectissimæ
conjugi,
supremum mariti donum.
Mitem placidè reddidit animam,
Derelictum
luctu
fide solùm leniendo obruens,
octavo die Jan. Incarnat. anno
MDCCLXVII."

Mr. Mores was buried by her, and his atchievement in Walthamstow church has, Quarterly 1. and 4. *Mores.* 2. Gules, a quatrefoil Or. 3. *Rowe.* Impaling, Sable, 10 plates, on a chief Argent a lion passant Sable gutté Argent, *Bridgman.*

Mr.

Mr. Mores' only sister was married, in 1756, to Mr. John Warburton (son of the late Antiquary and Somerset herald John Warburton, esq.); who resided at Dublin many years, and in 1780 was Pursuivant of the Court of Exchequer in Ireland.

Dr. CONYERS MIDDLETON, son of William Middleton *, rector of Hinderwell in Yorkshire, was born at Richmond, in that county, on Dec. 27,

* Extracts of a letter from Mr. J. Borwick, rector of Whitby, Yorkshire, to Mr. Archdeacon Blackburne, dated Jan. 1, 1761.

"William Middleton was instituted to the rectory of Hinderwell, near Whitby, in Yorkshire, June 2, 1670; which it seems was the only preferment he ever had in the Church. He was twice married: the first time to a knight's sister; by whom he had William, who proved graceless, and died poor; the second time to Barbara Place, daughter of Mr. Place of Well (probably Well near Bedal, where the Places have been Hospital-Masters); by whom he had, Conyers Middleton (so named from the father's intimacy with the Conyers of Boulby Hall); Edward, who was buried at Hinderwell, May 2, 1708, before he had got any church-preferment; and John, who went into the army. Mr. Middleton, the father, lived mostly at York while his children were in their youth; supplying his church at Hinderwell by curates, till within a little time before the death of his second wife, who was buried there, Aug. 8, 1700; as her said husband the rector also was, Feb. 13, 1713-14. His children were all born at York, and all proved very expensive to him; towards the maintaining of whose extravagance his income proving insufficient (and he was at the same time very easy in the collection of his tithes), he was by their means much reduced, and greatly straitened in his circumstances towards the latter part of his life; which made him often afraid of bailiffs and arrests. The antient widow [her name Tiplady] who was his only servant during the last six years of his life, except the year in which he died [and who is now, 1764, in the 88th year of her age, and blind, but her understanding clear, her spirits good, and her memory excellent], says, concerning his son, Conyers Middleton, whom she well remembers, 'that he was a free good-natured man; that he yearly visited his old father from Cambridge; and that she had heard he was reckoned the best scholar in all the University;' adding, 'that he was particularly kind to her, for her care of his father.'—These accounts are taken partly from the Register of the parish of Hinderwell, according to the entries made therein by the present Bishop of Carlisle [Dr. Osbaldeston], who was formerly rector there; and from some of the antient inhabitants of that parish, and particularly from the above-mentioned antient widow." *From the MSS. of Mr. Jones of Welwyn.*

1683.

1683. His father, being possessed of an easy fortune besides his preferment in the Church, gave him a liberal education; and at seventeen years of age he was sent to Trinity college in Cambridge, of which in 1706 he was chosen fellow. In 1707 he commenced master of arts; and in two years after joined with several other fellows of his college in a petition to Dr. Moore, then bishop of Ely, as their visitor, against the celebrated Dr. Bentley, their master. In the early part of his life, he was not thought to possess any very extraordinary talents; and at the time he engaged in the controversy with Bentley, his attention was more devoted to musick than to study. This occasioned Bentley to call him in contempt *a fiddler* *; and probably to this sarcasm the world may be indebted for the many excellent works he afterwards produced. However, he had no sooner joined in the proceedings against Bentley, than he withdrew himself from his jurisdiction, by marrying Mrs. Drake, daughter of Mr. Morris, of Oak-Morris in Kent, and widow of Counsellor Drake of Cambridge, a lady of ample fortune. After his marriage, he took a small rectory in the Isle of Ely, which was in the gift of his wife; but resigned it in little more than a year, probably because he thought it not worth keeping.

In October 1717, when King George I. visited the University of Cambridge, he was created, with several others, a doctor of divinity by mandate; and was the person who gave the first motion to that famous proceeding against Dr. Bentley †, which made such a noise in the Nation. Bentley, whose office it was to perform the ceremony called *Crea-*

* "Dr. Bentley, who was no great friend to musick, gave Dr. Middleton the disgraceful epithet of "fiddling Convers," from his playing not unfrequently upon the violin. Middleton was, however, long afterwards even with the Master; for when Dr. Bentley's Proposals for his edition of the New Testament in Greek came out, he attacked him with such strength of observation and acuteness of sarcasm, that the Doctor thought fit to decline his projected undertaking." *Seward's Anecdotes*, vol. II. p. 344.

† On this head see before, in vol. I. p. 158.

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tion, made a new and extraordinary demand of four guineas from each of the Doctors, on pretence of a fee due to him as Divinity-Professor, over and above a broad piece, which had by custom been allowed as a present on this occasion. Upon this a warm dispute arose; the result of which was, that many of the Doctors, and Middleton among the rest, consented to pay the feē in question, upon condition that the money should be restored if it were not afterwards determined to be his right. It was determined against Bentley, but still he kept the money: upon which Middleton commenced an action against him for the recovery of his share of it. Bentley behaving with contumacy, and shewing all imaginable contempt to the authority of the University, was at first suspended from his degrees, and then degraded. He petitioned the King for relief from that sentence: upon which Middleton, by the advice of friends, thought it expedient to put the publick in possession of the whole affair. This occasioned him to publish, within the year 1719, the four following pieces: 1, "A full and impartial Account of all the late Proceedings in the University of Cambridge, against Dr. Bentley." 2, "A Second Part of the full and impartial Account, &c." 3, "Some Remarks upon a Pamphlet, intituled, The Case of Dr. Bentley farther stated and vindicated, &c." The Author of the piece here remarked was the well-known Dr. Sykes; and he is treated here by Dr. Middleton with great contempt and severity: who seems, however, afterwards to have changed his opinion of him, and to have been upon very charitable terms with him: for, in his "Vindication of the Free Enquiry into the Miraculous Powers," which was published after his death, he appeals to his authority, and calls him "a very learned and judicious writer." The last tract is intituled, 4. "A true Account of the present State of Trinity College in Cambridge, under the oppressive Government of their Master Richard Bentley, late D.D.*" But this

* "Whereas the Master of Trinity College is prosecuting the Author and Publisher of a Book, intituled, A true Account of the present

regards only the quarrel betwixt him and his College, and is employed in exposing his misdemeanors in the administration of College affairs. It seems to have been written in order to take off a suspicion which many then had, that the proceedings of the University against Dr. Bentley did not flow so much from any real demerit in the man, as from a certain spirit of resentment and opposition to the Court, the great promoter and manager of whose interest he was thought to be there; for, it must be remembered, that, in that part of his life, Dr. Middleton was a strong Tory; though, like Bishop Gooch and other considerable persons, his contemporaries in the University, he afterwards became a very zealous Whig.

But Middleton had not yet done with Bentley. The latter, in 1720, published, "Proposals for a new Edition of the Greek Testament, and Latin

present State of Trinity College, Cambridge, under the oppressive Government of their Master Richard Bentley, late D.D.: For the preventing all unnecessary trouble and expence in such Prosecution, I hereby voluntarily acknowledge myself to be the sole Author of the said Book; and do declare, that the several facts therein mentioned are no other than what have either been proved upon the Master at a public Trial before the late Bishop of Ely [Dr. Fleetwood] (who died before sentence was given), or will certainly, with many more of the same kind, be charged and proved upon him by the Fellows, whenever there shall be a Visitor assigned for that purpose, for which they have long been petitioning. And I solemnly protest, that I had no other design in writing the said Book but to promote and bring on such a Visitation, by shewing the necessity of it; and to do justice to my worthy oppressed friends of that College (whereof I was not long since a Fellow), which they are not able to do for themselves, but at the hazard of their Fellowships (the Master having, since the publication of this Book, attempted to deprive a reverend and learned member of the seniority for the bare suspicion of his being the author of it). And I do now affirm, that I have said nothing material in the said Book, but under the utmost conviction of its truth, either from my own knowledge, or upon the best evidence and information, as will easily appear whenever there shall be occasion. And if in the mean while the Master, or any of his friends, will undertake to answer me in print, I hereby promise either to defend and prove every article alledged against him, or to make him the satisfaction of a public recantation. CONYERS MIDDLETON, D.D."

Post-Boy, Feb. 20, 1719-20.

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Version." Middleton, in 1721, published, 5, "Remarks, Paragraph by Paragraph, upon the Proposals, &c.;" and at setting out, "only desires his readers to believe, that they were not drawn from him by personal spleen or envy to the author of them, but by a serious conviction, that he had neither talents nor materials proper for the work he had undertaken." Middleton's motto to this piece was very happily chosen, and deserves to be transcribed. It is taken from an oration of Peter Burman, who, with a view of defending his brother critic against his adversaries, says, in a strain of irony*, "Doctus criticus et adsuetus urere, secare, inclementer omnis generis libros tractare, apices, syllabas, voces, dictiones confodere, et stylo exigere, continebitne ille ab integro et intaminato divinæ sapientiæ monumento crudeles ungues?" Bentley defended his "Proposals" against these "Remarks," which, however, he did not ascribe to Middleton, but to Dr. Colbatch, a learned Fellow of his College, and Casuistical Professor of Divinity in the University. He very well knew the true author, but was resolved to dissemble it, for the double pleasure it would give him, of abusing Colbatch, and shewing his contempt of Middleton. He did, indeed, abuse Colbatch to that degree, that the Vice-chancellor and heads of the University, at a meeting in February 1721, pronounced his book to be a most scandalous and malicious libel, and resolved to inflict a proper censure upon the author, as soon as he should be discovered: for no names had yet appeared in the controversy. Middleton then published, with his name, an answer to Bentley's Defence, intituled, 6, "Some farther Remarks, Paragraph by Paragraph, upon Proposals lately published for a new Edition of a Greek and Latin Testament, by Richard Bentley, 1721." His motto, "Occupatus ille eruditione secularium literarum scripturas omnino sanctas ignoraverit †, &c."

* Petri Burmani Orationes, Lugd. Bat. 1720. † Hieron.

These

These two pieces against Bentley are written with great acuteness and learning; and though the Critic affected greatly to despise them, yet they destroyed the credit of his Proposals so effectually, that his intended publication of the New Testament came to nothing.

Upon the great enlargement of the Public Library at Cambridge, by the addition of 30,000 volumes, which had been collected by Dr. Moore, late Bishop of Ely *, the erection of the new office of *Principal Librarian* was first voted, and then conferred upon Dr. Middleton †; who drew up a plan for disposing of the books together in the new-projected building, intituled, "Bibliothecæ ordinandæ Methodus," which is printed among his Works.

After the decease of his first wife, he travelled through France into Italy, and arrived at Rome early in the year 1724. Much leisure, with an infirm state of health, was the cause of his journey to Italy; where, though his character and profession were well known, he was yet treated with particular respect by persons of the first distinction both in Church and State. The author of his Life in the "Biographia Britannica" relates, that, on his first coming there, he got himself introduced in his character of Principal Librarian to his Brother Librarian at the Vatican,

* "Which had been offered to the Earl of Oxford for 8000*l.* and were afterwards purchased for 6000 guineas, by King George I. and by him presented to the University. The Bishop had collected this noble library by plundering those of the Clergy in his diocese. Some he paid with Sermons, or more modern books; others with, *'Quid illiterati cum libris?'*"

Mr. Gough; see British Topography, vol. II. p. 224.

† "This was quite a party action, and pushed on by Dr. Gooch to plague Bentley, by rewarding his opponent. The late worthy Dr. Symonds of Bury (father to the Professor of Modern History in Cambridge), then fellow of St. John's college, with five or six more of that house, formed the whole number that had sense, honesty, and courage enough to vote against the creating an useless place on such an occasion; but so high did party run, and so low had it descended, that the very mob in the street hooted them all their way home." *T. F.*

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who received him with great politeness; but, upon his mentioning Cambridge, said, he did not know before that there was any University in England of that name; and at the same time took notice, that he was no stranger to that of Oxford, for which he expressed a great esteem. Our new Librarian took some pains to convince his Brother not only of the real existence, but of the real dignity of his University of Cambridge. At last the Keeper of the Vatican acknowledged, that he had indeed heard of a celebrated School of that name in England, where youth were prepared for their admission at Oxford; and Dr. Middleton left him at present in that sentiment *. But this unexpected indignity made him resolve to support his residence at Rome in such a manner, as should be a credit to his station at Cambridge; and accordingly he agreed to give 400*l. per annum* for a hotel, with all accommodations, fit for the reception of persons of the first rank in Rome †; which, joined to his great fondness for antique curiosities, occasioned him to trespass a little upon his fortune. He returned through Paris towards the end of the year 1725, and arrived at Cambridge before Christmas.

In December 1731 Dr. Middleton was presented by Colonel King, Dr. Woodward's executor, to the professorship then recently founded by Dr. Wood-

* "This story, it must be allowed, is highly improbable. How could Cambridge be unknown to any man of letters at Rome, when that University had produced, before the Reformation, so many persons of celebrity in the history of the Romish Church? And with regard to later times, was it likely that the name and writings of such a critic, for instance, as Dr. Bentley, had not reached the Vatican? If the Librarian was so ignorant as is represented, he was very ill qualified for his office." *T. F.*

† "The particular respect shewed him [the Library-story], and his expence at Rome for the honour of Cambridge, are believed to have been *puffs of the Doctor's when he came back*, in order to induce the members of the Senate to create this place for him, as an indemnification for the expences he had incurred in defence of their fame and honour.—This may deserve attention, though it contradicts the story in the Biographia Britannica, which supposes him *then actually Librarian*, and that he was to live and shew off like the Cardinal *Protobibliothecarius* of the Vatican." *T. F.*

ward;

ward; and in July 1732 published his "Inauguration Speech." Reading lectures upon fossils, however, was not an employment suited to his taste, or to the turn of his studies; and he resigned it in 1734. The resignation, however, might probably be owing to his second marriage, as the professorship was tenable only by a single man. The salary certainly was an object to him.

In 1735 he published "A Dissertation concerning the Origin of Printing in England," of which I shall have occasion to speak further hereafter.

Soon after this, he married a second wife, Mary, a daughter of the Rev. Conyers Place, of Dorchester; and, upon her death, a third, Anne, daughter of John Powell, esq. of Boughroyd, near Radnor.

In 1741 came out his great work, "The History of the Life of M. Tullius Cicero *," in two

* Wolfius, in his edition of the Four controverted Orations of Cicero, Berlin, 1801 (see Gent. Mag. vol. LXXI. p. 913), observes, that this "Life" by Middleton, with all its high praises, has three great faults: first, that the Hero is frequently set-off beyond the bounds of truth; secondly, that he is represented more as a political than a literary character; and, thirdly, that too little critical attention is paid to the historical facts. Tunstall took up this third; and in 1741 arraigned the authenticity of the Letters of Cicero to Brutus and of Brutus to Cicero. To which Dr. Middleton replied, in 1743, by an English Translation of these Letters; to which he prefixed a Dissertation in defence of their genuineness, which convinced many who had inclined to his antagonist, and was inserted in the French translation of these Letters by Prevost the following year, 1744; when Tunstall, by new Observations, in English, completed the detection of their spuriousness; and Markland †, in an English Dissertation also, 1745, confirmed the opinion of Tunstall, and proved the Orations to be the mere declamations of a Rhetorician. That Middleton maintained his opinion against all their arguments can only be ascribed to the pertinacity of his countrymen, who cannot give up their early impressions. Ross's Dissertation on the Defence of P. Sulla is considered by Wolfius as a burlesque of Markland's insinuations against the genuineness of antient composition, as if by the same test other writings of Cicero could be affected; and Ross is called a new Har-

† "Jer. Marklandus magnâ vir auctoritate, quippe qui aliquot editis monumentis interioris doctrinæ pluribusque parandis et expoliendis tum maximè Ricardi Bentleii gloriam proximus quamquam aliquo intervallo assequebatur." Wolfius, Præf. p. viii.

duin,

volumes, 4to, published by subscription, and dedicated to Lord Hervey, who was much the author's

duin, whose sceptical irony seemed not to have been fully understood by the writer of a Dissertation, 1746, supporting Markland's opinion. Of succeeding critics, some who agreed with Tunstall in opinion about the Epistles rejected the opinion of Markland as to the Orations. Runkhenius took the side of Tunstall, but entertained no doubts of the Orations; Wyttenbach and Saxius decided against Markland; and Gesner confuted him in two dissertations, intituled "*Cicero restitutus*," 1753 and 1754, inserted in the third volume of the Commentaries of the Royal Society of Gottingen. Markland's silence on this subject is construed by Wolfius into conviction. Ernest took no notice of the dispute; and the four Orations have maintained their ground in subsequent editions. Wolfius has here published them from the most correct editions, and the last collated MSS. at Oxford and Naples, and preferred such readings as were most Ciceronian. The notes are not loaded from various commentators, but the sentiments of Markland and Gesner are contrasted, and their arguments stated, in the introduction, or in their proper places. He wished to have translated into Latin the first part of Markland's book, with Tunstall's observations, and the other objections to the Epistles; but this he hoped would soon be done by one of his old friends. The characteristics of Cicero's Orations are, grammar, logical truth of sentences, elegance, and other rhetorical qualifications, all shewn by Markland to be wanting in these Orations; historical exactness, civil prudence, and the character peculiar to such works. After the Editor's preface follow those of Markland and Gesner; and then the Orations, with notes from both.—The generally-received opinion, so strongly upheld by the lexicographer Gesner against the objections of the profound Markland, having been since adopted by scholars well versed in the knowledge of the Roman history and language, *to wit*, Dav. Runkenius, President de Brosses, Adam Ferguson, and others, it cannot fail to prove highly interesting to behold the result of our ingenious Editor's enquiries. In his examination of these pieces he analyses every passage that tends to elucidate this literary problem. What still more enhances the importance of his discussion, and the difficulties of his process, is this: Many of the antients, such as Valerius Maximus, Asconius, Quintilian, Servius Honoratus, and the Latin Panegyrists, have partly cited and partly imitated these harangues as Cicero's. If, therefore, they turn out to be suppositious, they must necessarily be assigned to a period of time nearly coëtaneous with the Roman Orator's existence. The Editor pretends not to plume himself upon a grammatical interpretation of the work before us. Manutius, Hotoman, Grævius, and several other translators, have fulfilled this task: he rather chose to accompany the deep lucubrations of the Englishman, and the shrewd hints of Gesner, with a copious commentary. In executing

friend. Dr. Warton having asserted, that in a little piece written by Lord Lyttelton in his youth, the "Observations on the Life of Tully," there is a more dispassionate and impartial character of the Orator, than in the panegyrical volumes of Middleton *;

executing this plan, he has examined whatever relates to Ciceronian Latinity and the art of oratory, both with respect to the thoughts and the diction. He has likewise canvassed the historical truth of the events therein reported. The preface is modestly dedicated to Larcher, and contains a very satisfactory account of the Editor's design. Wolfius submits the decision of the question to his readers. *This learned Note is Mr. Gough's.*

Some MS Remarks by Mr. Bowyer on the Life of Cicero may be seen in his "Miscellaneous Tracts." Mr. Bowyer thus begins his critique: "As censure is a tax paid by great writers to little, I desire these strictures may be looked upon, not so much a proof of my detraction from Dr. Middleton's merit, as a testimony of my homage to it. I shall sometimes make his enquiries only an introduction to new ones; and if I am for placing his in a different point of light, I would propose to do so from the same principle which I suppose actuated him, a sincere desire after truth. But, at the same that I allow this to have been his first motive in writing, I cannot allow he always kept that motive in his sight. His heart was never open to the glory of retracting." *W. B.*

* "The style of Middleton," says Dr. Warton, in his "Essay on Pope," vol. II. p. 324, "which is commonly esteemed very pure, is blemished with many vulgar and cant terms. Such as, Pompey had *a month's mind* ||, &c. He has not been successful in the translations of those many epistles of Tully which he has inserted; which, however curious, yet break the thread of the narration. Mongault and Melmoth have far exceeded him in their excellent translations of these pieces; which are, after all, some of the most precious remains of antiquity."—"The Life of Tully," the same learned critic informs us, "procured Dr. Middleton a great reputation, and a great sum of money. It is a pleasing and useful work, especially to younger readers, as it gives a comprehensive view of a most interesting period in the Roman history, and of the characters principally concerned in those important events. It may be worth observing, that he is much indebted, without acknowledging it, to a curious book, little known, intituled, 'G. Bellendini, Scoti, de Tribus Luminibus Romanorum, Libri 16. Parisiis; apud Tassanum du Bray, 1634,' folio; dedicated to King Charles. It comprehends a history of Rome, from the foundation of the city to the time of Augustus, drawn up in the very words of Cicero, without any alteration of any expression. In this book Middleton found

|| This expression is in a Dialogue between Catiline and Clodius.

every

the late Mr. Maty * well observed, "that this is a controvertible proposition;" and adds, "As to the assertion, that Middleton saw the book *de Tribus Luminibus*, and availed himself much of it, I have been told by a gentleman who lived much with him

every part of Cicero's own history in his own words, and his works arranged in chronological order, without farther trouble. The impression of this work being shipped for England, was lost in the vessel, which was cast away, and only a few copies remained, that had been left in France." I have quoted this heavy charge of plagiarism, that some friend of Dr. Middleton, or admirer of his writings, may stand forth in his vindication.—Dr. Knox, speaking of Cicero's Epistles, says, "They are thought not to appear to the best advantage in the specimens which Dr. Middleton has inserted in his Life of Cicero. No one was better able to do them justice than that great biographer; but it is said he committed the task of translation to some inferior writer." *Essays*, vol. II. p. 56.—"Lord Bolingbroke used to tell his friends, that he could never get through the Doctor's 'Life of Cicero.' This was, perhaps, owing to his inserting so many quotations from Tully's writings; the translations of which were furnished him (as he told Dr. Lancaster) by his patron, Lord Harvey, and could not, perhaps, be refused." *Seward's Anecdotes*, vol. II. p. 344.—"Dr. Middleton's translations were *done* for him, at a cheap price, by an hound of King's; that is, an under-graduate, not on the foundation, much the same as a sizar at another college, only that he can never be of the foundation." *T. F.*

* In his "New Review" for March 1782, p. 81.—From the same publication, p. 128, I shall copy a fragment of Bishop Warburton: "We shall now soon have Dr. Middleton's Tully: the following passage relating to it I transcribe from one of his last letters to me [which was afterwards printed in Middleton's Works], because I believe it will please you. 'I seem now determined for a subscription, especially as I have got an additional charge since I saw you, two small girls about eight years old, who are now in the house with me, left by an unfortunate brother, who had nothing else to leave; but they are fine children, and have gained already so much upon our affections that, instead of thinking them a burthen, we begin to think them a blessing: my subscription, therefore, is like to be of the charitable kind, and Tully to be their portion.' What think you of this? I think it more edifying than all Waterland's books of controversy.

'For modes of faith let graceless zealots fight;
He can't be wrong, whose life is in the right.'

You see this, if known, would much advantage his subscription; but I have no reason to think he has a mind it should be known: and therefore keep it secret." *Letter to Dr. Birch.*

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at the time, that he did see it, but did not find it much to his purpose *."

In December 1748 he published his "Free Inquiry into the Miraculous Powers which are

* The brilliant observations of Dr. Parr on this subject, in his Preface to Bellendenus, very forcibly claim a place in these Anecdotes:

"Insedit profectò et penè inveteravit in animis eruditorum hæc opinio, Middletonum, cùm de Ciceronis vitâ opus scriberet, Bellendeni hisce è fontibus irrigâsse hortulos suos. Ferunt etiam illum de industriâ, quò furtum suum meliùs celaret, nomen Bellendeni silentio jam tum prætermisisse, cùm varios, qui sibi aliquid adjumenti suppeditâssent, Scriptores, suo quemque ordine, recensere profiteretur. His ego rumusculis, cùm in Middletono laudando solerem multus esse, inter audiendum subirascebar. Ita enim semper animum induxi, ut de tanto viro cautè et modestè pronunciandum esse statuerim. Prætereà, haud nescius eram, quàm acris esse soleat doctorum invidia, quàm sint avidæ et capaces auriculæ indoctorum, quàm firma ad memoriam rerum levissimarum, et in calumniis propagandis veteratoria sint vapparum et nebulonum ingenia. Famam quippè videram incendere etiam convicia non credentium, quoties certamen factum esset inquinandi laudes eorum, qui artes infra se positas existimarentur prægravare. Causas igitur hujusce, quæ de Middletono incidisset, suspicionis, sæpenumerò sum et acerrimè perscrutatus; sempérque sensi aquam hærere etiam illis, inter quos odium nominis Middletoniani glisceret vehementissimè. Ita profectò Caium suspicatum esse suspicabatur Titius. Ita se multis antè annis, aut legisse nescio quo libro, aut voces, ut fit, eruditorum subauscultando excepisse Sempronius credebat. Bellendeni verò librum qui vidissent, perpaucos reperi: qui eum contulisset cum Middletoni opere (Wartonum si excipias) planè neminem. Hâc autem à me diligentissimè factâ collatione, res illicò omnis ad liquidum perducta est. Litteræ fuerunt Middletono, non vulgares hæ et quotidianæ, sed uberrimæ et maximè exquisitæ. Fuit judicium subtile limatúmque. Teretes et religiosæ fuerunt aures. Stylus est ejus ita purus ac suavis, ita salebris sine ullis profluens quiddam et canorum habet, numeros ut videatur complecti, quales in alio quopiam, præter Addisonum, frustrà quæsiveris. Animum fuisse ejusdem parùm candidum ac sincerum, id verò, fateor invitus, dolens, coactus. Equidem de fide hominis in rebus sacris, fastidiosiùs et acerbiùs loqui nolim. Permolestè autem fero, potuisse eum, qui ingenii tam acris elegantisque esset, laudibus Bellendeni meritis ac debitis privare. Fidentissimè enim confirmaverim, Middletonum non modò ex Bellendeni opere supellectilem sibi sublegisse satis lautam atque amplam, sed libri ipsius propè formàm, quà res ferret, adumbrâsse. Cùm in mediâ Cantabrigiæ luce viveret, suique operis instrumenta undique colligeret, ad manum habebat Bibliothecas Cantabrigienses, libris eas quidem plurimis et exqui-

supposed to have subsisted in the Christian Church from the earliest Ages, through several successive Centuries*." Innumerable answerers now appeared against him; two of whom, Dodwell and Church,

exquisitissimis refertas. Qui autem 'Academicæ Bibliothecæ ordinandæ methodum quendam proposuisset' [Opera Middletoni, tom. IV.], ei, penè dixerim, in propatulo erant scripta ferè omnia Bellendeni. Quin Bellendeni ad hoc ipsum opus, etsi obscura sint omnia et occulta, respexisse illum tamen in Præfatione suâ haud negaverim: in iis præsertim, quæ dixerit de 'temporum eorum Historiâ, quam contexere esset cuivis integrum, qui Ciceronis Epistolas diligenter evolvisset:' de tædio, quod in Cicerone bis terque legendo, ipse, si Diis placet, solus devorâsset: de curâ, quam in condendo et componendo, quæ posset mox depromere, animo ad commentandum et corrigendum prorsùs obstinato, impendisset: de verbis ipsissimis Ciceronis, quæ auctoritatem secum afferrent maximam, aptéque positæ in Orationis serie, plurimum haberent venustatis. Nimirùm, quod Middletonus paulò ambitiosiùs prædicat, sese et velle facere et debere, illud ipsum est summâ fide summâque arte à Bellendeno factum, jam inde ab ultimo principio operis, usque ad pagimam extremam. Extat Stephani Forcatuli 'De raptu animorum' Dialogus festivissimus, in quo 'alienæ inventionis prædones reprehendit.' Scripsit etiam Thomasius de Plagiis Literariis librum, cui, ut Morhofio † visum est, multa adjungi possunt. Horum utrumque librorum, prelo si quis denuò subjecerit, Middletono inuri eâdem infamiâ debebit, quæ Salmasio, quæ Lipsio, quæ Wouwerio, aliisque Plagiariis ingenio et doctrinâ eximiis, haud immeritò inusta est. At manes ejus, qui famæ Ciceronianæ custodem se adjutoremque egregium præstiterit, liceat mihi, verbis ex ipso Cicerone ‡ depromtis, extremùm alloqui, 'Satis hæc multa' de Middletono: 'ac sine odio omnia, nihil sine dolore."

Præf. pp. iii—vii.

* "You must not expect too much from my Julian. It is part of the trade of Pamphleteers to set off their ware by pompous titles. I think you judge right of the Inquirer and his inquiries; as you do of another fashionable writer, who is in Politics just what this is in Divinity. And I am persuaded this character of them would satisfy them both; so good an opinion they have mutually of one another. But I esteem Dr. Middleton to be an honest man, and the other the greatest —— in the kingdom. This, and my acquaintance with him, and my dislike of his adversaries' scheme, make me begin the discourse in a manner he ought not to dislike, and conclude it in a manner, I am sure, they will not approve. But a deluge of answerers are coming out against him."

Dr. Warburton to Mr. Hurd, Aug. 6, 1749.

† Morhof. Polyhistor. lib. i. cap. 5. ‡ Philipp. II. p. 521, edit. Grut.

distinguished themselves with so much zeal, that they were each complimented by the University of Oxford with the degree of Doctor in Divinity. It does not appear that he originally intended to reply to any of them separately; for he was meditating a general answer to all the objections made against the Free Inquiry; but, being seized with illness *, and imagining he might not be able to go through with it, he singled out Church and Dodwell, as the two most considerable of his adversaries, and employed himself in preparing a particular answer to them. This, however, he did not live to finish †; but died, of a slow hectic fever and disorder in his liver, on the 28th of July, 1750, in the 67th year of his age,

* "I hear Dr. Middleton has been lately at London (I suppose to consult Dr. Heberden about his health), and is returned in an extreme bad condition. The scribblers against him will say they have killed him. But, by what Mr. Yorke told me, his bricklayer will dispute the honour of his death with them. Seriously I am much concerned for the poor man, and wish he may recover with all my heart. Had he had, I will not say, piety, but greatness of mind enough not to suffer the pretended injuries of some Churchmen to prejudice him against Religion, I should love him living, and honour his memory when dead. But, good God! that man, for the discourtesies done him by his miserable fellow-creatures, should be content to divest himself of the true *viaticum*, the comfort, the solace, the asylum from all the evils of human life, is perfectly astonishing! I believe no one (all things considered) has suffered more from the low and vile passions of the high and low amongst our brethren than myself. Yet God forbid it should ever suffer me to be cold in the Gospel interests, which are indeed so much my own, that without it I should be disposed to consider humanity as the most forlorn part of the creation."

Dr. Warburton to Mr. Hurd, July 11, 1750.

† "Nothing can be juster than all you say of the real value of that loss which the Republic of letters has sustained by Dr. Middleton's death. He was just what you think him, and no more. I do not think his parts appear any where to more advantage than in a long letter I received from him many years ago, on the subject of Tully's sentiments, and on the principle of the Divine Legation. I will send it to you for your entertainment as soon as I can find it amongst my papers. But say nothing of it to any one, for a reason I will tell you hereafter." *Ibid. Sept.* 1, 1750.—[This Letter may be found in the last volume of Bp. Warburton's Works, in 4to, p. 961, with the Bishop's answer. H.]

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at Hildersham in Cambridgeshire, an estate of his own purchasing. His death happening about the same period with that of Mr. Gordon, the translator of Tacitus, Lord Bolingbroke said to the late amiable Dr. Heberden, "Then there is the best Writer in England gone, and the worst!" A little before his death, he thought it prudent to accept of the small vicarage of Hascomb in Surrey, worth 50*l.* a year, from Sir John Frederick, bart. He published a great variety of tracts on various learned subjects, too many and too well known to need enumeration here; all which, except the Life of Cicero, were collected *, and printed together, in four volumes, 4to, 1752.

Dr. Middleton superintended in his own house the education of two or three young gentlemen of rank, among whom was Thomas the second Lord

* "I suppose we shall have Dr. Middleton's Works soon. I question whether the Bookseller does not repent of his project ere now, his subscribers are so few and slow. And the great Patron of them too is gone, which will be another draw-back. I think he did Middleton no more than justice in preferring him to himself. For where the chief merit in two writers lies in saying common things well, I shall always prefer him who says them with simplicity and ease, to him who delivers them with pomp and solemnity. I believe I have lost an enemy in Lord Bolingbroke. I am sure, Religion, and the State, has. I question whether we shall see any of his MSS. His "Apology for his Public Conduct," which I have seen, affects too many parties, to see the light; and his Apology for his private opinions would shock the people too much, as dissolute as they are now grown. His "Letters concerning the Use of reading History" (the best of his works, as his "Patriot King," I think, is the worst), I suppose we shall see, because there are printed copies of it in several hands. It is in two volumes, 8vo. It was this work which occasioned his aversion to me. There is a dissertation in it against the canon of Scripture, which I told Mr. Pope was full of absurdities and false reasoning, and would discredit the work: and, at his desire, I drew up a paper of remarks upon it, which Lord Bolingbroke never forgave. He wrote an answer to it in great wrath and much acrimony; but, by the persuasion of a great man, suppressed it. It is possible it may now see the light. The paper it was an answer to, was drawn up one summer's afternoon, as Mr. Pope sat by me, without taking my hand from the table till it was done, so that, as it contained several sheets, you will easily believe he had advantage enough of me."

Dr. Warburton to Mr. Hurd, Dec. 29, 1751.

Montfort (then Mr. Bromley), for whose father he purchased a valuable library, since dispersed by a bookseller's marked catalogue. From 1745 till his death, he had also under his tuition Mr. Robarts, nephew to the Earl of Radnor of that name, who generously continued the annual allowance to Dr. Middleton after the young gentleman was dead.

Besides the mezzotinto print of him, which is a very good likeness, a medal of him was cast and repaired by Giovanni Pozzo, at Rome, in 1724; which some years ago was copied in London by Mr. Stewart; and was afterwards engraved, as well as copied, at an easier expence, by Mr. Wedgwood.

The Doctor's antiques, which he collected in Italy, and described in "Germana quædam Antiquitatis Monumenta," were transferred to the cabinet of Horace the late Lord Orford, and are now at Strawberry Hill.

Dr. Middleton left behind him in MS. 1. "Brouillon of an Apology for Dr. Middleton's Writings, and how far it is allowable to conform to the Religion of any Country." 2. "Dr. Laughton's* Account of finding Dr. Middleton at a Tavern †. [July 3, 1710.]" 3. "An University Grace for establishing the Office of Library-Keeper." 4. "An Advertisement for the intended publication of a serious Apology for the Letter to Dr. Waterland." 5. "Oratio Woodwardiana‡." 6. "Brouillon of a Latin Dissertation concerning the Power of Miracles to prove a

* The celebrated tutor of Clare hall, then senior proctor, and warmly attached to Dr. Bentley. See Middleton's "Remarks on the Case of Dr. Bentley farther stated," &c. in his Works, 4to, vol. III. p. 341.—He was a prebendary of Worcester, and died July 28, 1723. He was eminent for his learning, integrity, and zeal for the public good, as well as for the great number of the nobility and gentry educated under his care. He printed a Sermon preached before King George I. in King's College chapel, Oct. 6, 1717, 4to.—Dr. Colbatch, in a Commemoration Sermon, 1717, speaks thus of Dr. Laughton: "We see what a confluence of nobility and gentry the virtue of one man daily draws to one of our least colleges."

† Q. If not a Bentleian Tract? R. G.

‡ He published his "Inauguration Speech" in 1732; see p. 408.

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Religion." 7. "A Latin Dissertation on the Gift of Tongues." 8. "Remarks on the Letters from Agbarus to Jesus." 9. "A Latin Speech intended to be spoken before King George II. on his Visit to Cambridge." 10. "An Expostulatory Letter to the Rev. Dr. Waterland." 11. "The first and second Books of Cicero's Epistles translated into English." 12. "Brouillon concerning the Characters of some Writers, and the State of the Church in the third and fourth Centuries."

There were also found among his papers some materials for a Life of Demosthenes, correspondent to that of Cicero.

Several other works of Dr. Middleton were known to have existed; particularly the two following, which were burnt by himself. 1. "The First Part of some Considerations in Defence of the Plain Account* of the Sacrament." 2. "A Latin Dissertation on the Proofs of the Divinity and Truth of Religion." Of the last-mentioned article a copy had been taken by Lord Bolingbroke.

A friend once lamenting to Dr. Middleton that he had not been made a Bishop; "Then, Sir," he replied, "as they have not thought fit to trust me, I am at liberty to speak my mind†."

* Speaking of Bishop Hoadly's "Plain Account," in a letter to Lord Harvey, July 28, 1735, not published in his Works, Dr. Middleton says, "I like both the design and the doctrine, as I do every design of reconciling Religion with Reason; or, where that cannot be, of bringing them as near together as possible. His enemies will insult him with the charge of lessening Christian piety; but the candid will see, that he seeks only to destroy a superstitious doctrine, by establishing a rational one in its place. But as, by throwing down the shrines and altars of the Church, he will raise no small stir from the men of craft, so I rejoice much with your Lordship, that he has secured the good Castle of Farnham for his retreat." And again, Feb. 8, 1736, "You would advise him to waste no more of his time in controversy; which, generally speaking, means no more at the best, than to make plausible to weak men, what is contemptible to men of sense."

† "These slumberers in stalls," he observes in another letter to Lord Hervey, Sept. 13, 1736, "suspect me very unjustly of ill designs against their peace; for though there are many things in the Church that I wholly dislike, yet, whilst I am content to ac-

On his third marriage, Bishop Gooch making him a matrimonial visit, told Mrs. Middleton *, before the Doctor appeared, that "he was glad she did not dislike the *Antients* so much as her husband did." — She replied, "that she hoped his Lordship did not reckon Dr. Middleton among the Antients yet." The Bishop answered, "You, Madam, are the best judge of that!"

Dr. Middleton had a niece, a brother's daughter, who resided some time in his family, as did also a niece of his last wife, Miss Hester Powell, afterwards married to the Rev. Dr. Barnardiston, master of Bene't college, both long since dead, leaving one daughter of their name, married to Mr. Yates, curate of Solyhull, Warwickshire.

It may be added, that Mrs. Montagu, nearly related to his first wife, was educated at the feet of this Gamaliel.

"One of Dr. Bentley's most formidable enemies was Dr. Middleton, as appears from several parts of his works, and particularly from his remarks upon Dr. Bentley's projected edition of the New Testament, which remarks are supposed to have been one principal objection to the publication of that work. [See before, p. 410.] But, length of time having overcome all prejudices, it is much wished that the person who possesses the MS. would oblige the learned world by setting forth so curious a performance. — It is also well known that he wrote a treatise on the

acquiesce in the ill, I should be glad to taste a little of the good, and to have some amends for that *ugly assent and consent*, which no man of sense can approve of. We read of some of the earliest disciples of Christ, who followed him, not for his works, but his loaves. These are certainly blameable, because they saw his miracles; but to us, who had not the happiness to see the *one*, it may be allowable to have some inclination to the *other*. Your Lordship knows a certain Prelate who, with a very low notion of the Church's sacred bread, has a very high relish for, and a very large share of, the temporal. My appetite to each is equally moderate, and would be satisfied almost with any thing but mere emptiness. I have no pretensions to riot in the feast of the elect; but, with the sinner in the Gospel, to gather up the crumbs that fall from the table."

* The relict of Mr. Wilkins, a Bristol merchant.

inutility

inutility and inefficacy of Prayer*, which was communicated to Lord Bolingbroke, who much approved it, and advised the publication of it. Mrs. Middleton, however, never thought proper to publish it in her life-time; and the Bishop [Dr. Newton] has heard that Dr. Heberden, a particular friend of Dr. Middleton, and to whom his widow left all his papers †, has since committed it to the flames; an act worthy of so good a man, and the fittest end of such a work."

CROMWELL MORTIMER, M. D. was second son of John Mortimer ‡, F. R. S. He was many years secretary to the Royal Society, fellow of the Col-

* "This learned and investigating Writer left behind him an unfinished MS. against the use of Prayer. He had treated on two parts of that duty, and on that of consolation, of supplication, and on thanksgiving. He had said nothing on the third part, that of intercession. On his widow's death his MS papers fell into the hands of the present virtuous and learned Father of Physic in this country, who threw this pernicious treatise into the fire; his acuteness and philanthropy exerting themselves with the same energy against the poison of the mind, which they had ever employed against the contagion of the body."

Seward's Anecdotes, vol. II. p. 344.

† "As to my letters to Middleton, I do not recollect any one word or sentiment of any one letter. Only this I know; I spoke my sentiments freely of men and things, because this is my way: therefore it cannot but be that there must be things in them which will give offence. Yet I can never think that the woman can be so infamous to print them without my leave. I acted very differently by her husband. When her own Bookseller collected a complete Edition of his Works, I gave him, at his request, about a dozen of the Doctor's letters, carefully purged of domestic matters, and such as might give offence, in order to make men think better both of his moral and religious character. However, if the woman be thus prostituted to gain, I must try whether the courts of justice or equity will give me relief, for a violation of the most sacred trust amongst mankind.—The substance of all this I have by this post wrote to Dr. Heberden, desiring him, if there be any truth in this report, he would remonstrate with the widow, with whom, I suppose, he has a particular influence." *Dr. Warburton to Mr. Hurd, Jan.* 30, 1759.

‡ Author of "The Whole Art of Husbandry, 1708, 1765," 8vo, by experiments in which he almost ruined himself. His first wife (who died in child-bed, May 14, 1681, æt. 21) was Dorothy, youngest daughter of the Protector, Richard Cromwell.

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lege of Physicians *, 1744, and a member and regular correspondent of the Gentlemen's Society at Spalding. The Doctor's eldest brother left him

* His singular "Plan of Practice" shall be here transcribed:

"Having nothing more at heart than the speedy recovery of every one that consults me, I thought it highly necessary to provide myself with such medicines, as I judge most efficacious; and to keep a proper person in my house, who shall carefully make up and dispense my prescriptions; that so I may be assured of what my patients take. For some years past I have made use of several peculiar chemical remedies; one of which has hardly ever failed of success in curing with one single dose, *fevers, quinsies, pleurisies,* or any *inflammatory disease,* if taken within the *first three days;* and has rendered the *small pox* itself much milder. Others of these medicines have been employed with *extraordinary success* in the rheumatism, gout, scurvy, jaundice, dropsy, colic, &c. &c. gravel, abscesses, cancers, and diseases of the eyes. That all who apply to me directly for advice, may not be burthened with the double expence of giving fees, and paying for medicines, *I shall freely make them a present of all the remedies,* which I shall order by myself alone, or in consultation with one or more physicians, without expecting any extraordinary fee, more than what is usually given to a *Fellow* of the *Royal College of Physicians,* LONDON. In *consultations* I shall readily acquaint my *brethren* with the intentions and operations of my particular remedies, though I am under obligations not to disclose the preparations. That the *apothecaries* may have no reason to complain, if any of them call me in to a sick person, or if a patient chooses to have his apothecary attend him as usual, I shall make a present to the apothecary of such of my peculiar medicines as I shall think proper for the patient; giving the apothecary leave to charge for them, as for the like doses of things out of his own shop; and what common medicines are required, I shall write to his shop for. Several persons of fortune, who have the generosity and humanity to take care of their *servants* when sick, being often at great expences on that account; and many *small families,* or *single persons,* finding themselves upon any illness put to great charges; *I offer to agree* with *single persons* or families for a *certain salary,* by the year; computing at about one guinea for each person; for which salary I propose to give them my advice, and attendance when necessary, and to make them a present of the proper medicines; but if other physicians are called in to consult with me, I shall expect to be fee'd, in the same manner, as the other physicians are, over and above the yearly salary agreed on. By means of such an agreement people may be induced to ask advice, as soon as they feel any disorder; and need not be for deferring to see what a day or two will produce, as too many do, being deterred by the expence attending the common way; and I believe, they will

the family estate at Topping hall, in Hatfield Peverel parish, Essex, where he died Jan. 7, 1752, and has an epitaph. He left an only son, Hans, of Lincoln's-Inn, and of Cawldthorp near Burton-on-Trent*. He drew up an index to Willoughby's Plates of Fishes; and kept a regular correspondence with the Society at Spalding †.

will soon find how much easier all complaints may be removed, if taken at the beginning, than when suffered to increase by delays.

Dartmouth-street, Westminster, 1744. C. MORTIMER, M. D. fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, London."

* See Morant's Essex, vol. II. p. 133.

† He was furnished by Mr. Johnson, the founder of this Society, with a history of their origin, and many curious particulars of the Society of Antiquaries, which were intended for publication; but which he never used; see vol. VI. pp. 2. 99.

A Letter of his, addressed to Dr. Waller, a member of that Society, and a senior fellow of St. John's college, Cambridge, is here subjoined.

"SIR, *July* 23, 1729.

"I am almost ashamed to write to you on this subject, your curious leaden bone, which has been the wonder of all I have shewn it to. I am sorry you gave yourself the trouble of sending the carrier to me. I shall keep it as choice as old gold, and return it again to you whenever you order it; but, by several accidents on other bones which I endeavoured to fill with lead, and hoped still of doing it better every time, I deferred shewing yours and my imitations of it to the Royal Society till their last meeting, and then Sir Hans Sloane being taken unluckily ill, and I being obliged to be with him, I could not carry it that day, and did not care to trust it in any body's hands, so have not yet shewn it them. We have adjourned to October next; so I should be glad if you would let me keep it yet some time; nay Sir Hans and some of our anatomists wish you would send the head to town, and let them cut into the *Ossa Bragmatis*, to see whether the lead is between the tables of the skull, which I think it is. I have been hindered in this affair by removing from Hanover-square to Bloomsbury-square, to be near Sir Hans Sloane; for on Dr. Scheuchzer's death, who lived in the house with him, he desired my coming into his neighbourhood, and so I have the pleasure of being at Sir Hans at all leisure hours in the day, continually entertained with new curiosities in his prodigious collection, and having the opportunity of the use of his library, as well as his ingenious and learned conversation. I must congratulate you and the University on Dr. Woodward's legacy, and am glad you bought the remainder of his collection. I hope this may lay the foundation for enquiries into natural knowledge joined with experiments and observations, and that such studies may be more cultivated daily. We hope, from

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WILLIAM NICHOLAS, esq. the youngest son of Sir John Nicholas, knight of the Bath (and grandson of Sir Edward Nicholas, secretary of state to to Charles I. and Charles II.) was born at Spring Garden, on Monday April 13, 1668. He was brought up a Turkey merchant. He represented the borough of Wilton in 1705, and was one of the revivers of the Society of Antiquaries in 1717. Having survived his two brothers, John and Edward, their large possessions in London, Surrey, Wiltshire, &c. descended to him. He was the last of his family; and died unmarried, immensely rich, at his seat at West Horsley in Surrey, Dec. 26, 1749, in his 82d year; and was buried in that church.

GEORGE NORTH (son of George North, citizen and pewterer, who resided in or near Aldersgate-street, London; where he acquired a competence by industry) was born in 1710; and received his education at St. Paul's school; from whence, in 1725, he went to Bene't college, Cambridge; where he took his degree of B. A. 1728; and M. A. 1744. In 1729 he was admitted into deacon's orders, and went to officiate as curate at Codicote, a small village near Welwyn in Hertfordshire. He published, without his name, "An Answer to a scandalous Libel, intituled, The Impertinence and Imposture of Modern Antiquaries displayed, 1741;" which recommended him not only to the notice and esteem of Mr. Wise the gentleman whose cause he had so generously espoused (to whom he was at that time a perfect stranger) and so ably defended, but also of several dignified members of the Society of Antiquaries, of which

Professor Boerhaave's having retired from the fatigue to reading lectures, that he will have leisure to communicate to the world many curious things. His Chemistry is in the press, just finished, under his own directions, at Leyden, in Latin and in English. I have never heard from Mr. Halfhead. Pray my service to all friends, and believe me to be your obliged humble servant,

CROM. MORTIMER."

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he was elected a member* early in 1742. He soon distinguished himself as a very useful associate †;

* Soon after his election, he thus apologizes to Mr. Ames:

"*Codicote, May* 6, 1742. My not appearing at the Feast of our Society last Tuesday se'nnight justly claims an apology from me, more particularly as it was the first that happened since I have had the *honour* (I will call it) to be a member. I fully designed myself the pleasure of being there; but the disorder I complained of at your house increased so much that it confined me all that day; and, finding some relief the Wednesday, I very fortunately made a shift to get hither, where my illness still grew worse, and terminated in a fever; which luckily discharging itself in a rash, by the help of a skilful physician, saved my life. I am not yet got out of his discipline, nor my confinement; but propose going out to-morrow. Nothing but such a misfortune as would not be controuled should have kept me from being with you; for I do, with the greatest sincerity, assure you, that I account it one of the happiest circumstances of my life, that I am a member of so worthy, so improving, so amicable a Society; and am only sorry that it is not more in my power to be useful to the laudable design of its institution. I should take it as a favour if you in a few words would express to Mr. Folkes my concern that I could not wait on him. My most sincere and hearty respects wait on Mr. Holmes, and wishes for the continuance of his health and yours. GEO. NORTH."

† In 1743 he addressed the following letter to Dr. Ducarel:

"SIR, *Codicote, April* 9, 1743.

"It is so long since I had the pleasure of a line from you, that, had not the former proofs of your friendship assured me of the contrary, I should almost be tempted to think you could forget me. The sickly state which we hear the City is in would not let me any longer forbear writing to know of your health, and of all friends at the Mitre: what has been done and shewn there. I received Mr. Wise's present, one of each of his pamphlets; and sent him a letter of thanks, the third of last month, in which were some particulars that made me expect an answer from him. But, not having yet received any, permit me to beg it of you as a favour, when you write to him, or have any other opportunity, to enquire if he received mine. Little company and cold piercing weather keep me in a dull state of inactivity, from which I long for a relief by a journey to London; which, if the weather and the health of the town mend, will, I hope, be about or before May-day. I have got Dr. Stukeley's account of Royston Cell; which has convinced me of nothing else but that there is *enthusiasm* in every thing, as well as in Religion. The Beauchamp's arms, which he discovers, is absolutely imaginary, no ways like the figure on the wall. He had better have made it Dame Rowe's arms, and that would have served to confirm the whole story. But the misfortune is, it is questionable, or rather plain that there were no such distinctions or coats of arms in being at that time. GEO. NORTH."

"SIR,

and drew up, in 1742, a catalogue of the Earl of Oxford's coins, for the public sale of them."

"SIR, *Codicote, March* 21, 1743-4.

"Some time ago I mentioned my desire of getting a specimen of all the hands from the Conquest, as thinking them no improper part of an Antiquary's collection, and being equally amusing and instructive. I lately procured, all together, fair specimens, beginning with Henry III. to Queen Elizabeth inclusive; as likewise an older, exceeding fair, very near the Conquest. In the same parcels are four great seals; viz. Henry VIII. Edward VI. Q. Elizabeth, and James I. The writing which has Henry's great seal annexed has a particular in it, which possibly may be acceptable to our common worthy friend Mr. Vertue, who is getting all the *notitiæ* he can concerning antient London. It is a confirmation of a grant from Henry earl of Northumberland to Lawrence Warren of the *custody and keepyng of my mansion place or house within Aldersgate in London, with the yearly fee of* 3*l*. 6*s*. 8*d*. As the place where it stood is to me unknown, who was born in the neighbourhood, it may possibly be new; or else I shall be informed by Mr. Vertue. The instrument to which Edward the Sixth's great seal is affixed is dated the 3d day of March, the 7th year of his reign. It is a commission to several persons (named before in a like former commission) to view all the goods, plate, jewels, bells, and ornaments, belonging to any church, chapel, guild, brotherhood, fraternity, or company, within the county of Hertford, charging them *(inter multa alia)* to leave in every cathedral or collegiate church one or two chalices only of silver, at their discretion; in every smaller parish but one chalice of silver; and also to sell, to our use, by weight, all parcels or pieces of metal, except the metal of the Great Bell and Saint Bell in the said churches. How scandalously sacrilegious such proceedings were I need not remark, though the commission says it *redounds to God's glory, and our* (the King's) *honour*. But I cannot dismiss it without remarking the destructive consequence (though designed I believe) to the knowledge of Antiquity; for, as the clause requiring them to sell all pieces of metal is general and unlimited, it not only took away all the old bells, but occasioned the pulling up and taking away all the monumental brasses; which has been of irreparable loss in the study of Antiquity. This horrid practice, to which the aforesaid commission gave a rise and sanction, continued in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, and was so notorious that she issued a proclamation to forbid *such slanderous desolations*, as she calls them. The whole proclamation may be read in Fuller's Church History, cent. 16, book 9, p. 66. I fear your patience begins to be tired. As but little either for improvement or amusement offers in the country, it makes us more prolix when we write to our learned friends at London. I am so impatient to see Mr. Folkes's Tables, that I intreat the favour of you, if they come out, to get me a copy. G. NORTH."

He

He was presented in 1743 to the vicarage of Welwyn in Hertfordshire; and in 1744 appointed chaplain to Lord Cathcart. In the same year he took his degree of M. A.; and drew up a Catalogue of Mr. West's series of Saxon coins, intending a prefatory account of them; and a Catalogue of Dr. Ducarel's English Coins *.

* On these and other subjects of antiquarian literature he wrote the following letters to Dr. Ducarel:

"SIR, *Codicote, August* 5, 1744.

"Nothing could be more obliging or more acceptable than your kind letter of Wednesday last. My health you so kindly enquire after is, thank God, good at present. I have taken my master's degree, and got a qualification of chaplain to Lord Cathcart, who went the next day he gave it me to Flanders. I therefore shall not enter it till he returns, or I should want it in the mean time. I congratulate you on your year of silence being expired, and wish you great plenty of *she-lions* [shillings]. Your most friendly invitation, because you cannot be a visitor, I intend to pleasure myself in accepting, and waiting on you next week. I cannot forbear informing you that I had very ill luck at Cambridge as an Antiquary; for Dr. *Parris* †, the public librarian, was at London, and had the key of the cabinet of coins, so that I could not see them. I was not quite idle, for I saw what are in Trinity and St. John's library, and commenced acquaintance with a most valuable man, Mr. Mason, of Trinity, the Woodwardian professor, a general good scholar and excellent Antiquary; through whose kindness I not only saw those in Trinity library, but have likewise taken impressions of several. I met there with a groat of Henry VII. with the side-face and numerals VII. which gave me great pleasure, as having the mint-mark, a dog's head, directly the same as in a groat I have of those commonly called Henry VI. with the closed arch crown, and which I always said were truly of Henry VII. of which this is to me a direct proof, especially as a dog was supporter to that King's arms. I have heard the same of Dr. Grey's Hudibras as you mentioned, though he had the assistance of so many gentlemen of learning, among whom, Nic Cholwell informs me, the worthy Dr. Ducarel was one. G. NORTH."

"SIR, *Codicote, Nov.* 1, 1744.

"Having finished Mr. West's Catalogue of his Saxon Coins, I have sent it to you to look over. I believe you will perceive it has cost me infinite pains, so that I began to be weary at last, though I had set my heart very much on it to do it as complete as possible. The remarks added you will find to be quite new.

† Francis-Sawyer Parris, of Sidney Sussex college, Cambridge; B. A. 1723; M. A. 1728; B. D. 1735; D. D. 1747. He was Principal Librarian; and in 1746 Master of his College. He died May 1, 176[illegible], and was buried in the College chapel. He bequeathed to the College his large and valuable library, with the sum of 600*l.*

The

On a visit to Cambridge in 1747, he met with a typographical curiosity in Bene't college, which

The spare leaves at the beginning I shall fill up with a prefatory discourse concerning Saxon money in general. I never shall attempt such a tedious task again, unless to keep my promise to you; for I shall grudge no pains to do as much as I can the same way for you, to whom I owe so many obliging favours.

G. NORTH."

"SIR, *Codicote July* 15, 1745.

"Mr. Folkes's Table (as he too modestly calls it) I received last Saturday se'nnight; and have not yet read it quite through. What I have perused fully answers my expectations of the work of a gentleman who is beyond all comparison the most perfect master of the subject. The MS. you mention of Lord Stamford's coins cannot fail of being very curious and instructing. I please myself with the thoughts of seeing it when next in town. As to your query concerning Mr. Folkes's plates, I do not remember to have seen any of silver coins, except of the two first Williams. He was pleased to give me two of them; and Mr. West seized upon one immediately; but I intend to ask for as many more. The remarkable coin you mention in the Bodley Library I saw last Thursday was a month. The meaning of the inscription I am a perfect stranger to; but made this material observation, which Mr. Wise said was quite new, and concurred in; *i. e.* that there are very evident marks of other letters in the circle of the legend; which letters seem to have been Old English, as the *E* upon the reverse, near the mast of the ship; it being an angel, and not a noble, as you call it by mistake. The letters of the present inscription are modern Roman, and not used on any English or other coin, as I know of, in the age that piece belongs to, it being pretty plainly an angel of Edward IV. The difference of the letters on the usual letter-circle from the *E* on the reverse was no less a surprize to me than the unknown words so often repeated; which difference occasioned my nearer inspection. 'Tis my notion that the inscription is only a fraud, designed on purpose to puzzle. I shall hardly be of another opinion till the appearance of the old letters, and the meaning of the new ones, are beyond exception explained and accounted for. I cannot, sir, forget my promise of coming to town next month, to make a catalogue of your English coins; and give me leave to assure you I shall neither desire nor accept of any other requital for that, nor any thing else in my power, than a continuance of that friendship you have hitherto been pleased to favour me with. I found so many notitiæ of records relating to the coins in Dugdale's MSS. in the Museum at Oxford as surprized me; which will I believe greatly add to the little work I have in hand. I received an abundance of civilities from Mr. Wise, and great pleasure in his conversation, the few days I was at Oxford, and happened to meet with Mr. Lyttelton there.

GEO. NORTH."

"SIR,

he describes in a letter to Mr. Ames, which shall be preserved below *.

" Sir, *Codicote, Aug.* 13, 1745.

" Last week I was at Cambridge, and discovered in Bene't college library, the day of my coming away, a tract of 2 folio pages, thick wrote, entitled, *De ponderibus et mensuris diversarum rerum* in Edward I's time, which would have been a noble addition to the plate of weights and measures engraved by the Society, being more copious than that, and including in it every thing that was then sold. I saw the University coins; of which more when I have the pleasure of seeing you. Geo. North."

* " Dear Sir, *Bene't College, April* 21, 1747.

" I should have been very glad could you have recovered my letter, in which were the memorandums concerning the papers relating to Printing, in Bene't-college library, because then I might possibly have had the pleasure of serving you. But, even without any such assistance, I have discovered a book, hitherto unknown and unheard-of by me, which puts back the use of Printing at Cambridge long before Serbert's or Sebroch's time. The title is, *Fratris Laurentii Gulielmi de Saona Nova Rhetorica.* It is in folio, without the number of pages, without any catch-words or signatures: the types very much like Caxton's, or rather (as far as my memory can be trusted to) exactly like those of the book printed at Cologne in 1464, which you shewed me, and from which Caxton made a translation. At the end are these words: " Compilatum autem fuit hoc opus in almâ Universitate Cantabrigiæ, anno D'ni 1418, die et 6 Julii, quo die festum Sanctæ Marthæ recolitur, sub protectione serenissimi regis Anglorum Edwardi quarti." I have no doubt with myself of its being printed here, according to the date. Every particular is to me a proof. I will soon send you a fuller account and a correct specimen of the letter. The post is now going out, therefore can only desire to let me know if I can any ways promote your design in your History of Printing while I am here, where I design to continue till this day se'nnight. If this discovery proves new to you, I must bespeak its being inserted in your Book, that this University may not for the future be so triumphed over by her sister Oxford, on the false notion of being so very late before she had the useful art of Printing."

To this, and another letter on the same subject, Mr. Ames gave the following answer:

" To the Rev. Mr. George North, at Codicote, near Welwyn.

" Dear Sir, *London, 3d May,* 1748.

" I am exceedingly obliged to you for the favour of both your letters, and your endeavours to serve me in my pleasant work of the History of English Printing. Though I have been long about it, yet I am not fatigued or weary. At first reading of your letters, I rejoiced to find so early a specimen of Printing at Cambridge as 1418; but, after remembering I had got such a title

In 1748 and 1749 he continued his correspondence with Dr. Ducarel*; and in the spring of 1750

title down somewhere, I at last found I had transcribed from Dr. Mead a book which I conceive the same; therefore desire you would be more critical about it. It runs in the same words; only the size is different. Thus:

"Rhetorica nova Fratris Laurentii Gulielmi de Saonâ ordinis minorum. Compilatum autem fuit hoc opus in Almâ Vniversitate Cantabrigie, anno Domini 1418, die 6 Julii. Quo die festum Sancte Marthe recolitur. sub protectione serenissimi Regis Anglorum Edwardi quarti. Impresum fuit hoc presens opus Rhetoricæ facultatis apud villam Sancti Albani anno Domini M'CCCC'LXXX†."

It is divided into three parts, or heads, as a quarto, and printed in red and black ink, as you represent; only I fear your's wants the latter end; so I am yet in doubt what to do, till I have the favour of another from you. If it should be a Cambridge book, the same would be more admirable. But I meet with many things I want to be better informed of, and should be very thankful for information; as the ceasing of the Press at

Oxford	from 1519	to the year	1585
Cambridge	1521	- - -	1524
St. Alban's	1481	- - -	1536
Tavistock	1525	- - -	1534
Scotland -	1510	- - -	1540

I can hear of no Books printed between these years. I desire my best respects to be returned to the Rev. Mr. Masters, whose receipt I have signed, and sent inclosed to you, having by me no other frank than this; and will thankfully send you down some proposals at another opportunity. I am now waiting for the sheet K of my History of Printing from the press; and have discovered about 60 Books printed by Caxton; which I have been more particular in, because of their scarceness. Upon the whole, I please myself, it will be the best Catalogue of Old English Books that ever appeared. I am, good Sir,

Your sincere friend and humble servant, J. AMES."

* "SIR, *Codicote, Jan.* 17, 1748-9.

"I received the two books, *Nicolson* and *Sharp*, very safe, and will take effectual care that they shall be returned to you as unhurt. As to what you mention of a plumb-pudding stone, I wish I could say positively when it may be in my power to oblige you: for the case is this: we have none in our neighbourhood whose grit or cement is hard enough to cut. What I have had were brought from the other side of the country, by a man who used to search for them to carry to London. The chief place for finding them is at Market-street, not far from Dunstable. As soon as my

† This Work appears to have been originally compiled in 1418; to have been first printed at Cambridge, in folio, 1478; and again, at St. Alban's, in 1480. - See Herbert's Ames, vol. III. pp. 1410, 1430.

pro-

made a tour into the West; and on his return communicated very freely to Dr. Ducarel * his ideas of

procurer calls, or I can by any enquiry find where to send to him, you may depend on more than one as good as can be found.

"I am extremely concerned and affected by the death of worthy Mr. Fairfax, in whom I always found a sincere cordial friend; no man more obliging, and his kindness to me in every possible respect exceeding his professions. He has left few behind who are endowed with so large a share of the *prisca fides*, united with the most obliging condescension of a fine gentleman. The loss of him is great: his memory must survive with honour as long as any survive who had the happiness of knowing him. The last time I saw him I dined and spent the afternoon with him, and never saw him look better or more cheerful; so that I had little thought of never seeing him more. What was his employ when disengaged from the necessary business of his situation may be easily guessed, by the books then lying on his table: "The whole Duty of Man," "Reading's Life of Christ," and a "Discourse on Death," with "Mons. Paschal's Thoughts." In short, I always considered him as a great and bright example; and apprehend every day's future experience will tend to fix that notion in me.

G. NORTH."

* To whom the seven following Letters are addressed.

"DEAR SIR, *Codicote, May* 24, 1750.

"Yours of the first of this month I found at my house on my return from the West, whither I imagine you must have forgot my design of going, and your desiring me to call on Mr. Kingston at Dorchester; when you directed your letter to Codicote. I set out from London on my return last Saturday.

"I attended the Society this day se'nnight, and found Theobald and Mortimer, who *now* constantly attend, pushing on the scheme of Incorporation; and that night the Report of a Committee was given in, *that an Incorporation was practicable and prudent;* and there only seems to be considered the necessary steps, and the ways and means for the expence, which was reported to be, as to the Charter only, near 300*l.* I observed some mean artifice used in the conduct of it; for my friend Mr. New, who never heard of the affair till that evening, and is much against it, was nominated as one of the Committee, and never informed of it. The whole appears to me a job; and, depend on it, will end in swallowing up the annual income, however increased, in the maintenance of the Officers, who lie ready *in petto.* I heartily wish I was of weight and consequence enough to stop this scheme, till there was a present possession, or evident certainty, of some annual endowment to support the necessary charges. The Society for encouraging Learning may, I think, serve as a recent and terrifying monument of the fatal effects of such designs as seem to be driving on among us; wherein, it is well known, the Projector of it lived well on the contributions, and

the proceedings respecting a Charter, then in agitation at the Society of Antiquaries.

starved the institution and the common stock. But, on the whole, I doubt, our affairs are gone too far to be recalled or prevented, unless by some unforeseen irremoveable obstacle. I therefore recall myself from so disagreeable a subject, to thank you for the pleasure I had through you in the conversation of Mr. Kingston of Dorchester, whom I found an intelligent and courteous man. My journey upon the whole was exceeding pleasant and amusing, free from all ill accidents, and has contributed greatly to my health. I saw all antiquities about Dorchester; and saw Wilton, Stonehenge, and the fine house of Mr. Dodington at Eastbury. You have greatly alarmed my curiosity by mentioning in your letter a coin of Henry III. with *Villa Berewici* on the reverse; which I never saw or heard of, and informs us of what I cannot find in our Histories, that Berwick was in the English possession in that reign. As I believe it will be seven months before I shall be in London, I should esteem it a high favour, would you inclose that particular piece in any book or pamphlet, that I might see it here; and the next return of the Hitchin waggoner should re-convey both of them to you safe, with thanks. Mr. Kingston greatly desired an impression of a coin I have, minted at Dorchester, in which I cannot oblige him without your assistance of a little silver-foil to take it off, which may accompany your coin. If your business will allow you constantly to attend our weekly meetings (which I earnestly wish you would) I am persuaded you will be of service, and will not grudge your labour. Our brother New, of Shire-lane, is greatly of the same sentiments as myself; and on a little discourse you will find him to be, what I have fully experienced, a most friendly valuable man, of great integrity and frankness, and has the good of the Society, of which he is an old member, greatly at heart. I heartily wish you health in this sickly season, so fatal to the gentlemen of the Law; and am, sir, &c. G. North."

"Dear Sir, *Codicote, Aug.* 18, 1750.

"You have my hearty thanks for your very kind remembrance of me by letter dated this day se'nnight. The assurance that all the ill-natured reports concerning Dr. Mead are false, gives me no small satisfaction, not only on account of the personal favours I have received from him, but I always esteemed him one of the greatest encouragers of Learning, and an ornament to his country. The same concern for the loss of the Duke of Richmond is expressed here in the country, by all who knew any thing of his person or character, as you inform me there is in town. I should be glad to hear who is designed or talked of to succeed him as our President. It greatly rejoices me to hear that the scheme of the Cabal who pushed for a Charter is so likely to come to nothing, because I cannot foresee, in our present circumstances, what advantage is likely to accrue to the Society by it.

A short time before this (in 1747), he had thoughts of obtaining the rectory of Wormley;

it. I am much more surprized that no objection was made at the first to engraving the warrant for King Charles's execution, than I am to hear that exceptions are now made; for I never yet heard the most zealous defenders of the beginning of the Civil War aim at vindicating the King's murder, which must ever be an indelible blot in our annals, and therefore rather to be buried, if possible, in oblivion, than the remembrance refreshed and transmitted by the labour and expence of a public Society. These are my sentiments of that particular; and therefore I could wish the plate was defaced, and the copies all without exception burnt. The "History of Bene't College," I lately heard, is going on: but the necessary avocations of the author as College bursar, and the preparing the whole of his accompts for the next audit, which is his last, and the business of choosing a new Master lately, have, I am informed, much retarded the work. The arms of all the Masters are engraved, and proofs of them are in my hands. As to my design which you inquire after, I can only answer, that I have not enjoyed three days of good health for much above a year, and the languor which continual weakness and pain has occasioned leaves little ability, or even inclination, to get to the press; even this moment tormented with rheumatism and gravel, which succeeded the cessation of my piles, besides an almost daily chilliness and stagnation for a while, which too much threatens an epilepsy. It is uncertain when I shall come to town; but, whenever it is, I will not fail to wait on you. I cannot conclude without adding a query concerning what Mr. Vertue long since informed me; viz. that a Dutch gentleman of your acquaintance, who saw Stonehenge, should say he had seen an exact similar monument in some part of Frieseland, and that an account was wrote of it by one *Picart*: which Book was in his possession. Be pleased to inform me in your next of as many particulars concerning this, especially the Book, as you can recollect; for like monuments were most probably the works of the same hands: and why may not such a Book be procured? and if so, why may not new light and discoveries be gained? Dr. Stukeley's Book appears to me more valuable for its draughts and cuts, than for its arguments; and what greatly shakes his notion is, that such monuments now exist where the Druids were never pretended to be; consequently could not be the architects of them; and therefore probable made none of them—*sed de his hactenùs in præsenti.* G. NORTH."

"DEAR SIR, *Oct.* 2, 1750.

"Your obliging kindness in favouring me with a second letter, this moment received, is a just reproof for my not answering your former of Sept. 4. The true reason of my delay was, a strong desire to send you something concerning Fonts, which I find myself little able to do: for, as historical authorities, and not invention, must furnish out materials upon such questions,

and actually entered a *caveat* against the presentation of the then patron, Abraham Hume, esq.

the want of a good Collection of Books to consult and assist must occasion my answer being very imperfect: but such as it is you will find on the other side. I heartily wish that, in returning by way of Royston, Mr. Gale and you would have made this your way; viz. through Baldock, Stevenage, and my village; which would not have exceeded the common road through Ware by more than five measured miles.' I thank you for your enquiry with our brother Vertue concerning the Dutch Book relating to a monument abroad like our Stonehenge. What information he could give me I had *per* letter, about five years ago. Your mentioning it (as Mr. Vertue before did) as being in Friezeland, from the authority of a Dutch gentleman whose estate lay near it, gives me a strong suspicion that there are more than one of this kind in those parts; for what *Picart* wrote upon is in *Overyssel*, in that part of it called *Drenthe*, and near *Coewerden*; for which please to consult your maps. Now we are on this subject, give me leave to beg of you to enquire among your literary acquaintance for "Nic. Schatenii Historia Westfaliæ Neuhasii 1690," folio; which I must endeavour to borrow, as I cannot get it at any bookseller's. This likewise contains an account of several such monuments; and on that account I greatly long to peruse it. I expect soon to receive Picart's Book; but let this be *inter nos*. The Cell at Royston I went to see as soon as discovered, at the desire of the Society, as signified *per* letter received from yourself. A few days after Dr. Knight called on me, and in a discourse desired my opinion: which was exactly what I find is yours; and the Doctor entirely approved of it. As to the discovery you mention of some Saxon buildings, I cannot but have great doubts about them, because I apprehend they did not build with materials durable enough to last to this time. The only undoubted remain that I know we have of their building is Edward the Confessor's chapel at Islip (of which see Hearne's "Discourses of Antiquaries," preface, p. 90); and I greatly query whether that was not built after that King had been in Normandy, and learned something of the manner of building there. Yet still I am exceedingly pleased with these enquiries, and that a person of so much leisure, ability, and fortune as Dean Littelton, is so curious about the remains of the Saxons; for there is nothing I so much wish, and so little expect, to see, as a *Britannia Saxonica*, or an Account of the Manners, Learning, Arts, and Remains, of the Saxons; a work greatly wanted, very copious, and, I think, hitherto unattempted. The prints you ask for of Henry the Third's coins I cannot help you to, having lost the only ones I had of the last impression; but Mr. Vertue doubtless can and will."

"*Oct.* 4. While I was writing, a relation's coming interrupted me; and his continuance here gave me no liberty of attending to finish it till this time; and, upon reconsidering the subject of Fonts, I am really ashamed of the little pittance which my promise

(father of the present baronet), as appears by a letter from him to Bishop Gibson, possessed by

promise obliges me to send you upon that subject. I hope to be in town soon, and am desirous to order my time so as to come when the Society meets: of which please to favour me with a line; as likewise who is talked of for President. The poverty of my blood and constitution makes the cold weather we have had these three days almost insupportable to me; but I hope to be better reconciled to it, and then design to wait on you at Doctors' Commons. I am, Sir, &c. GEO. NORTH.

"The words *Baptisterium* and *Fons* do, I conceive, plainly point out to us the places of baptizing in the most early ages of Christianity; the first converts, as our Saviour himself was, being baptised in Fountains or Rivers. And this continued in some country-places even so low as the end of the fifth century; as I find by Cassiodorus's account of the Fons Marcilianus in Lucania. When Christianity began to spread in great cities, as at Rome, and persecution against its converts began to rage, they baptized privately, in the Baths; the word *Baptisterium* plainly speaking it, according to the original meaning: for which see Pliny's Epistle to Gallus, lib. II. ep. xvii. p. 52, edit. Elz.; and lib. V. ep. vi. p. 127, ejusd. edit.—In the succeeding ages, when Christianity began to be settled, the words *Fontes* and *Baptisteria* assumed a secondary meaning, an ecclesiastical sense. The *Baptisteria* then were buildings erected on purpose for publicly baptizing converts at the time of the great festivals, which still bore in their make and form, I apprehend, a resemblance to what the word signified in its primary meaning; which, not to aim at multiplying proofs, will appear plain by one authority, of Anastasius Bibliothecarius, in his Life of Pope Leo the Third, about the year 800. *A fundamentis Baptisteria in rotundum amplâ largitate constituens—atque sacram fontem in medio largiori spatio fundavit.* In the Council of Braccara in Spain, A. D. 569, one of the Canons was, *non liceat Presbytero prius Episcopo introire in Baptisterium.* Decret. p. 3. dist. 4. c. 124.—Those buildings were then distinct and often remote from the church; for Bede, speaking of the first conversion of Northumbrians and inhabitants of Yorkshire, tells us they were baptized in the river Swale —*nondum enim Oratoria vel Baptisteria in ipso exordio ibi nascentis Ecclesiæ ædificari poterant.* Lib. II. c. 14.—At first these *Baptisteria* were only in cities where the Bishop resided; but as soon as Parochial Rural Churches began any where to be built by the Lords of the Demesne, they began to baptize likewise (but with the consent of the Bishop) in these Rural Churches; but for a long while, in Mother Churches only (in distinction to what were called Chapels or Oratories); to which, on that account, all the tithes of the district were to be paid, as was provided by a Canon, under pain of excommunication, that no man should *tenere aut extra Ecclesiam Baptismalem dare decimas et ob[illegible] Ecclesiæ.* Then, I apprehend, Baptisteries, or separate buildings, began to be disused; and such Fonts as we still retain were introduced.

Mr. Gough. The vacancy was occasioned by the death of Mr. Chadwick, who had held the rectory

troduced. And this in some places so early as the time of Gregory, who was made Bishop of Tours in 574. For he tells us the Fonts were in his time got into the entrance of the Churches. The original buildings of our first Rural Churches have no where in this kingdom survived till now; and therefore we cannot tell where or how the Fonts, when first introduced, stood; or after what manner, or in what form, they were made. The Church of Wilton, though of King Alfred's foundation, was only of wood, till re-built of stone, in 1065, by Edgith, wife of the Confessor. And, as the Normans brought in the art and custom of building with stone, doubtless what few Rural Churches were built before the Conquest (for very seldom mention of any *Presbyteri* occur in the account of parishes in Domesday) were soon re-built in a better manner. But time, casualties, or the desolations of King Stephen and Henry the Third's reigns, have destroyed all, a very few excepted, of the first Stone Churches; so that I never yet saw any more antient than the time of Edward I. or the latter end of his Father's reign; and even of these there are but few survivors, for the common run of Churches are scarce older than Henry the Sixth's reign; into which several much older grave-stones have been evidently removed from the former fabricks. Under these mutations, it is not to be expected that many old Fonts remain, unless where the elegancy of the workmanship saved and replaced any of them; and therefore it is for the most part absolutely impossible to say which is the oldest, the Church or the Font. The Baptistery or Font you mention I cannot pretend to assign the age of, nor of the Church. In it I suppose, you observed a monument of the Lord Wenlock, killed at the battle of Tewksbury, A. D. 1471; who began a fine brick building, about a mile from Luton, called *Someries*; whose ruins (the finest piece of brick-work I ever saw) was lately, with much labour, destroyed by Sir John Napier."

"DEAR SIR, *Codicote, Oct.* 11, 1750.

"It is no small pleasure to me to find that what I sent you concerning the Baptisteries, &c. has been esteemed worthy so kind acceptance. It was the little all which my *curta Supellex librorum* would afford. Had I more room to have gleaned in, the bundle would have been bigger. Of all literary pursuits I could not, in one material point, have been more unlucky in my natural bent, than in my inclination to Antiquities; which most, of all others, requires an advantageous situation. Whereas my endeavours are little better than trying to make brick without straw; or, when I have searched my little round, I get but stubble instead of straw. What you mention from Dr. Stukeley gives me great pleasure, as leading to a discovery I think (in which I make no doubt the Doctor's sagacity has been before-hand with me) concerning the Church and Baptistery of Godmundon; which,

50 years, and was succeeded by Mr. Willis, who continued rector till 1783.

which, beyond all doubt, is a corrupt pronunciation of *Godmundham*, or, as the Saxons write it, *Godmundingham;* where, as Bede tells us, lib. II. c. 13, ad imum, there was a famous Heathen Temple; which was destroyed by Coifi, the high-priest of it, upon his conversion to Christianity by Paulinus in 525. Now, as Paulinus most certainly acted according to those general rules or canons which Pope Gregory gave to Austin on his first preaching here; it is from thence extremely probable that the present Church at Godmundham was built in that very age. As to the Temples, they were directed (lib. I. c. 30) not to pull them down, but consecrate them to the service of God; the reason *ut gens ipsa —ad loca, quæ consuevit, familiarius concurrat.* As Coifi had burnt the Temple at Godmundham, Paulinus could not act according to the spirit and design of Gregory's directions, any otherwise than by immediately building on the same spot a Church. And that the present Church was built at that time, or near it, seems highly probable, by comparing the situation of the Baptistery with what I mentioned in my last from Gregory Turonensis. I don't doubt but that Dr. Lyttelton's searches and Mr. Lethieullier's curious drawing will soon produce many discoveries hitherto little thought of: I cannot but wish that those Gentlemen would, or our Society, for the instruction of their less-knowing brethren, publish some specimens of as many different and undoubted Saxon monuments as can be collected; viz. of camps and buildings, of as many kinds as possible; for with such directions many persons would throw in some additional observations. I speak for my own part; for I own I do not yet, with all my enquiries, for a certainty, know how to distinguish a camp of the Saxons. The Saxon characters my worthy neighbour Mr. Cholwell speaks of in Chivesfield church, I can with some certainty say, are only Old English.

ROBERD : DE GRAVELE GIST : IS

In the NE. part of the burying-place

adjoining to the chancel in Watton church

Hertfordshire.

This inscription, as pointed on the stone, I read thus:

"Sire Roberd : de Gravele gist : issuy : Deu : pur samort : de salme : face mercy."

Neither Sir Henry Chauncy nor Salmon, who were both all over the Church for monuments, take any notice of it. It is one

By one of his letters, in August 1750, it appears that "he had not enjoyed three days of good health

one of those sort of grave-stones which I take to be the oldest of any we have. The age of this I have been able, by mere accident, to determine; for, looking over the Indexes in the Tower, I found this entry:

"Roberto de Gravela libera Warrenna in Watton."

Charter Roll, 20th Edward I. viz. 1291.

I have been at Little Ayot church lately, and will pay it another visit. It will not be pulled down till the new one is finished; and church-work, you know, is to a proverb slow.

Mr. Cole of King's college, who is more conversant with tomb-stones than any man I know, never found one older than Edward II. which is in Stapleford church in Cambridgeshire. What you write of Mr. Frederick's mind, from Mr. Lethieullier's mouth, obliges me to desire you earnestly to consider what I now write on that head, and to make the more advantageous use of it in my behalf, as opportunities may offer. My late worthy friend Mr. Fairfax wrote to me to desire I would come to town as soon as I could, and call on him. When I came he informed me that Mr. Frederick (who once met me there by Mr. Fairfax's appointment) desired I would take his papers concerning Aquitain coins, and digest and fit them for the press. Upon this I waited on Mr. Frederick, and we talked over the affair; who earnestly pressed it, but was desirous my own piece on Henry the Third's Coins should first be published. Upon this I set about to finish it; till the unfortunate affair of Wormley happened (in which Mr. Frederick shewed himself my warm friend), which gave near two years' delay to my work; during which time a brother of the Society, who shall be nameless, came and told me that Mr. Frederick had determined Mr. Folkes should have the management of them; and had put them into his hands for that purpose. This report quite damped my pleasing expectations, and was the sole reason of my not waiting on him since; which neglect upon any other account must be in me quite unpardonable. This is the true state of my situation as to Mr. Frederick, which I intreat of you to represent in its true just light, that my hopes may revive of having that agreeable employ. I heartily wish you a good journey, desiring to hear from you soon, and expect you will not, as in one of your last, make an apology for the length, lest it obliges me to apologize for mine. G. North."

When you are at Oxford, I desire you to present my most sincere and respectful compliments to Mr. Wise; and to get of him, if any are left, both his Tracts concerning the White Horse; which I insist being paid for, as I am to be paid for them myself.

"Dear Sir, *Codicote, Feb.* 16, 1750-1.

"I thank you for your last obliging letter; and should have been glad to have been able to come to town before Dean Lyttelton left it, to have seen his fine drawings, and to have served you in your

for much above a year; and was then labouring under several bodily complaints, and apprehensive

your coins; but my health mends very slowly, and am as yet afraid to travel. The observation in a former of the town of Saxumhusen in Friezeland I thank you for; but knew it before; and, on the whole, am abundantly satisfied that our Saxon ancestors sailed from those parts, and left those monuments behind them there so much talked of between us, and so similar to *Stonehenge*. I wish it was possible to get that very book Mr. Vertue once had, and which I am now satisfied is different from that of J. Picardt, which I have. Could the exact title be any way discovered, the book itself need not be despaired of. You will oblige me exceedingly, should Mr. Fairfax's coins be sold, by giving me the most early notice of it you can possible. The Catalogue of Lord Pembroke's busts, &c. I should gladly purchase, could I recover (as my most careful search cannot as yet) a Catalogue I once had of his pictures, drawn up by one Signor Gambarini of Lucca, being very agreeable to bind together. Whenever I come to town, I shall not fail of doing myself the pleasure of paying you the first visit. G. NORTH."

"DEAR SIR, *Bath, March* 21, 1750-1.

"In my passing through London for this place, I called at your house in the Commons, but had not the pleasure of finding you at home. My short stay, bad health, and bad weather, prevented my calling before, or being able to call again, as I set out betimes the next morning. Since that, I find by the public papers that the scheme of Incorporation has prevailed. As I cannot but suppose that you was at the General Meeting, you will oblige me greatly in favouring me with an account of what then passed, and what is designed to be done. What I hope did not fail of coming under consideration is this, that as there will be a succession of a Corporate body of men, who will partake of the advantages (if any) of the Incorporation, and the next generation much more than the present set can do, it therefore will be highly inequitable that all the expence attending the Incorporation should be levied upon the present members. This is not only inequitable in the nature of things, but likewise very contrary to the wisdom we observe in the great body politic, wherein it is so ordered that a great part of the burden of expences incurred for the public safety should be transmitted down and laid on posterity, who are proportionably advantaged by the present public safety. And why should not this method be observed in the case before us? Perhaps you will say it is impossible, because such a distribution of the burthen can be no otherwise made than by borrowing a good part of the money; and who will lend where there can be no deposit or mortgage to secure re-payment? I plainly see the force of the answer; and hope (but that is all I can) that our doughty Projectors foresaw it, or at least were able to give a reasonable satisfactory answer to those who might foresee and object in the manner I have.

of an epilepsy. He continued, however, as often as he was able, to indulge in literary pursuits.

have. I cannot but own it is no small concern to me to see the matter carried so far. It is hard to know the hearts of men; and though I cannot pretend to point out the utmost extent of our Projectors' designs, and am willing to hope that the good of the Society is intended, yet if there is any among them base enough to aim at it, this Incorporation may prove the means of absolutely destroying, instead of establishing or perpetuating the Society. An invidious member of the R. S. is most likely and able to effect it, out of resentment to a Society that has subsisted several years with at least an equal degree of reputation. The method, I apprehend, is obvious: let an association of such but get an Incorporation, and consequent thereto introduce all those certain expences which will be represented to be necessary to a Corporate body; and then it is almost unavoidable that we, who have no stock of money, and no estate, must soon come to nothing, or shelter ourselves under a Society long since incorporated, and in possession of both. This is not too remote as not to be feared: however, I will hope the best; yet still must declare, that I shall be very unwilling to be subjected to the disagreeable alternatives of advancing any sum for what I cannot approve, or quitting a Society whose original institution I so greatly esteem, and might otherwise on easy terms been a member (and I hope not absolutely an unuseful one) to the end of my life. Thus, Sir, you see I have given my sentiments with greater freedom than is common in the world; but I can please and pride myself that my notions and wishes are much more free from any narrow self-interest than those of them who some time ago were (and I suppose the same now) the original Projectors of this scheme. I beg the favour of hearing from you. G. North.

P. S. I particularly beg a list of the persons nominated to be the Council in the embryo Corporation."

"Dear Sir, *Oct.* 19, 1751.

"I heartily thank you, and desire my like compliment of thanks to Mr. Mores for the prints of seals; which, in my opinion, are extremely well engraved. I would not be unreasonable and importunate, especially to a stranger; but do really wish I could any way oblige Mr. Mores so far as to get another copy of them, in order to bestow them in the following manner: to keep one set entire, among my few prints; and, what I greatly wish to do, to cut out the Conventual seals, and paste them in my Tanner's Notitia, in the several places where they are treated on; which would be a valuable addition to that useful book. As to your gold coin, I am afraid I shall rob you of some degree of pleasure, in telling you that I cannot by any means imagine it to be Saxon, for variety of reasons. In the first place, we do not find mention in any Saxon Historian of any gold coins among them. There are indeed in Chartularies mention of the *Marce* and *Mancuse*, which may much better be accounted for

by

And the interesting and valuable letters which are here preserved are a sufficient proof that he

by supposing them to be what were called Bezants afterwards; and which we find under that name as early as the time of King Edgar, when Dunstan purchased the manor of Hendon with that sort of coin. I will not omit that Bede, in the eighth chapter of his third book, mentions *Aureum Numisma de Cantio, th gyldene mynet*, as King Alfred translates it; but, if you carefully read the whole passage, you cannot but observe that the whole period is in a sort of parabolic language, giving an account of a dream; and therefore is so far from proving the reality of any Saxon gold coins, that it might be spoken without any gold coins to have been *any where* coined for 500 or 1000 years before. But, even supposing it to prove the reality of gold coins then in Kent, for to that country the words will confine them, we are assured from Batteley's "Antiquitates Rutupinæ," that several gold coins of the old Gallic kings have been found there; some of which, especially the lower range but one in the left hand side of the plate, strongly resemble the type and work of your coin, as well as size. Upon comparing what specimens Batteley has given, and the several coins in the four plates following 78 in Le Blanc, I am thoroughly persuaded your coin is of Gallic original. I might add, there does not appear one Saxon letter on it; nor will the inscription by any means be wrested to the name of any king, or of any city, we know of among the Saxons. I could likewise enlarge upon the improbability from its weight not corresponding to the value of any known species of value among the Saxons. I very unwillingly differ in opinion from persons for whom I have so great esteem; but I cannot do otherwise, when not one argument appears to me to lead me to their notion. The same objections that lie against yours are equally strong (according to the description you sent me) against the coin of Mr. Sympson's. Mr. Pegge's solution of the Monogram is not unexceptionable. For my own part, I never met with such as included the word *Civitas*, together with that of the name of the place; and I cannot conceive it means *Eboraci*, because the E is in the posterior part of it. A like instance cannot, I believe, be produced. All the Saxon coins I ever saw have the king's name round the head: these have not, or we must coin new kings to make out old coins; which looks like serving an hypothesis. I have seen the coin of Wigmund in Lord Pembroke's cabinet. The work, and every circumstance, proclaim it to be a fraud. Nor is it likely that a petty king of Mercia, so inconsiderable as not to be mentioned in the Saxon Chronicon, should coin gold with such a splendid device, when the *Totius Britanniæ Monarchæ*, as several of the Saxon kings were, should coin none. The legend, *munus divinum*, in a crown or chaplet of laurel, ill suits with the learning, the taste, or the genius, of that age; and therefore I look upon that piece, together with that of Lewis Debonnaire, from which it seems to be copied,

and

was an excellent man, and a most learned Antiquary *.

and which belonged to Mr. Peirese, and is given us by Le Blanc, p. 107, to be equally counterfeits; and that those in the last Author were tooled or worked out of a gold Roman coin; the head of the first seeming to be that of Constantius; and the second that of Constantine; and that where the cross appears there was originally $\frac{\text{VOT}}{\text{XXX}}$ or $\frac{\text{VOT}}{\text{MVLT}}$ or some like common legend. Thus I have given you my sentiments very freely; but, as not in that correct order as to be fit for the inspection of any but intimate friends, I must beg that no person but Mr. Vertue (to whom I send my sincere respects) may peruse them. Some years since I wrote to Mr. Pegge, and received a most obliging answer; but, as my best endeavour could not procure what he desired, a Catalogue of Lord Oxford's Coins, I could not venture to write to him after a long intermission. I should be glad to know where he is settled, and to have my compliments presented to him, and to renew a correspondence. As you have so kindly begun an application to Dr. Paul, I should be heartily sorry to have it prove ineffectual by any omission or neglect on my part; and therefore, if you apprehend any other steps are to be taken, I trust that your friendship will inform me. Your Book of Westminster Abbey I received safe, and will return in as good order. You need not be apprehensive of any danger of miscarriage by that waggon; which is as properly to be called the Codicote as the Hitchen waggon, as it constantly stops for some hours on purpose to unload the goods and parcels to this town.

"I think I have now fully absolved your demand of a folio letter. If the contents shall any ways answer your expectation it will give me a sensible pleasure. If you know who printed Mr. Nixon's 'Marmor Estonianum' I beg you will get one for me. The price I would not have you doubt of being paid. The impression of your other coin which you sent I cannot make out; but, if you will trust me with the coin itself, under the seal of a letter, I may possibly be able to read it. You mentioned when here that Wilkins's Concilia was to be had for 25*s.* in sheets: if you can procure them for that price, let me know in your next, and I will send up the money. G. NORTH.

The legend on the reverse of your coin is somewhat different from what you make it, VIGOUNIVS. The third letter is a G, but what the whole signifies *Oedipo opus est explicare:* I confess I know not. The same form of the G is frequently in the very old Gothic-Spanish and French coins—

Scriptus est in tergo nondum finitus Orestes."

* To Mr. George Vertue.

"DEAR SIR, *Codicote, Dec.* 14, 1751.

"The notion of a late happy discovery of gold Saxon coins has so much engaged the attention of the curious, and so much pains have been taken in attempting a satisfactory explication of the legends on them, that you may possibly join in opinion with me,

In 1751 some conversation seems to have passed, between Mr. Webb and Dr. Ducarel, about appoint-

me, that it is an attempt worthy an Antiquary to ascertain the previous question, Whether they can possibly be Saxon; for, if the negative side of the question shall appear to be best supported, all the labour of unriddling the inscriptions will of course be cut short. If we may be allowed to argue in general from analogy, that the coins of all other Nations in gold and silver bear a resemblance to each other; that, however the gold and silver ones may differ in size, weight, or value; yet there is a constant sameness of manner in denoting and expressing to whom they belong.—If, I say, this general way of reasoning from analogy carries any manner of weight, we may conclude the pieces now under consideration are not of Saxon original. The coining of money was always designed, not merely for the utility of the Subject, but as much likewise for the honour of the Prince, by spreading abroad and perpetuating his name to posterity. The last of these designs has been manifested by the early coining in almost every reign; insomuch that frequently, for expedition's sake, one part, or perhaps the whole die (except the letter part, which always had different puncheons) of a preceding king has been used by his successor; of which I could give some instances among the Saxon monarchs, as well as several since the Norman Conquest. Agreeable to this design the silver and copper Saxon coins all carry the name of the kings upon them; and why this method, so uniformly observed on the pennies and stycas, should not be followed in the more precious metal, no argument can be alledged; and that the legend on either of these supposed Saxon gold coins will form the name of any of the Saxon kings, is not so much as pretended. But we shall leave this general way of reasoning, to come to a close argument, which we apprehend will appear perfectly decisive. The only piece of gold we meet with in the Saxon Historians is the Mancus or Mancuse. If, therefore, it shall be proved that these new-discovered pieces cannot be the coin so called, the question is decided. The value of the Mancus, Ælfric at the end of his Saxon Grammar describes thus, *thrittig penega ænne Mancus*; that is, a Mancus was (in value) thirty pence. The data therefore for the solution of the question are these, the valuation of the Mancus, the weight of the Saxon penny, and the proportion of the value of gold and silver in those times. The weight of the Saxon penny, from many trials, and all circumstances, appears to be the same as of our most antient English money; viz. the twentieth part of the ounce of the pound Tower, which was equal to 11 oz. 5 dwt. Troy; and which continued in coinage from time immemorial, most probably from the Saxon time, till the 18th year of Henry VIII. 1526; according to which, the penny-weight, or weight of a penny, was 22½ grains. I have weighed numbers of them, some as perfect and fair to the eye as when first coined, and none of them would come up fully to that weight. The next point is, what proportion

ing another secretary to the Society, in his favour; but it came to nothing; and Dr. Morell first, in 1768, had a salary as assistant secretary.

tion did the value of gold to silver bear in those times. My most diligent searches could never discover any account of this kind more antient than the time of King Henry I. in whose great Roll, commonly called *Rotulus quinti Regis Stephani* are some entries, which will give us information. The beginning of this reign was but 34 years from the period of the Saxon government; and as no new discovery happened in the space to make any alterations in the proportion, we will suppose (till the supposition can be invalidated by a better account) that the proportion of the value was for some centuries before as it was in this King's reign, and long after. The entries are as follow: *Corvesarii de Oxenefordâ reddunt in Thesauro* XXX *solidos pro* II *unciis Auri;* which shews every ounce of gold was valued at 15 shillings. Now, as every penny was a penny-weight, or the twentieth part of an ounce, and as there are 9 times 20 pence in 15 shillings, consequently gold must be to silver as 9 to 1. —*Telarii de Oxeneford reddunt compotum de unâ Marcâ Auri pro gilda sua. In Thesauro* VI *Libr. pro* I *Marca Auri.*—*Abbas de Torneia liberavit* IX *Marcas Argenti pro unâ Marcâ Auri.* The first of these, which mentions 6 pounds of silver for a mark of gold, proves the same value and proportion of gold as before; for at 15 shillings an ounce silver, there must be 8 ounces of silver for a mark of gold (being in weight the same as silver); and as 6 pounds, when weight and tale were the same, is just 9 times 13*s.* 4*d.* it plainly proves the value of gold to be 9 times that of silver: which is expressed in direct terms in the last entry. Having gone thus far by demonstration, the conclusion is clear and undeniable from the premises, that if gold was to silver as 9 to 1, the weight of the Mancus must be the 9th part of the weight of 30*d.* pence silver; or, which is all one, the 9th part of an ounce and half Saxon or Tower, each ounce 450 grains Troy; that is, $\frac{9}{450 \div 225} = \frac{9}{675} = 75$ grains = 3 dwt. 3 gr. I cannot, on the coolest consideration, foresee what exceptions can be made to the several parts of this argument; and if it holds good, the undeniable consequence is, that the two gold coins under consideration cannot possibly be Saxon. That of Dr. Ducarel weighs but 19½ grains, so that it wants 3 grains, at present, of being worth 9*d.* in silver coins of that time. Supposing Elfric, who was a Saxon, to have known what he said in declaring the Mancus to be worth XXX pence of silver; and that this piece is a Mancus, and weighed at first 20 grains; gold on this supposition must bear the proportion to silver as 20 to 675, that is, 33¾ to one; a value never yet heard of. It is a common adage, that arguments should be *pondere, non numero,* the propriety of which holds strongest in our enquiries concerning our old coins; for, if an especial regard be not always had to their weight, a brisk imagination will soon run beyond the bounds of pro-

Mr. North went to Bath in March 1751; but Dr. Hartley told him he doubted whether the waters would do him any good.

probability. The whole is submitted to your judgment and candour, by, dear Sir, your affectionate humble servant, G. NORTH."

"DEAR SIR, *Feb.* 19, 1751-2.

"As a great reason of my coming to town was to see Mr. Webb, I could not forbear, since my return, reflecting on how different the scene was to what I expected. There must be a great mistake somewhere; for I expected no other than to discourse about the feasibility of my being put into a condition to become serviceable to the Society, and that this was the only point to be discoursed upon, whereas Mr. Webbe appeared as absolutely ignorant of it, and did not shew the least knowledge of such a scheme, or any the least previous knowledge of my name. You will therefore pardon me for expressing my apprehensions that you must have put too strong a sense upon any expressions he may have used in conversation on the subject of another Secretary; otherwise such an appearance of perfect ignorance is hardly reconcilable to the rules of common civility, or a decent regard to his own words. G. NORTH."

"DEAR SIR, *Codicote, March* 1, 1751-2.

"The favour of yours of Thursday, with the books, I received very safe by Paternoster's waggon; whose servant, through the encouragement of a little ale now and then, is exceeding careful and obliging as to every thing committed to his care to my account. The notion which you mention, which you do not know the authority for, that a Society of Antiquaries were in Abp. Parker's time, is supported by a MS. now in my hands, the property of a worthy brother. Whenever Pegge's new Dissertation can be procured, I shall be extremely obliged to you for it. Capt. Bootle I have the pleasure of knowing, and some years ago of seeing his collection; which, as his industry is indefatigable, and almost inimitable, must be greatly increased. I propose myself the pleasure of waiting on him soon.

"This morning I received yours of last night per post, with Mr. Compton's papers inclosed; which shall be returned safe at the time mentioned. As Prince, in his Worthies of Devonshire, gives some catalogue of the old members, if it should fall in your way, please to consult him on that head, and note for me what in your judgment is to my purpose. I have put two queries on the other side, which I beg of you to send to Mr. Warburton, Somerset, together with my compliments, and thanks for his obliging letter in answer to a former query. My answer to Clark is, unfortunately for me, got into a printer's hand who seems to have no inclination to finish it. This occasions my design to be in town to-morrow se'nnight if possible; yet hope to hear from you before that time. If you think that a satisfactory account of the discovery of Numismata at Mr. Drax's will

not

The Rev. Charles Clarke, late of Baliol college, Oxford, having published "Some Conjectures re-

not soon be got, I will write to a very courteous intelligent person, the Archdeacon's Registrar, and a Proctor at Blandford.

I remain, dear Sir, your most obliged, G. NORTH."

"DEAR SIR,

"Your mentioning yesterday that a proof of the Christian name of *Millington*, one of King Charles's judges, might be of some service in a cause you are concerned in, set me on looking for the Trials of the Regicides, which I imagined I had by me: which I have herewith sent you. If you consult p. 232 you will find his arraignment by the name of *Gilbert Millington*; and in p. 274 you will find his being brought to judgment by the same name. By applying to the Assize Rolls for London and Middlesex, you will have a legal proof of it. G. NORTH."

"DEAR SIR, *Codicote, April* 16, 1752.

"Yesterday morning I received the favour of yours, dated the 14th. If, before this reaches you, Mr. Lethieullier's answer shall fix the day of your paying him a visit to the first of May, it will rob me of the pleasure of dining with the Society next week; for, as I cannot stay in town for two weeks together, and my circumstances will not allow me to multiply visits to London, I must of course deny myself one of those pleasures; but my inclination and promise both determine me to wait on you to Aldersgate the day you appoint. If any alteration in your appointment shall happen, you will give me leave to expect a line from you to inform me of it. As I hope soon to see you, and inspect the drawing of Medgley Fold, it will be putting you to a needless trouble to desire any further account of it before-hand. As you mention disputes at the Society, and carried so far as to be balloted, I should imagine there were some new connexion of members in opposition to the *Theobaldites*. For my own part, I freely own, that arbitrary government and its consequence, passive obedience, are my detestation, as monsters in nature. And, as our present national constitution is founded (or said to be founded) on contrary principles, I therefore think, that lesser communities of the great body ought to proceed on the same public principles. *Nullius in verba* is the symbol of the Royal Society, but seems to have no relation to ours; for an *ipse dixit* of two or three persons seems to lead or drive all the rest, who are considered as no more than *servum pecus*. Freedom, I am sensible, ought not to degenerate into licentiousness: if you think what I have said approaches towards it, pray pardon and burn these hasty reflections of, dear Sir, your most obedient, G. NORTH."

"DEAR SIR, *Codicote, April* 14, 1752.

"I thank you for transmitting the pamphlet to Mr. Warburton. As to the Coin found under the Town-hall at Oxon, if Mr. Mores (who I hear with pleasure is admitted a Fellow of our Society)

will

lative to a very antient Piece of Money lately found at Eltham in Kent, endeavouring to restore it to the Place it merits in the Cimeliarch of English Coins, and to prove it a Coin of Richard

will please to send me an exact drawing, I shall do my utmost to give him satisfaction in explaining it. If Mr. Gale, or any other gentleman I respect, will at any time inform you what expressions they judge exceptionable, I will endeavour to take some proper opportunity of explaining them in a sense agreeable to good manners, or retract them. But as for any argument or position I have used, I never will give them up, till invalidated or confuted; which I have no reason to think they can be. As to Mr. Mores's inquiry concerning the authority of my notion of Rosaries, I can only say, that as my late nervous fever has obliterated numberless particulars out of my memory, I could not, nor even yet can, recollect where the notion was to be found: but am certain I once met with such an account. The Brass Coin or Piece which you shewed me, and supposed to be French, on which the word *Lenton* appears, might belong to Lenton, a house of Carmelite friars in Nottinghamshire. Mr. Meetkerke is gone from Kimpton, but how long I cannot exactly say. As your Nephew's Schoolmaster at the Hague must be a man of letters, and is fixed there, and must have a correspondence; I should think that such a description as I once sent you for Mr. Nixon's use, of Picardt's Book, would be sufficient to discover and procure it: I wish you would think of it, and send the description to him. I have lately got a Dutch Book of Coins, printed at Antwerp, 1580, which pleases me much. The mention of this reminds me to desire, if you are acquainted with Mr. Gifford, to wait on him with you next time of my being in town. I am, dear Sir, yours sincerely, G. NORTH."

"DEAR SIR, *Codicote, June 7, 1752.*

"Your books shall arrive in town next Friday, with thanks; to which I will add, what I believe will be acceptable, an account of the most curious Coins in the late Mr. Grainger's Collection —but give me leave to premise that, *unde venit?* must be no question till I see you; and I beg you will not mention it to others, for reasons hereafter. I am extremely pleased with the thoughts of your designed tour into France, being satisfied your friends will receive pleasure and information from it as well as yourself. If it will not be burdensome and inconvenient, I would beg of you to carry one or two of my Pamphlets with you, and present one, *meo nomine*, to Mons. De Boze; to whom, as a curious Antiquary *in re nummariâ*, any thing relating to our antient Mints may probably be acceptable; and if it shall prove so, my Book of Henry the Third's Coins shall wait on him this winter. By which means some degree of correspondence may begin. Do not, my good friend, look upon this as mere vanity; for you must be sensible, from some prints engraved for that gentleman, and shewed us by Mr. Lethieullier, how assisting the French Antiquaries

the First King of England of that Name *: To which are added, some Remarks on a Dissertation (lately published) on Oriuna, the supposed Wife of Carausius, and on the Roman Coins therein mentioned. Lond. 1751," 4to †: Mr. North pursued

quaries can be to the enquiries into our antient coins; and too much assistance cannot be obtained. If you approve of this, I will order a couple of them to be bound neatly for that purpose, one of them to be bestowed according to your own good liking. One of this week's papers mentions a discovery of 1000*l.* worth of Queen Mary's gold coin, found near the Angel and Crown in Whitechapel. As all her gold coins are very scarce, it would be worth while to enquire concerning the truth of it; and if you can serve yourself first, I should be glad to get an Angel for my little collection. G. NORTH."

* *Addition to Mr. Clarke's Book, relating to the supposed Coin of King Richard the First.*

"The only circumstance that can create any doubt is, whether (on the side that appear the Sun and Moon) there appears the sceptred cross, or four *flowers-de-luce*; either will suffice to prove it an English Coin. The coins of William the Norman Conqueror will authorize the sceptred cross; as the following remark the *flowers-de-luce*. In a Discourse upon Coins, publicly made at Florence, in the year 1588, by the very learned Signor Bernardo Davansati ‡, who translated Tacitus, we are informed their Florin (which if of gold was, in value of our present money, sixteen shillings and six-pence, the pound or standard for gold or silver was the same at Florence, Pisa, and Leghorn, and contained 5286 grains English) was so named from the *flowers-de-luce*, which, he says, by allusion shew it was a coin of Florence, those flowers being symbol of our city, as the Rose is of Rhodes. Now, that the Florentines were employed in our Mint about that time is a truth unquestionable, who might well give the flowers (if such they are) for a Mint-mark."

† "A Dissertation upon Oriuna, said to be Empress or Queen of England, the supposed Wife of Carausius, Monarch and Emperor of Britain, who reigned in the Time of Diocletian, the great Persecutor of Christians, whom he was at war with for many Years, until received as Colleague with him in the Roman Empire. Illustrated with the Coin of Oriuna, and several others most remarkable of Carausius, hitherto not made public; this Coin of her's being lately sent to France, to his most Christian Majesty, 1751," 4to. In this pamphlet Dr. Kennedy asserted that Oriuna was that Emperor's *guardian godess*. Dr. Stukeley, in his Palæographia Brit. No III. 1752, 4to, affirmed that she

‡ Translated into English by Toland, in a Quarto Pamphlet; see his article in the Biographia.

was"

the subject, in "Remarks on some Conjectures, &c. shewing the Improbability of the Notion therein advanced; that the Arguments produced in support of it are inconclusive, or irrelative to the Point in Question." London, 1752," 4to.

was his *wife*; to which Dr. Kennedy replied in "Further Observations on Carausius Emperor of Britain, and Oriuna, supposed by some to be a real Person. With Answers to those trifling Objections made to the former Discourse. Together with some new Thoughts concerning his Successor Allectus, Emperor also of Britain: and particularly on that Gold Coin of Allectus, sent to France from the same Hand. Illustrated with Twelve extraordinary Coins of Carausius, not hitherto published. 1756," 4to; and upon his antagonist's supporting his opinion in his "History of Carausius, 1757, 1759," he abused him in a six-penny quarto pamphlet, intituled, "A Letter to Dr. Stukeley," &c. (see vol. II. p. 283). He also published, "Explanatory Notes on the Plate of Allectus Emperor of Britain; with those of Carausius. None of them ever before published." 4to. single leaf. No Date. The Plate is intituled "Numismata selectiora Allecti et Carausii Britanniæ Imperatorum. E Musæo Kennediano." And afterwards printed the following general title to all his publications on the subject: "Two Dissertations on the Subject of Carausius Emperor of Britain, together with that of his supposed Wife and Son. A 3d, also of him and his Successor Allectus. Illustrated with Three Copper-plates, of hitherto unpublished Coins. To which is added a Letter to the Rev. Dr. S—k—y on the First Volume of his extraordinary Medallic History of Carausius, observing the many Mistakes, unwarrantable Assertions, and amazing Productions, therein." 4to. London. No Date.—Dr. Kennedy, who was a native of Scotland, had resided some time at Smyrna; and died at an advanced age, Jan. 26, 1760. He had a collection of about 200 pictures, amongst which were two heads of himself by Keysing; he had also a very valuable collection of Greek and Roman coins, which, with the pictures, were sold by auction in the year 1760. Amongst the Roman coins were 256 of Carausius, nine of them silver, and 89 of Allectus; these coins of Carausius and Allectus were purchased by P. C. Webb, esq. the 256 for 70*l.* and the 89 for 16*l.* 10*s.* They came afterwards into the noble cabinet of Dr. Hunter, who added to the number very considerably.—The rarest of both Carausius and Allectus were engraved in three or four plates.

"Oriuna, on the medals of Carausius, used to pass for the Moon: of late years it is become a doubt whether she was not his Consort. It is of little importance whether she was Moon or Empress; but how little we must know of those times, when those land-marks to certainty, royal names, do not serve even that purpose! In the cabinet of the King of France are several Coins of Sovereigns, whose country cannot now be guessed at."

Mr. Walpole, Preface to Historic Doubts.

In this Answer to Mr. Clarke *, the first piece published by any of the Society after their incorporation, Mr. North considered at large the Standard and Purity of our most antient English Coins, the State of the Mints, and the Beginning of *Sterling*, from the public records; and added to it "An Epistolary Dissertation (addressed to Mr. Vertue) on some supposed Gold Coins; read before the Society of Antiquaries, Dec. 19, 1751, by James West, Esq. V. P. in the Chair."

No man could be better qualified for this task than Mr. North, who, by his intimacy with Mr. Holmes and Mr. Folkes (the latter of whom he mentions in the highest terms), became perfectly acquainted with the records and whole state and history of the English Coinage.

Mr. North's Pamphlet is dated "Codicote, Jan. 1, 1751-2;" and the following Advertisement was in a short time circulated; "Soon will be published, Remarks on an Epistolary Dissertation on some supposed Golden Coins, read before the Society of Antiquaries, contained in a Letter from

* In return for a copy of it sent to Mr. Wise, Mr. North received the following letter.

"DEAR SIR, *April* 1, 1752.

"I return you a great many thanks for your learned Dissertation on our Mint affairs, which must afford great satisfaction to the curious. I am only concerned that such a trifling performance should move your indignation. So much self-sufficiency I scarce ever saw in any author, nor so much of that which generally accompanies self-sufficiency. I had scarce patience to read the Pamphlet; which yet I find you have considered with attention. I must likewise thank you for an unexpected compliment to myself: for which I am afraid the world will find fault with you; and that our Oxford Criticks, who have but a mean opinion of my Book, will think I have hired you to give it a good word: which may, for aught I know, be useful to me at this juncture; for, betwixt Criticks and Booksellers, I am at present above 260*l.* out of pocket by it. This is a little hard upon authors who never proposed to make any gain by their works. I wish you better success, and a better foundation to go upon. I hope you have not exhausted all your store of this sort, but that you will soon give us your Henry III. which I dare promise will give pleasure to all the learned in our Antiquities, and particularly to, dear Sir, Your obliged humble servant,

FRAN. WISE."

the

the Rev. Mr. North; shewing the Improbability of the Notion therein advanced; and that the Arguments produced in Support of it are deceptive, inconclusive, and impertinent to the Point in Question. By Charles Clarke, F. S. A.*"

In 1752 he had made a considerable progress in "Remarks on the Money of Henry III." which had then engaged his attention for more than three years†, and for which he had actually engraved two

* "This Answer was promised to the publick in repeated advertisements, but never performed. What Mr. Clarke hastily and rashly seized on as an unanswerable objection against the arguments in the letter, was the meeting with some counterfeit Saxon pennies which weighed full 28 grains each; whereas here the weight of those pennies is fixed at 22½ grains. After discoursing with some of the curious and more exact judges he found great reasons to suspect its foundation was laid wrong, those pieces being justly accounted counterfeits: but had they been undeniably genuine, the consequence would have proved more strongly the notion expressed in the letter; viz. that those Gold Pieces (one 18½, the other 19½ grains in weight) were by much too light to afford any probability of their being Saxon Mancus: for then the proportions would have stood thus, $\frac{9}{30\times 28}=\frac{9}{840}=93\frac{1}{3}$ grains =3 pwts. 21½ grains, the weight of the Mancus, which is 18½ grains more than the weight mentioned in the letter. Consequently, had his premises been just (viz. any genuine Saxon pennies which weighed 28 grains) it would rather have confirmed than invalidated the opinion, that those pieces were not Gold Saxon Coins." *MS Note by Mr. North.*

† This appears by the following letter on the subject, addressed to Mr. Thomas Martin, Palgrave.

"Sir, *Codicote, Sept.* 8, 1749.

"Having heard that the late Peter Le Neve's most curious Collection of MSS. are in your hands, I take the freedom of begging the favour of you to inform me, if there be any thing among them relative to our English Coins, particularly those of the Reign of Henry the Third; an historical account of which I have long had under my consideration, with design to publish this winter; to which purpose have got two plates engraved by Brother *Vertue*. A proof of one of them I have inclosed, entreating that, if you have any coin of those sorts, minted in any city or town not already engraved in that plate, you will please to communicate it to be engraved in the same manner. I have not only wished, but even designed to take a tour to your parts; but short days and winter approach too fast to promise myself that pleasure this year. Should I live another, do fully purpose to pay my compliments to you at *Palgrave*. I am, good Sir,

Your obedient humble servant, Geo. North.

"P.S.

plates *, and hoped to have it ready for publication in the ensuing winter. But nothing on the subject of them was found amongst his MSS. after his death †.

"P. S. Since I concluded yesterday, I recollected and found the following particular among some of the Minutes of our Society which I have in MS.

'1721-2, January 3d.

'It was proposed that it would be much for the honour of the Kingdom, and particularly of the Society, to attempt a complete Description and History of all the *Coins* relating to Great Britain, from the earliest times to our own. Mr. Stukeley undertook all the British Coins in Sir Hans Sloane's Collection and elsewhere; Mr. Holmes undertook the Saxon Coins, in possession of Mr. Hill, a counsellor; Mr. James Hill undertook to get a Description of Lord Harley's Saxon Coins; Mr. Roger Gale undertook the Roman which relate to Britain; Mr. Samuel Gale undertook those of the Danish Reigns; Mr. President (Le Neve) undertook the English from the Conquest.

'Feb. 19. Mr. President brought a Letter of Sir Symonds D'Ewes relating to a work he was upon of the English Coins.'

"*Hactenus Memorand. Societatis Antiq.*

"From these particulars, one would imagine, Mr. Le Neve had made some large Collections, and planned out some method of treating on our English Coins: if any such, or any indigested memoranda, or even that letter of Sir Symonds D'Ewes, shall have come to your hands, you will infinitely oblige me by communicating; and due acknowledgement of assistance shall be made in the course of my tract. I have somewhere mislaid a proof of the other plate, which contains but one sort; viz. those commonly ascribed to Henry II. which I have proved belong to Henry III. of which sort I have inclosed an impression taken on silver foil. *Vale iterum, Sept. 9.*"

* These plates (which were purchased at Dr. Lort's sale by Mr. Gough, who worked off a few impressions for his friends) are now in the possession of the Rev. Rogers Ruding, F. S. A. vicar of Maldon, Surrey; to whom Mr. Gough, in 1804, presented also a curious Volume of Tracts, in 4to, containing: 1, Dr. Kennedy's "Oriuna;" 2, Mr. Clarke's "Conjectures;" 3, Mr. North's "Remarks;" and, 4, Dr. Stukeley's "Palæographia Britannica," No. III.; all which are enriched with MS Notes by Mr. North.

† Mr. Gough purchased, at Dr. Lort's sale, a quarto MS. with drawings of Saxon and early English Coins, regularly arranged, beginning with those of Æthelwald, who died in 741; and ending with Henry VIII.—Some few of the Coins are illustrated by the scientific remarks of Mr. North.—This MS. Mr. Ruding now possesses.

In

In 1752 Mr. North had a suit depending, in the Ecclesiastical Court in Doctors' Commons, with more than one of his parishioners*; and had frequent occasion to consult with his friend Dr. Ducarel, to whom he also in this year addressed several letters†.

* "Good Sir, "*Codicote, June* 15, 1752.

"It gives me no small concern to find that my proceedings in your Court are like to be so little regarded, and to have so little or no effect. Upon return from making the affidavit before a Master in Chancery (who was not in the country before) my Clerk called, by my order, on the person who was cited; and, notwithstanding all reasonable and calm remonstrances, he got most heartily abused, with a repeated declaration, that he, Turner, sets me at defiance. How can I pull down such obstinacy? I apprehend that excommunication will be no more than *brutum fulmen*; and then my case will be worse than before, and the charge fall on myself. He owes me for tithes and offerings ever since I became vicar; viz. Dec. 1743. At this rate my living will come to nothing, and myself to poverty. Give me leave, in this difficulty, to ask your advice, whether it would not be advisable to attack him for this current year's tithe, from Michaelmas last, at common law, and so be able to goal him; for, till his carcase is laid hold on, I find he never will submit; and, if I do not manage him, the number of such rebels will be every year multiplied. What embarrassments these to the study of Antiquity, or indeed to application or comfort of every kind! What a poor troublesome support is a country vicarage! You must, therefore, rather wonder at, than blame my slow progress in any literary undertakings; and how little hopes have I of being in a better situation! My friends will sometimes condescend to commend my endeavours, but no friendly hand appears to remove me to a settlement more propitious to Learning. Complaints, I am sensible, are fruitless and disagreeable; but out of the abundance of the heart, when wrung with care, the mouth will speak, which the humane will pardon. I will not yet take my leave of you till your tour to France, though I remain, dear Sir,

Your obliged humble servant, G. North."

† "Dear Sir, *Codicote, July* 6, 1752.

"My full design to have seen you (could I possibly) before your tour into Normandy, was the sole reason of my not answering yours before, as well as a former which you favoured me with some time ago. As to what you mention of the Society, of strange expensive schemes being on the anvil, and what you intimate of Mr. West, was likewise hinted to me from another hand, by the same post which brought yours. I think I daily see a greater probability of a new Society arising, of *unchartered* Antiquaries: for I think the old members, the old laws, and method of proceeding for promoting the study of Antiquity, are all very barefacedly

relative to the proceedings in the Society of Anti-

facedly discarded and disclaimed; and the whole intention *ab initio* appears not only to me, but to others also, who stand nearer, to be only a mere job. For my own part, I am determined rather to cut my name out, than ever give one single shilling more than the annual contributions. In regard to my endeavour at a History of our Society, though I have collected and transcribed whatever I could procure, yet the whole is so imperfect, and full of chasms, and so particularly obscure about the year 1659, when, by Ashmole's Diary, there appears to be a Society and a Feast of the Antiquaries, that it greatly disheartens me from taking the farther trouble of connecting my materials into a regular discourse. I most heartily wish you a safe journey to France, with all the good health, pleasure, and improvement, your own heart can wish. The great advantages of every kind which you have for travelling into those parts, which have so strict a connexion with our English Antiquity, must afford infinite satisfaction to yourself, and no small pleasure to your learned friends at your return. I cannot suppose that it is in my power to suggest any topicks of enquiry which have not occurred to your own mind before; but a repetition in such a case is excusable. I have noted down a few queries. As literary amusement and improvement is, I apprehend, a great part of your scheme, and as your fortune cannot feel the expence, you will not perhaps esteem it a romantic piece of advice to purchase all the old coins, excepting Roman, that you can pick up in Normandy; for, though many of them may turn out of little consequence, yet a very few rarities may repay the whole expence. The Book of Bouteroue I have mentioned on the other side you will think worth your while to purchase, not being to be had in England. I have inclosed a note to Mr. Sandby for three of my pamphlets: one of which I beg you to present in my name to Mons. De Boze, with a request (if you think it proper and have an opportunity) of any hints of King Henry Third's coinage in France: the history of whose coins will appear next winter. The other two are for any persons you shall think proper in France, that I may contribute my mite toward a mutual intercourse of two Nations whose Antiquities in many particulars are so closely connected. With repeated wishes of a pleasant journey and safe return, I am, Sir,

Your most obliged friend and servant, G. NORTH.

"P. S. If you will not grudge the trouble, I shall not grudge the expence of receiving a line from you when abroad."

"DEAR SIR, *Codicote, Sept...*, 1752.

"It is a sincere pleasure to me to hear of your safe return; and I heartily thank you for so early a remembrance of me. Your very kind letter of the 10th I thought myself sure of answering, by paying you a visit this very day at Doctors Commons, and to have spent the whole of it with you; but Sunday's post brought me a letter to defer my intended trip to town till

next

quaries; and others respecting the Tour which the

next week. This day se'nnight I fully intend, God willing, to dedicate wholly to the pleasures of friendship and improving conversation with you, being under a promise to go the next day to Hampstead for the remaining part of the week. Mons. De Boze's behaviour surprises me not a little, as I conceive you could not get admittance to him without his being previously informed of your name, rank, and condition in the world; but pride, I suppose, is a more epidemic disorder in France than the hypocondria in England, which the French impute so generally to us. I promise myself great pleasure in hearing your account of your tour, your many observations relative to our English History. I always was of opinion that the origin and history of our architecture, and the several mutations in it, were most likely to be traced out and discovered in Normandy; and the intimation you give in your letter concerning the round and the pointed arch, gives me some assurance already that my notion was not ill founded. It is an additional pleasure to find that Mr. De Boze, amidst all his French insolence, did condescend to approve of my conjecture; which, with what I printed concerning the same piece, must be conclusive to all, but mere cavillers, against the notion of its being Saxon. There have always been some few happy geniuses, such as Mr. Folkes, who have something resembling intuitive knowledge in every part of science, and hit off a discovery at once; but to the generality of mankind, I always yet have observed, due consideration, repeated reflection, and careful comparisons, are necessary in order to form a true judgment, and make a satisfactory discovery in such points of Antiquity as do not occur every day. Had these requisites been used in respect to those gold coins, no man living would ever have ventured to pronounce them Saxon—*sed de his satis.*

G. NORTH."

"DEAR SIR, *Codicote, Oct.* 8, 1752.

"My design of being in town, in my way to Essex, has prevented my answering yours of the 16th of last month; but that design is now laid aside, and it is very uncertain when I shall see London. It was past noon on the Friday before I got to town from Hampstead; and, having some necessary business remaining to be done, it was out of my power to wait on you again. The weather during my stay at Hampstead was so excessively bad, that it was impossible to pay my compliments to Mr. Gale, as was my design. I am obliged to you greatly for taking the trouble of giving me an account of Mr. F———'s proceedings. It is my design to make another trial, by means of his landlord, to bring the fellow to comply, without the necessity of jailing, which would unavoidably raise a clamour against *me*, though he is a fellow universally contemned and hated; and will send an account of my success before the 18th of this month, the day you mentioned of Mr. F———'s return to town.

"This

learned Civilian in that summer made to Normandy, for the express purpose of inspecting its Antiquities.

"This week Mr. Vertue sent me from Dr. Rawlinson a number of prints of *Old Murray* †, together with two others engraved at the Doctor's expence. I have lately met with a piece of Antiquity, which likewise concerns me as vicar of Codicote. It is a long roll of examination of witnesses in a dispute between the Rector of Welwyn and the Prioress of Sopewell, who antiently had our great tithes. Upon which I must beg leave to apply to you for some information, if possible, of the event or determination of the dispute. The title is thus: "Facta fuit sequens examinatio Testium in Hospitio Habitationis *Ricardi Brinkele* Clerici, Curiæ Cantuariensis Examinatoris generalis. 13 Decembris, 1401." The Roll is greatly worn and obliterated; but the dispute appears to be between John Pecham, Rector of Welwes (now Welwyn), and Maud Prioress, and the Nuns of Sopwell, impropriators of Codicote. If I could discover and get a sight of the sentence upon this cause, it would be of very great service to me. Let me, therefore, beg of you, as a Brother Antiquary and Friend, to enquire in your Offices, if there be any possibility of discovering it. I should imagine that Dr. Paul, as Vicar General, or the Registrar of the Archbishop's Court, were the most likely to give some information. The second volume of "La Science des Medailles" you may, if convenient, send by the waggon as usual. Whenever you shall have finished your Notes of your Tour, the perusal of them will be a great pleasure to, dear Sir, Your most obedient, G. North.

"P. S. I received yours of last night, and congratulate you on Mons. De Boze's complaisant letter, as an earnest of a useful and entertaining correspondence. When Mr. West called here in great pomp, I mentioned your return from France, and having taken notes, and design to reduce them into order; upon which he expressed a design to visit you. As Mons. Bouteroue's Book is so dear as 5 guineas, when you write, please to countermand your former commission for it for me, as not being able to indulge my inclination at so great expence. Pray let your next inform me where and how Mr. Lethieullier is, as I have heard nothing of him or Mr. Frederick ‡ since I sent my pamphlets to Aldersbroke. If Hautin's Book, under the name of Altinus, could be procured it would be an infinite pleasure to me. My compliments to your Lady—*iterumque vale. Sunday evening.*"

"Dear Sir; *Codicote, Oct...*, 1752.

"I safely received the account of your Tour, together with 2 volumes of 'Science des Medailles,' and thank you for purchasing them for me. As you desired my opinion of your Narrative

† John Murray of Sacomb, a great Antiquary and co'lector of old books, chiefly English, which he bound uniformly, in a very neat manner. They have been dispersed, and some are to be found in almost every library of antient English Literature.

‡ The late Sir Charles Frederick, K. B. surveyor of the Ordnance, an eminent Antiquary. See vol. VI. p. 83.

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The Doctor returned in September; and was afterwards not a little indebted to the kind and ingeni-

in the most free manner, I cannot but observe, in the attention I have as yet been able to give, that too many repetitions appear in it, especially of the words *there are*, which render the narration flat and unenliveni g, and make too many breaks in it. Were these expunged, and the sentences made to run off a little more roundly in a more continued flow, the pleasure would be greatly heightened to the reader, and the *utile dulci* go together. With such alterations (for no material ones, I conceive, are wanting) the whole, in my opinion, would be richly worth printing, and a most acceptable present to your friends. Much more, I think, might be said as to the antiquity and Gallic origin of the semicircular arch. What falls within the narrow extent of my reading on that head I may perchance digest, and express in a future letter. I cannot forbear observing thus much, that as almost all of our present Cathedral Churches which have the Pointed arch were begun and finished (excepting some additional chapels or ornamental parts) within the compass of the reign of King Henry III. viz. between 1200 and 1300, I should not despair, did I live at London amidst large Libraries, of discovering the principal architects of that period, to whom the change from the Round arch was principally owing. I fancy at least I have discovered something of a clue to guide my searches—*sed manet altâ mente repostum.*" G. NORTH."

"DEAR SIR, *Codicote, Nov.* 12, 1752.

"This morning I received yours of last night, which gives me no small pleasure in informing me that Picardt's Book is recovered. I make no doubt of its being the same that Mr. Vertue first gave us a hint of; for, as he says it is above 25 years since he had it, it is very easy to mistake 1606 for 1660. If you are not determined to purchase it for yourself, I should be very glad to have it myself; or another copy of the same, if to be procured without much trouble to your friend. As I conceive there is a later edition *without cuts*, this first is the only one to be desired. By all means procure this one at least.—In return for this piece of news, I must inform you, that I have procured from Denmark *Bircherod's de Antiquis Numismatibus Danorum*; of which I question whether there are two more copies in England. It was this afternoon returned from Cambridge, most elegantly bound up with Keder's pieces *. I conceive it will be advisable not to make any mention of the book to any Brother Antiquaries till it is arrived, and we know what are the contents—how far to the purpose, and what use can be made of it. Whenever I can collect and digest any materials, and reduce them to some certainty in relation to the subject of your former letter about building, I will not fail to inform you. G. NORTH."

* This identical copy is now in Mr. Bindley's library, with Mr. North's MS note concerning the extreme scarcity of the book in this country.

"DEAR

ous suggestions of his friend in respect to the particulars of his Tour. Mr. North's observations on Saxon

"DEAR SIR, *Codicote, Dec.* 10, 1752.

"I acknowledge myself greatly in arrears to you; and should have discharged the debt before now, had not some business engaged the latter half of the last week. It first becomes me to thank you for writing for Eccard and Schatenius; but more especially for your generous promise in regard to the copy of Picardt's Book which you expect. I thank you likewise for the Antiquities of Caen; which is indeed of less value through my misfortune of being able to read off but few sentences roundly or clearly in French. The mistake you mention of mine, concerning the great cannon at Dover, would have been prevented, had you added before, that some relievo work on it proves it must have been Dutch work. No man can do more than argue *ex datis aut concessis;* therefore new *data* must form new conclusions. It is much more pleasure than surprise to be informed, that Mr. Gray of Colchester has a coin of *Carausius et fratres;* for the letter C in some coins, and c in others, before the name Carausius, plainly suggested to me long since the probability of some such future discovery. I can by no means join with the gentleman who advises you to strike off the whole of your Journal, and to print no more than what you have to offer concerning the Round arch; for that would not only render it less entertaining to your friends, but likewise be considered as throwing the gauntlet to the gentlemen of contrary opinion concerning that point, and serve only to lead you into a dispute. Print the whole; and then, what is offered concerning the arch will fall in naturally, and can bear no unkind interpretation.—I thank you for your kind remembrance as to Capt. Tolson's coins, which, being formerly Grainger's, have, I doubt not, a correct exact Catalogue. Though I cannot pretend to determine any thing concerning Mr. Gifford's two remarkable coins; yet I cannot help mistrusting that they are counterfeits, which I suppose will increase on us every day. I wish you had informed me who discovered Cædmon's Paraphrase at Queen's college. The Dictionary is as much to be wished for as the drawings, as more generally useful. I have myself some delineations with a pen as old as Canute's reign, wherein the door is round, and the arch of a turret the same; but both are very far from a proof that the stone round arches yet remaining are of Saxon erection; for round they might be, and doubtless were, even when of wood. I have many particulars relating to this subject; but, as I would have what is my own appear as such, and am unwilling to enter into any dispute on that point, as time may soon discover something more decisive, it is my design to suppress them, and enlarge no farther. G. NORTH."

"DEAR SIR, *Codicote, Dec.* 21, 1752.

"It gives me pleasure to find, by yours of the 16th, that you abide by your design of printing your Journal; and that you intend

Architecture are ingenious; and his remarks on scarce books and coins are particularly valuable.

intend so noble an addition to it as the draughts of the Churches of Caen. To give a still further advantage, you may perhaps be of my opinion, to get a draught of that part of the inside of St. Alban's Abbey Church, which has the rude round pillars and rounded arches, as being the original work of Abbot Paul, who had been himself a monk at Caen: for an ocular demonstration of the similitude of work will go farther than a thousand words. I do not know of any such drawing of the inside of St. Alban's church; but you are in a situation more proper for enquiry than myself, and none seems more likely to inform you than Mr. Vertue. As Cædmon's Paraphrase has been already printed, in 1655, by so great a master of the Northern languages as the learned Junius, I greatly question whether it can any way answer to re-print it, in an age less encouraging that sort of Learning than Junius's was. I have some suspicion that Somner had the use of the very Glossary, which is added to the copy of Cædmon in Queen's College library, for he acknowledges, in the Preface of his Saxon Dictionary, that Abp. Usher lent him a MS. of Cædmon; which proved of great service in the compiling his Dictionary. Now what particular service could the MS. of Cædmon be to him, without supposing the addition of the Glossary? Of this please to observe I only make a Query, which may be worth duly considering, by those who have opportunity, before any steps are taken towards publishing. As you are soon going down to Brackley, and expect to see Mr. Nixon by the way, you possibly may contrive to discourse about it with the greatest master we now have of Saxon learning; viz. Mr. Lye *, rector of Yardley Hastings in Northamptonshire, a brother of our Society. Upon the whole, I cannot but be of opinion, that having the drawings in the MS. engraved by themselves will best answer every purpose. Mr. Gifford is so well able to pay for coins, and, according to your account, is so generous in his prices, that there can be no doubt that, now the *mercantile knowledge* of our coins is in so many hands, and they so easy to be counterfeited, he will have every day some pieces of modern invention offered to him; of which sort I make no doubt but that the pieces you mention are. You are so thoroughly a master of what you design to write to France about, that it is not in my power to add any directions how to guide your enquiries. I shall only observe this, that as the *numerus Anglicus et Normannicus* was different, five score being an hundred with the one, and six score to the other, it is highly probable the Norman and Saxon foot might differ, and both perhaps from the present foot. Therefore I would recommend to get exact dimensions, if possible, of the

* The learned Editor of "Dictionarium Saxonico et Gothico Latinum," 2 volumes, folio, published by subscription in 1772. There is a good portrait of Mr. Lye, after a painting by Miss Reynolds, sister to Sir Joshua, engraved by T. Burke; under which is inscribed, "Edvardus Lye, A. M. A. S. S. obiit XIX Aug. MDCCLXVII, ætat. LXXIII."

height,

In the beginning of 1753, Mr. North very feelingly expressed to Dr. Ducarel his anxiety for the dangerous illness of their friend Mr. Vertue*; and

height, circumference of the pillars, and some other principal parts of the building; thereby to endeavour to ascertain what the Norman foot was: which possibly may in the end tend more to settle the question in dispute than any thing else. G. NORTH."

"DEAR SIR, *Codicote, Jan.* 13, 1753.

"I congratulate you on the expectations of receiving the prints from France of the buildings at Caen, as it may not only save you much expence, but be more satisfactory perhaps than drawings not executed under the inspection of a competent judge. I still hope Picardt's Book is reserved to a better fate than that of shipwreck, and that you may yet receive it safe. If the trouble is like to be great, or the delay long, in procuring Eccard's Book, I will then endeavour, as I think I can, to get it directly from Gottingen, where it was printed.—If your learned friend at Paris, who gave you intelligence of Hautin's Book of French Coins being translated into Latin, and published somewhere in Germany, under the Latinised name of *Altinus*, can give the title, size, and where printed, there will arise some hopes of one day procuring it: and I know no book that more deserves to be ranked among the *Desideranda;* knowing in a great measure the value of it, by having the use of it for above a month, by the favour of that good friend, whose memory I revere, Mr. Fairfax. I have this day received from Tom Osborne's sale a small scarce Tract, which I have several years sought for, called "Cambium Regale," which gives me great pleasure. I wish, in return for your many pieces of intelligence which your kind letters impart, I could send you any news, or any thing old worth attention, but truly I cannot. The dull dirty weather makes the country almost insupportable. A great cold, and some return of my old disorder, have confined me a prisoner the whole week, and detains me from a journey to town, whither I durst not venture in such unfavourable weather; but when the cheerful Sun appears, I hope to hop out of my nest, and pay a visit to London.

G. NORTH."

* "DEAR SIR, *Codicote, Feb.* 18, 1753.

"The very great and sincere esteem I have for Mr. Vertue makes me very anxious about his illness, and solicitous to hear often concerning him, still hoping for the best; though indeed your account (which is the only one I have received) gives me but very melancholy expectations. For this reason, I am persuaded, this answer to yours of Saturday night will not seem to tread too much on your heels; and I beg by next post you will favour me with all that you hear of him. The conversation of those gentlemen who are to dine with you to-morrow at Mr. Gale's (where I have the greatest reason to believe I should be welcome) makes me heartily wish I could be in town to enjoy that pleasure; but some particular objections, of quite another kind, would prevent my being in town this week, even if the

weather

soon after addressed to Dr. Andrew Gifford a letter on the subject of a curious coin *."

weather had been more favourable. But this reminds me to beg of you to desire Mr. Gale to favour me, for a short time, with the perusal of the thin folio book which he shewed me, when we dined with him about this time twelvemonth, concerning Seals, wrote and printed in Germany; the Author's name (unless I greatly mistake) *Reineccius*. I promise myself, from your friendship, that you will guarantee to Mr. Gale the return of it; and I assure you that your credit shall not suffer by it. It is very probable that what information drops in upon me from other quarters may not be so authentic; but you must pardon me for telling you, that I have been informed, that the orepotent Mr. West and his Coadjutors had got an housekeeper ready cut and dried long before that the present house was mentioned or thought on; and that *most* of the old Members are quite excluded from the secrets, or any part of the management of the Society, and are considered no otherwise than as cyphers to make up the number. This I always foresaw, without any degree of prophetic spirit, or more than ordinary sagacity, would be the inevitable consequences of a Corporation; for then, according to design, some few would rule, and the many must be ruled, or be tools; which is impossible among people who formed a voluntary association or society connected by free good-will only. I have so much of what Cibber calls *a noble obstinacy of temper*, that my love and zeal for what I think is right never was abated by ill success; and yet, as I am cautious of giving needless offence, I don't desire, and would avoid giving a vote where there is a previous impossibility of success. To tell the truth, I begin to be sorry that I ever was a Member of the Society, as a man, whose heart knows what affection is, would think it less pain never to be married, than afterwards being divorced from a wife he once ardently loved. And yet the latter must take place; for I cannot foresee any pleasure or improvement likely to ensue, unless to those who form *modern* schemes, and please themselves with the success, to the disadvantage of the Institution, or with the notion of their own great significancy. As to Mr. Pegge's notion of your coin, I cannot see any shadow of argument to be of his opinion. I may possibly give my sentiments more fully to the Society, if there be any room allowed for the reading any thing relating to Antiquity during these squabbles for power and rule. I well know Mr. West sent, by Mr. Vertue, a most learned curious Dissertation concerning Roman Roads and Stations, which came out of the West of England, which could not for six weeks have a reading, by reason of these contentions. How much longer it lay for a reading, or whether ever read, I cannot say. G. NORTH."

"To the Rev. Andrew Gifford, Queen's-square.

* "DEAR SIR, *Codicote, March* 28, 1753.

"The coin I present you with is one of that lot, No. 47 (in the late Mr. Bolton's collection) which you courteously assigned over

In 1755 he was so far recovered from a severe illness, that he drew up the Catalogue of Dr. Mead's Coins for public sale. And, in the following year "Welwyn Spaw," a kind of plaintive Ode, in which he laments the cold disdain of some apparently real Celia, appeared in the "Literary Magazine," p. 209.

over to me. On my return to my country retirement, I had time to review and consider them all. This appearing very singular to me, I did, according to my usual method in all difficulties in these things, have recourse to my weights; and, to my very great surprise, did find it to surpass that of a shilling so much as is impossible should happen by mere chance, which seldom is more on the exceeding side than about a grain or two; and those instances are exceeding rare. The next natural point of enquiry was, what value the weight corresponded with. This immediately appeared to be the *Quarter-crown*, or Fifteen-penny Piece. You well know, Sir, that several remarkable pieces are in the cabinets of the curious, which can be considered no otherwise than as Trial-pieces; viz. a thick piece of Edward II. from the penny die at Canterbury, but weighing 65 grains; therefore probably a sort of proof for a designed Three-penny Piece. Of the same sort is a piece in the University of Cambridge, from the die of the full-faced Arched-crown Groat of King Henry VII. which weighs full five groats; and therefore may be considered as a trial of a Twenty-penny Piece, which in reckonings would chime in as well with the Mark as the Pound. Mr. Willis's piece, usually called King Henry's Crown, Mr. Folkes has shewn to be designed for no more than a Four-shilling Piece. Now, as there were in King Edward the Sixth's reign so many debates about the coins, and such variety of pieces too among the base coins, as not to be reducible to the weights mentioned in any of the indentures now remaining, or discovered, why may we not suppose that somebody, among the variety of projectors, might propose a *Quarter-crown* in silver? full as reasonable, I think, as an *Half-crown in gold*, of which we know there has appeared one or two of this King. This supposition may account why it bears the numerals XII as no more than a shilling, and why others of the same weight are not frequently found. To make clean work with all these suppositions, perhaps, you will judge it a piece of art and fraud. If it is so, it is the neatest forgery I ever saw. How it is performed, and what return the artist had for his ingenuity, is beyond my knowledge. If the late proprietor, Mr. Bolton, considered it, as I do, as a *Quarter-crown* (either a real proof-piece, as those before mentioned, or as a piece of fraud since), I apprehend he would have, by some note or memorandum, distinguished it as such, as he has done by others, on his own conjecture only. Had he paid the price of a forgery, which is always large enough to pay for the labour, we might have expected some account of the value he gave, to put the whole to the judgment of future purchasers.

In 1757, if we may judge from the letter inserted below, he had an inclination to have published some account of the Cromwell family; and applied for assistance to Mr. Thomas Martin *.

Soon after this period he was afflicted with disease and melancholy; which seem to have entirely with-

chasers. These considerations induce me to believe he did not give the price of a fraud, or esteem it such, which is some presumption of the whole being genuine. Accuracy of judgment must follow from daily experience (a happiness not indulged to me); and therefore from you, who so fully enjoy the advantages of a most copious collection, and the continual converse of the Learned, I must desire and expect a precise solution of this singular piece. It gives me a pleasure to transmit it to a more advantageous situation in your cabinet, than what it could have had in the obscurity of my possession. G. NORTH."

* "SIR, *Codicote, Dec.* 22, 1757.

"Though I have not the pleasure of being so well known to you as I could wish, or should endeavour to be, was I situated in your neighbourhood; yet, as formerly an advocate for the Antiquaries, and now as a fellow of their Society, I take the freedom of addressing you in this manner for some information in a point of curiosity. In an age when Biography is so much cultivated and encouraged, I have been much surprized to observe such great ignorance and variety of mistakes concerning the family of that great wicked man Oliver Cromwell; and none seem to have been guilty of greater blunders than the last authors of his life in the Biographia Britannica. This, and some queries put to me by a learned friend, have turned my thoughts to that subject; and, though I have been able to detect the errors of others, yet can find but very scanty notitiæ of the family, though it was of no longer standing in any repute than three generations. Looking over the Minutes of our Society I found the following entry.

'15 April, 1724. Mr. Norroy brought to the Society a Record of Inquisition, an. 2° Jacobi 1mi, proving some descents of Oliver Cromwell's immediate ancesters.'

"If this Inquisition *(post mortem Henrici Cromwell militis*, as I apprehend) still remains in your Museum, the favour I have to beg is, an abstract of it; as being the only authentic Record I ever heard of relating to the family: or, if it went away in the sale of Mr. Le Neve's papers, an account into whose hands it came will be acceptable, as well as any other notitiæ you can give of the family. Some years ago my neighbour Mr. Bisse, on return from his brother Page at Beccles, brought me a kind message from you, for which I now desire to pay my respectful acknowledgments. I am, Sir, with true respect,

Your obedient humble servant, G. NORTH."

drawn his attention from the studies in which he was conspicuously pre-eminent.

In 1766, however, he revised, and addressed to the Earl of Morton, then President of the Royal Society, some valuable Observations on the Introduction of Arabic Numerals into this Kingdom*. "This paper," Mr. North says, "was drawn up at a time when the subject engaged a more general attention among the Learned, as long ago as the year 1748, and then designed to have been presented to your Lordship's predecessor at the Royal Society, Mr. Folkes, to whom I had the honour of being well known; but, upon my being seized with an afflicting and long illness, which for some years disabled me from all literary enquiries, it lay by forgotten, till a gentleman shewing some old dates at the Society of Antiquaries when I was last in town, the memory of it recurred, and my inclination was awakened to search for it. I now presume to submit it to your Lordship's candour and disposal."

In 1769, when the Society of Antiquaries determined to publish their Transactions, application being made to Mr. North, for his materials towards compiling a History of their Foundation; he returned all the papers relative to that subject "that survived his order to burn most of his papers indiscriminately in a dangerous illness which he had about four years before, from a conviction how ungenerously such things are commonly used after a person's death. Then, says he, perished a number of uncommon anecdotes, concerning all who appeared to be Antiquaries, down to Dugdale's death, which I had been induced to collect by Ashmole's mention of the Antiquaries, and their annual dinner."

The ground-work of this account of Mr. North is a communication made by Dr. Lort to Mr. Cole, at my particular request, so long since as the year 1780, as will appear from the following memoranda:

* Communicated in the "Archæologia" of the Society of Antiquaries, vol. X. p. 360, by Mr. Gough; into whose possession they had come by purchase, at the sale of Dr. Lort's library.

"Hav-

"Having wrote to Dr. Lort for some particulars relating to this worthy Member of the Society of Antiquaries, he sent me the following account, which will save me the trouble of much farther enquiry.

"DEAR SIR, Lambeth Palace, Jan. 10, 1781.

"You should sooner have received an answer to the queries you sent me concerning Mr. North, if the paper had not been mislaid, which I drew up some time ago, to be put into Mr. Nichols's hands; who, in the Life of his late Partner, Mr. Bowyer, means to give some Anecdotes of all the Literati with whom Mr. Bowyer had been acquainted. Whether this information is to gratify your own curiosity, or that of any other person, I know not; but in either case you are equally welcome to it. I mention this, because I understand that Gentleman has been collecting Anecdotes of a great variety of personages." [*Then follow most of the particulars already mentioned; after which Dr. Lort adds,*]

"Mr. North died on the 17th of June 1772, having just completed his 65th year, at his parsonage house at Codicote, where he had resided from the time of his taking orders, without any other preferment than this small vicarage, which did not produce him above 80*l.* a year, helped out with a little income from a small patrimony.

"It does not appear what arms he bore. The impression of the seal he commonly used being here affixed, seems to be a crest only: a dragon's head erased Sable, gorged with a ducal coronet, chained Or; the same as borne by the Earl of Guilford; so that it is probable he used the arms also of that family.

"No one," Mr. Cole proceeds, "was better qualified to give an account of Mr. North than Dr. Lort, who, when he was librarian to Dr. Mead, had so many opportunities of conversing with him. Besides, Mr. North appointed him his executor; who went to Codicote to attend his funeral, and to bury him in a grave eight feet deep, in his church-yard, by his own appointment. It was the more friendly in the Executor, as it was just before his preach-

ing the County Hospital Sermon at Cambridge. He had paid him a visit in September 1771, when he found him so indolent (probably through his infirmities) that he could scarce prevail upon him to move out of his house. This Mr. Lort told me on his return, and that he read very little.

"I had been well acquainted with him; though he was not well pleased at my refusing to part with a good picture of the Founder of his school, Dean Colet, which I had purchased at Sclater Bacon's sale, and is now in my possession *.

"Mr. North had a design to have drawn up a Life of Bishop Grosseteste of Lincoln, with an account of his Works. This I collect from a memorandum I have entered, with this addition: 'Mem. to tell Mr. North of Codicote, that Abp. Williams had made a collection of that Bishop's Works. Hacket's Life of Williams, p. 40, part 2.' I remember that he complained of hard usage from the College in not electing him fellow, and seemed to lay the blame on Mr. Castel, afterwards Master of it.

"In the Cambridge Chronicle of Saturday June 27, 1772, was this article: 'A few days ago died at

* Donat. MSS. in the British Museum, 5886. (MSS. Cole, containing "Some short Account of the Benedictine Antiquaries of Cambridge."). The account of Mr. North in Mr. Cole's Alphabetical Volume N is exactly similar to that already transcribed, except that he refers to Mr. Gough's British Topography, p. 223.—MS. Cole, vol. XXIV. p. 179, contains another copy of Dr. Lort's Letter, with a few additional paragraphs relating to indifferent things.—MS. Cole, vol. XXVIII. another verbatim copy of Dr. Lort's Letter.—MS. Cole, vol. XLVI. p. 171, a notice of him; but without any new particular.—It may be worth observing, that Mr. Cole made the following memorandum in the blank leaf of the MS. from which the Letter of Dr. Lort is copied.

"This Book I desire may be given to Mr. Gough within a year after my decease. WM. COLE, 1780.—But, in case the Hon. Mr. Horace Walpole, of Strawberry Hill, survives me, I desire it may be delivered to him, who will order it to be delivered to Mr. Gough after his decease. WM. COLE, Feb. 25, 1782.—But on Mr. Gough's dining with me at Milton, Sept. 8, 1782, and looking over the Book with indifference, it may not be worth his acceptance; and therefore let it go with the rest of my MSS. WM. COLE, Sept. 9, 1782."

Codi-

Codicote, near Welwyn, in the 66th year of his age, the Rev. George North, M. A. vicar of that parish; a gentleman of extensive knowledge in various parts of literature, more particularly in the history and antiquities of this kingdom. He had, very early in life, the honour of the friendship and correspondence of gentlemen, not more distinguished by their rank in the world than in the republic of Letters.

"Mr. North died a bachelor. He was a well-looking, jolly man; and much valued by his acquaintance, and those who knew him intimately."

"From his first taking orders till his death he had resided principally at Codicote, without any other preferment than this small vicarage, aided by a little additional income from a small patrimony. He was buried at the East end of the church-yard of the parish in which he had lived in as much obscurity as his ashes now rest."

Mr. North's humble and miserable preferment, it may be added, is another lamentable instance of the want of a due regard to merit, in the disposal of ecclesiastical honours and emoluments.

He left his library and his collection of English coins to Dr. Askew and Dr. Lort; the latter of whom, on the death of Dr. Askew, got more of the books; which, on the sale of his library, in 1791, fell into the hands of Mr. Gough. Amongst these was the MS account of Saxon and English coins by him, with drawings by Mr. Hodsol, now possessed by Mr. Ruding*. Dr. Lort had the rough sketch, in some respects different, which Mr. Gough also bought.

Mr. North compiled also "A Table of English Silver Coins from the Conquest to the Commonwealth, with Remarks;" a transcript of which, in the hand-writing of Dr. Gifford, I saw, in 1780, in the collection of Mr. Tutet.

His copy of Ames's Typographical Antiquities, with MS notes from books in his Library, were used by Mr. Herbert.

* See before, p. 454.

DAVID

DAVID PAPILLON, esq. a gentleman of considerable estate at Acryse, otherwise Aukridge, in Kent, where he had a seat*; though he generally resided at another very capital house belonging to him at Lee, near Lewisham, in Kent, where he had a very good library, being curious in antiquarian researches. Dr. Ducarel informed me, that Mr. Papillon con-

* Thomas Papillon, son of David Papillon of Lubbenham, esq. purchased the manor of Acrise of Robert Lewknor, esq. in 1666. According to the books of the Mercers' Company, he was apprenticed Nov. 2, 1638; and admitted to the freedom Sept. 4, 1646; and his portrait still adorns their hall. He was an eminent merchant of London; a strenuous supporter of liberty against the encroachments of James II.; a representative in parliament for London 10 William III. as he had been for Dover 31—32 Charles II. and 2 William and Mary; and master of the Mercers' Company in 1698. In 1701, he gave 50*l.* to the poor of the parish of St. Katharine Coleman; and 6*l.* for present relief. He left also 1000*l.* to the Mercers' Company, to relieve any of his family that might in future come to want. By Jane his wife, daughter of Thomas Broadnax, of Godmersham, he had issue Philip, and three daughters, one of whom married —— Rawstorne; another married Sir Edward Warde, lord chief baron; and Anna-Maria married William Turner, esq. of Gray's Inn, who was afterwards of the Friers in Canterbury. Philip Papillon, the son, was chosen for Dover in the 13th of King William, all the parliaments of Queen Anne, and the 1st year of George I. and in the 9th year for New Romney. His first wife was Anne, eldest daughter of William Jolliffe, co. Stafford, esq. who died in 1693, and was buried at Acrise. By her he had a son David, and two daughters, Anne and Jane, who died in their infancy. He married, secondly, Susan Henshaw; by whom he had a son Philip, who was of East Malling, and three daughters.

Of this respectable family an ample account may be seen under *Papillon Hall*, in the parish of Lubbenham, in "The History of Leicestershire," vol. II. p. 709.—Such of them as have died since their residence in Kent have been buried at Acrise; and many of their atchievements are placed around the aile of that church: but there are no farther memorials of any of them than those which are transcribed in the page of "Leicestershire" above referred to.—It was intended a few years since to have erected a large monument, containing particulars of all those who are buried at Acrise; but the design ended in a small white marble tablet over the arch, and the following concise inscription;

"H. S.
ex gente Papillonorum,
ab avis atavisque longè clarâ pietate in Deum,
patriam et suos assiduâ, forti, purâ,
Æmulentur posteri."

tracted

tracted with Mr. Charles Marsh to furnish him with two hundred pounds worth of books at two-pence a-piece. The only condition was, that they should be perfect and no duplicates. There might be as many different editions as possible of the same book; but no duplicate of any one edition. Marsh was highly pleased with his bargain; and, by rummaging the stalls, obtained a large quantity. The next purchase, however, he found he could send but few; and the next still fewer; so that he absolutely grew tired of his commission *.

Mr. Papillon was a warm supporter of Sir Robert Walpole; and in one day was returned to parliament both for Dover and Hythe, after a most violent opposition in both. He was elected member for Romney in Kent in 1722 and 1727; again returned for Dover in 1734; and appointed in February 1742 one of the Commissioners of Excise (which, in April 1754, he resigned in favour of his son, the late David Papillon, esq.) and died at Canterbury, Feb. 2, 1762. He married Mary, daughter of Timothy Keyser, of London, esq. who died in 1763, leaving a son David †, and five daughters,

* "Eight thousand books would be wanted; and it seems that though the books, which booksellers call *rums* appear to be very numerous, because they come oftener in their way than they like; yet they are not really so, reckoning only one of a sort. — I have heard the same account from other hands; with an intimation that the expression *rum books* arose from Osborne's sending large assortments of unsaleable works to Jamaica in exchange for *rum*. — But I believe this etymology is erroneous. See a large number of words connected with *rum* in N. Bailey's "Collection of Canting Words and Terms." The French, who have words of authority for every thing, as *brocanteur* for a maker or dealer in false coins, have also *bouquins* for rums, and *bouquiniste* for the seller, as a dealer in old cloaths is an old-cloaths man; so *rum man*. At Cambridge such an one is called *Maps and Pictures*, from a particular bookseller, whose fine picture of himself, from which there is a fine print, is in the Public Library, as I suppose, his own house not being big enough to receive it." *T. F.*

† David Papillon, esq. the son, died at Lee; whither he retired in 1792 on his resignation of the office of a commissioner of excise; which honourable situation, as senior of the board, he filled with much credit many years. By his first wife, Bridget

of whom Mary died unmarried, in 1786; Anne married the Rev. Richard Jacob; Sarah married the Rev. John Hardy Franklyn, M.A. rector of Acrise, who died in 1782; Elizabeth married Thomas Curteis, of Sevenoke, D.D. and prebendary of Canterbury, whose second wife she was; and Susan married, first Arthur Weever, esq. and secondly Mr. Ogleby, of the kingdom of Ireland.

Dr. JAMES PARSONS was born at Barnstaple, Devonshire, in March 1705. His father, who was the youngest of nine sons of Colonel Parsons, and nearly related to the baronet of that name, being appointed barrack-master at Bolton in Ireland, removed with his family into that kingdom *, soon after the birth of his then only son † James, who received at Dublin the early part of his education,

Bridget (daughter of William Turner, of the White Friers, Canterbury, son of William, by Anna-Maria Papillon above mentioned, and who died Jan. 6, 1770) he had, in 1796, issue surviving seven children. He married secondly, in 1772, Hester, daughter of the above-mentioned Dr. Thomas Curteis by his first wife; who died at Lee, in 1782, and was buried at Acrise. The Rev. Philip Papillon, rector of Eythorn, and vicar of Tunbridge, Kent, died Jan. 28, 1809.

* In the Preface to the "Memoirs of Japhet," he says, "I spent several years of my life in Ireland, and there attained to a tolerable knowledge in the very antient tongue of that country, which enabled me to consult some of their manuscripts, and become instructed in their grammatical institutes. Afterwards I became acquainted with several gentlemen from Wales, well versed in their own history and language §, men of sense and liberal learning; who, in many conversations upon such subjects, gave me such satisfaction and light, in matters of high antiquity, as to occasion my application to the study of the Welsh tongue also: in which I had equal pleasure and surprize, when, the more I enquired, the more nearly related the Irish and Welsh languages appeared. When I was sent abroad to study the medicinal art, I frequently conversed with young gentlemen from most parts of Europe; who came to Paris, and followed the same masters, in every branch of the profession, with me; and my surprise was agreeably increased in finding that, in every one of their native tongues, I could discover the roots || of most of their expressions in the Irish or Welsh."

† He had afterwards another son (a surgeon) and a daughter, who were born in Ireland.

§ N.B. He does not say it was *Punic*. *T. F.* || *Celtic*. *T. F.*

and,

and, by the assistance of proper masters, laid a considerable foundation of classical and other useful learning, which enabled him to become tutor to Lord Kingston. Turning his attention to the study of medicine, he went afterwards to Paris*; where (I now use his own words) "he followed the most eminent professors in the several schools, as Astruc, Dubois, Lemery, and oshers, attended the Anatomical Lectures of the most famous [Hunaud and De Cat]; and Chemicals at the King's Garden at St. Come. He followed the Physicians in both hospitals of the Hotel Dieu and La Charité, and the Chemical Lectures and Demonstrations of Lemery and Boulduc; and in Botany, Jussieu.

Having finished these studies, his Professors gave him honourable attestations of his having followed them with diligence and industry, which entitled him to take the degrees of Doctor and Professor of the Art of Medicine, in any University in the dominions of France. Intending to return to England, he

*. "Several great masters then gave lectures at that place on the several branches of physic, who drew after them a great concourse of pupils of every nation. Mr. Hunaud read in Anatomy and Surgery; Astruc and Dubois in Physic; Lemery and Boulduc taught Chemistry; and the learned Jussieu shewed the plants in the botanical garden, then one of the best stocked in Europe. Dr. Parsons followed the courses of these eminent men, and contracted a friendship with most of them. Forty years have made a great change in the state of the balance between our neighbours and ourselves: England, and London in particular, formerly tributary to that kingdom for the education of a multitude of young gentlemen, might now with greater right expect a return from that country, being furnished with better opportunities, and surely not inferior professors in these different branches. It was undoubtedly during the course of these occupations that Dr. Parsons imbibed his taste for Natural History. This amiable and interesting study, so congenial with human curiosity, so proportioned to human abilities, so necessary to human wants, is besides so intimately connected with physick, that it is almost impossible to cultivate the latter with any success, without having at least some tincture of the former. In order to derive greater advantages from the several curiosities which passed under his eyes, Dr. Parsons applied himself to the art of drawing, and became so well versed in it, that ever after he was not obliged to have recourse to any other hand but his own to illustrate his descriptions." *Dr. Maty, MS.*

judged

judged it unnecessary to take degrees in Paris, unless he had resolved to reside there; and as it was more expensive, he therefore went to the University of Rheims, in Champaign, where, by virtue of his attestations, he was immediately admitted to three examinations, as if he had finished his studies in that academy; and there was honoured with his degrees, June 11, 1736. In the July following he came to London, and was soon employed by Dr. James Douglas to assist him in his anatomical works, where in some time he began to practise physic.

He was elected a member of the Royal Society in 1740; and, after due examination, was admitted a Licentiate of the College of Physicians, April 1, 1751; paying college fees and bond stamps of different denominations to the amount of 41*l.* 2*s* 8*d.* subject also to quarterage of 2*l. per annum.* In 1755 he paid a farther sum of 7*l.* which, with the quarterage-money already paid, made up the sum of 16*l.* in lieu of all future payments."

Thus far from Dr. Parsons's own MS.

On his arrival in London, by the recommendation of his Paris friends, Dr. Parsons was introduced to the acquaintance of Dr. Mead, Sir Hans Sloane, and Dr. James Douglas. This great Anatomist made use of his assistance, not only in his anatomical preparations, but also in his representations of morbid and other appearances, a list of several of which was in the hands of his friend Dr. Maty; who had prepared an Eloge on Dr. Parsons, which was never used; but which, by the favour of Mrs. Parsons, I am enabled to copy from the original manuscript *.

* "Though Dr. Parsons cultivated the several branches of the profession of physick, he was principally employed in the obstetrical branch. He not only soon became an eminent practitioner in that way, but likewise read Lectures on the Structure of the Pelvis and Uterus, Generation, the Nutrition of the Fœtus, Hermaphrodites, Monstrous Births, the Diseases of Women in general before and after Delivery, the Art of Midwifry, with all its necessary operations, explained by proper Anatomical Preparations from Dr. Douglas's Collection. The first specimen (for

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In 1738, by the interest of his friend Dr. Douglas, he was appointed physician to the public Infirmary

we don't reckon his Syllabus to these Lectures, intituled 'Elenchus Gunaico-Pathologicus') which Dr. Parsons gave of his abilities and medical erudition, was occasioned by a pretended Hermaphrodite brought over to London from the coast of Angola. The existence of human beings uniting in them the perfect characters and powers of both sexes, is an opinion conceived in ages of darkness and superstition, and supported by interest and imposture. In fact, none of them has hitherto stood the test of careful examination; and so far from being, like some insects and most plants, furnished with double organs, they have universally proved vitiated men or women. This is, and was long known to Anatomists; yet as the vulgar, and amongst them perhaps people who ought to know better, may, or feign to be caught by the same appearances and impositions that seduced their ancestors, the attempt our Author made to undeceive them was by no means ill-judged. His treatise was intituled, 'A Mechanical and Critical Enquiry into the Nature of Hermaphrodites, by James Parsons, M. D. F. R. S. London, 1741,' in 8vo; with several figures engraved from his own drawings. This subject has been since treated by other writers, who have added but little to the Historical and Anatomical part of our Author's Treatise. A short account of it, drawn up by himself, was inserted in the Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society, of which, in May 1740, he had become a member. In one of the subsequent volumes he described another subject shewn in London as an Hermaphrodite, but which he proved to have been but an imperfect female, in 'A Letter to the President,' Phil. Trans. vol. XLVII. p. 142. We likewise refer here to two other papers from our Author: 'A Letter from Dr. James Parsons to Martin Folkes, Esq. President, containing an Account of a Præternatural Conjunction of two Female Children, with Observations on Monstrous Productions; with Copper-plates; the Figures designed from the Subject by the Doctor,' Phil. Trans. No. 489, p. 526; and 'An Account of a Sheep having a monstrous Horn hanging from his Neck,' Phil. Trans. vol. XLIX. p. 183.—Our Author seems to have collected many facts relative to Monsters, with a view of obliging the world with a new treatise; but we have found nothing sufficiently finished on that or any other subject. To his medical abilities our late friend added a scrupulous integrity and inflexible firmness when he thought he was right. This he shewed, in respect to the celebrated Mons. Le Cat of Rouen, whose Treatise upon the Senses he analysed for the Royal Society; Phil. Trans. No. 466, p. 264. But Authors, like Beauties, are seldom perfectly pleased; for, though the account of the said Treatise was upon the whole flattering, yet as some mistakes were pointed out, especially with regard to the Newtonian System of Colours, the French Anatomist wrote to the

Doctor

in St. Giles's. In 1739 he married, at the parish church of St. Andrew, Holborn, Miss Elizabeth

Doctor some hasty and angry letters, which he answered in a decent but firm manner, and without giving up his judgment because he was the friend of the gentleman he had ventured to find fault with. The same love of truth engaged him, at the very time when Mrs. Stephens's medicines made the greatest noise, and met both with medical approbation and national reward, to resist the torrent, examine the evidence given in their favour, and produce several instances in which they failed. This book was published in the year 1742; and, besides the polemical part, contained a new description, and figures of the bladder and urinary passages. Speaking of Mrs. Stephens's remedy for the stone, Dr. Mead says, "Upon this subject, I refer the reader to a very useful book, published some years since by a skilful anatomist and physician; in which both the mischiefs done by this medicine, and the artifices employed to bring it into vogue, are set in a clear light." Dr. Parsons was introduced to the Royal Society as a Naturalist, in 1743, by their President, the great Martin Folkes, esq. That gentleman chose our friend to help him in repeating the curious and nice experiments of Mons. Trembley on the Fresh Water Polype; an account of which, drawn by his masterly hand, was inserted in the Philosophical Transactions. He failed not to make the most honourable mention of his assistant; and passed a just encomium upon the elegant drawings made to illustrate his account. Dr. Parsons likewise designed the figures for the plate of Mr. Freke's Ambe for setting Shoulder-bones, Phil. Trans. No. 470. Tab. 4. Two curious papers delivered the same year by Dr. Parsons had a place in that volume; the first was an account of the Phoca, Vitulus Marinus, or Sea Calf, shewed at Charing Cross, in Feb. 1742-3; Phil. Trans. No. 469, with figures; another species of which he described ten years after, in 'A Dissertation upon the Class of Phocæ Marinæ.' Phil. Trans. vol. XLVII. part ii. p. 109. His second paper was 'A Letter to Martin Folkes, Esq. President of the Royal Society, containing the Natural History of the Rhinoceros; read June 9, 1743, Phil. Trans. No. 470, p. 523, with Figures.' This being controverted in Gent. Mag. vol. XXXVIII. p. 208, the Doctor replied to it in the same volume, p. 268. His figures of this animal were particularly well received, as hitherto no good print of it had been published. Mrs. Parsons had, in 1781, the beautiful painting of this animal, by the Doctor's hand; another painted by him was in Dr. Mead's Collection. The horn of the Rhinoceros is extremely remarkable, both on account of its position upon the nose, and a variety hinted at in the following line of Martial:

'Namque gravem gemino cornu sic extulit ursum.'

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Reynolds; by whom he had two sons and a daughter, who all died young. Dr. Parsons resided for

The reading indeed of this passage has been corrected by some learned Commentators; who, instead of supposing a bear to have been tossed up by a double horn, contended that two bears or two bulls were thrown up by a single one. But from a figure in the Prænestan Pavement, a medal of Domitian, a passage in Pausanias, and the testimony of Kolbe, who saw a Rhinoceros at the Cape of Good Hope, as well as from the inspection of some double horns in Sir Hans Sloane's and other gentlemen's Museums, our Author ascertained the matter of fact, and ingeniously, at least, accounted for it. In his opinion, the Rhinoceroses known to the Romans came all from Africa, and were double-horned; whereas most of those which have been from time to time shewn in Europe were Asiatics, and single-horned. This explanation was adopted by Sir Hans Sloane himself; but, after all, we as yet know too little of this stupendous animal, to determine positively whether this variety be due to the climate, the age, or any other particular of his life—not to mention, that double horns from the East Indies are now actually existing in England. The honour which Dr. Parsons received on being appointed, by the Royal Society, to read the Crounian Lectures for several years, induced him to venture his Conjectures upon Muscular Motion; which he published in 'A Supplement to Phil. Trans. 1745.' Having overthrown the opinions of those who had gone before him (a task in this, as well as in many other physiological researches, by much the easiest) he endeavours to establish his own. This consists in attributing to the air, or an ethereal fluid, the inflation of the smallest muscular fibres, which he attempts to prove to be small tubes, running parallel with the nervous hollow fibrillæ, replete with that air, and discharging it into the muscular cells at the command of the will. This hypothesis, like all others, labours under many difficulties, and wants the support of facts. Our Author was himself sensible of this defect, and ingenuously confessed the invention of any more such systems to be a labour as much in vain as the punishment of Sisyphus! The publick were however obliged to him, for having added to his theory a good description of the womb, illustrated with some figures from his own dissections. Besides these Muscular Lectures, the volume for the year 1745 was enriched with three shorter, though perhaps not less curious, communications. The first contained a Specimen of his Researches into the Structure of Vegetable Seeds. Phil. Trans. No. 466, p. 264. The second described some Curious Pebbles, or Crystals, from Gibraltar, cut in irregular forms, and exquisitely polished by the hands of Nature. Ibid. No. 476, p. 463. And the third presented a View and accurate Description of an East Indian Deer called the Bigge. Ibid. No. 476, p. 465. Indostan Antelope. Pennant, Synops. Quadruped. 20. p. 29.—The next year was still more fruitful in interesting productions.

Dr.

many years in Red Lion-square, where he frequently enjoyed the company and conversation of Dr. Stuke-

Dr. Parsons seems to have been the first in London who gave musk with a liberal hand at the close of a fever long neglected, and attended with the worst symptoms. And his account of the case encouraged other practitioners to follow his example. 'A singular Case of a malignant Fever cured by administering Musk in a considerable Quantity;' Phil. Trans. No. 478, p. 75. That his researches in Natural Philosophy did not prevent his taking notice of curious observations in the different branches of his art, likewise appears from the following paper: 'An Account of some very extraordinary Tumours upon the head of a young labouring Man in Bartholomew's Hospital, with Figures drawn by the Doctor from the Life.' Phil. Trans. vol. L. part i. p. 396. Mrs. Parsons shewed me the fine original drawing by the Doctor's own hand. He likewise imparted to the publick 'An Account of the Effects from burying Cows with Quick Lime, which died of the Distemper among horned Cattle, with Observations.' Phil. Trans. No. 480, p 224. In the following Number, Dr. Parsons illustrated a paper from a friend with one of his drawings, being two figures of an extraordinary schirrous Uterus, illustrating Dr. Templeman's Account of the Patient he attended in the Infirmary of St. Andrew's Workhouse, drawn from the subject by Dr. Parsons; Phil. Trans. No. 481, p 285. He likewise obliged the late Bishop Lyttelton with two views of a beautiful Nautilus, inserted in Phil. Trans. No. 487, p. 320. It was a remark of Dr. Parsons, at a meeting of the Royal Society, 'that the cattle in the high grounds about Highgate, Hampstead, Millhill, and Hendon, remained free from the infection, which had spread all about in the lower ground.' He philosophically, as well as anatomically, accounted in a third paper for the Phænomenon of the Woman who partly preserved the power of speaking, though deprived of a great Part of her Tongue. See 'A Physiological Account of the Case of Margaret Cutting, who speaks distinctly, though she has lost the Apex and Body of her Tongue, with Explanations of the Phænomenon, addressed to the Royal Society, by James Parsons.' Phil. Trans. No. 484, p. 627. Much was said of this woman in Gent. Mag. 1781, vol. LI. But his principal performance at that time was his 'Human Physiognomy explained, in the Crounian Lectures on Muscular Motion for the year 1746, printed as a Supplement to the Transactions of that year, 1747,' 4to. This Essay has the merit of originality, being an attempt to shew by what mechanism the several muscles of the face impress upon it the various sentiments of the soul, and mostly leave indelible traces of the reigning passions. It was favourably received abroad; and the celebrated Buffon, after having made an honourable mention of the author, borrowed from him his figures and his thoughts upon the subject. One of the papers which I mentioned before gave rise to a new work, "The Microscopical Theatre of Seeds, being a short View of the particular

ley, Bp. Lyttelton, Mr. Henry Baker, Dr. Knight, and many other of the most distinguished members

cular Marks, Characters, Contents, and Natural Dimensions of all the Seeds of the Shops, Flower and Kitchen Gardens, with Copper-plates of the Figures of the Seeds of an intelligible Size,' published in numbers, in the year 1744, 4to; Volume the first only. These Seeds, which, to a naked eye, appear, except in colour and size, not very different one from another, exhibit, when magnified, the richest display of variety and grandeur; no two are found exactly similar; and the elegance of the forms, multiplicity of the internal parts, variety of substance lodged separately in the inside, shew how inexhaustible the fund is from which Nature draws her patterns. As Dr. Parsons was very particular in his description and representation of these minute objects, he furnished not only a source of entertainment to those who know how to bestow their admiration, but likewise the means of distinguishing genuine and scarce seeds from those that may be either spurious or spoiled. I could have wished, that, contented with the merit which was entirely his own, he had not added to each description, under the title of *Uses*, the farrago of properties attributed to them by various authors, without sufficiently distinguishing the results of experience from the effects of imagination; which possibly hindered this valuable work from meeting with sufficient encouragement to induce the Author to complete his plan. He indeed, before his death, intended to resume it; and being then come to an age in which the little glory arising from extensive reading had lost much of its influence, he probably would have rendered his Treatise more universally pleasing, by reducing it within the bounds of his own observations. The surprizing variety of branches of science which Dr. Parsons embraced, and the several living as well as dead languages he had a knowledge of, qualified him abundantly for the place of Assistant Secretary for Foreign Correspondences, which the Council of the Royal Society bestowed upon him about the year 1750. He acquitted himself to the utmost of his power of the functions of this place, till a few years before his death, when he resigned in favour of his Friend [Dr. Maty], who now gratefully pays this last tribute to his memory. Dr. Parsons joined to his academical honours those which the Royal College of Physicians of London bestowed upon him, by admitting him, after due examination, Licentiate, on the first day of April, 1751. The diffusive spirit of our friend was only equalled by his desire of information. To both these principles he owed the intimacies which he formed with some of the greatest men of his time. The names of Folkes, Hales, Mead, Stukeley, Needham, Baker, Collinson, and Garden, may be mentioned on this occasion; and many more might be added. Weekly meetings were formed, where the earliest intelligence was received and communicated of any discovery both here and abroad; and new trials were made to bring to the test of experience

of the Royal and Antiquarian Societies, and of that of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce; giving

rience the reality or usefulness of these discoveries. Here it was that the Microscopical Animals found in several infusions were first produced; the propagation of several insects by section ascertained; the constancy of Nature amidst these wonderful changes established. In order to destroy the conclusions deduced from the phænomena of the Polypes in favour of materialism, Dr Parsons composed his 'Philosophical Observations on the Analogy between the Propagation of Animals and that of Vegetables. London. 1752.' 8vo. This volume was inscribed to Dr. Sherlock, Bishop of London, who tells him, in a letter from the Temple, Dec. 16, 1751, 'I am very sensible of the honour you intend me, by inscribing your book to me: the subject of which is not only curious, but of great importance to the defence of religion; and will, I doubt not, appear with great advantage coming from your hand. I am forced to make use of another hand in writing; therefore will say no more: but I shall be very glad of an opportunity of seeing you; and, if consistent with your business, I shall be very much obliged to you if you would give me the pleasure of seeing you here. I am, Sir, your very humble servant, THOMAS LONDON.'—Our Author places the first rudiments either of plants or animals in the seeds or eggs, which he supposes by the intervention of the masculine vivifying spirit to be brought into action, and rendered capable of producing new individuals in a successive chain, according to the immutable laws impressed by the Creator upon each species. But, to own the truth, this book, though abounding in good and useful hints, seems still to want something in point of order, clearness, and philosophical precision. We view Dr. Parsons with more pleasure when he is describing natural objects, or occupied in communicating valuable observations. Thus his description of one of the smallest Monkeys (Phil. Trans. vol. XLVII. part ii. p. 146); the Syah Gush, or Persian Mountain Cat (Pennant, Synops Quadruped. 137, p. 189; Le Caracal de Buffon, Tab. IX. p. 262, Tab. XXIV.); a new Salamander (Phil. Trans. vol. XLVII. p. 684); his Account of the Formation of Crabs' Shells, in a Letter to Peter Collinson (ibid. vol. XLVII. p. 439), and Coralline (ibid. vol. XLVII. p. 505); of an unknown Species of Echinus petrified (ibid. vol. XLIX. p. 155); of Fossil Fruits (Dr. Parsons gave a particular account of several fossil fruits and other bodies of Shepey Island, with two copper-plates designed by himself, in the fiftieth volume of the Phil. Trans. p. 396, mentioned by Mr. Jones in his "Physiological Disquisitions," p. 381); a singular Shell Fish piercing the hardest Stones, and lodging itself in them (ibid. No. 485, p. 44); and even his Observations and Thoughts on a White Negro (ibid. vol. LV. p. 45); on Amphibious Animals (ibid. vol. LVI. p. 194); the Construction of the Aspera Arteria in Cranes, &c. (ibid. p. 208); afford a still greater satisfaction than his well-meant efforts to pry into the mysteries

of

weekly an elegant dinner to a large but select party. He enjoyed also the literary correspondence of

of generation, or to ascertain the migration of the first inhabitants of the world. The book I have in view was published in 1767, in one large volume in quarto, under the title of 'Remains of Japhet, being Historical Enquiries into the Affinity and Origin of the European Languages.'—It is a most laborious performance, tending to prove the antiquity of the first inhabitants of these islands, as being originally descended from Gomer and Magog, about 1000 years before Christ, their primitive and still subsisting language, and its affinity with some others. It cannot be denied but that there is much ingenuity as well as true learning, in this work, which helps conviction, and often supplies the want of it. But we cannot help thinking that our friend's warm feelings now and then misled his judgment; and that some at least of his conjectures, resting upon partial traditions, and poetical scraps of Irish Filids and Welsh Bards, are less satisfactory than his Tables of Affinity between the several Northern Languages, as deduced from one common stock. Literature, however, is much obliged to him for having in this, as well as in many of his other works, opened a new field of observations and discoveries.—In enumerating our learned friend's Dissertations, we find ourselves at a loss whether we should follow the order of subjects, or of time; neither is it easy to account for their surprizing variety and quick succession. The truth is, that his eagerness after knowledge was such, as to embrace almost with equal facility all its branches, and with equal zeal to ascertain the merit of inventions, and ascribe to their respective, and sometimes unknown authors, the glory of the discovery. Many operations which the antients have transmitted to us have been thought fabulous, merely from our ignorance of the art by which they were performed. Thus the burning of the ships of the Romans at a considerable distance, during the siege of Syracuse, by Archimedes, would, perhaps, still continue to be exploded, had not the celebrated M. Buffon in France shewn the possibility of it, by presenting and describing a model of a Speculum, or rather assemblage of Mirrors, by which he could set fire at the distance of several hundred feet. In the contriving indeed, though not in the execution of such an apparatus, he had in some measure been forestalled by a writer now very little known or read. This Dr. Parsons proved in a very satisfactory manner (Phil. Trans. vol. XLVIII. p. 628); and he had the pleasure to find the French Philosopher did not refuse to the Jesuit his share in the invention, and was not at all offended by the liberty he had taken. Another French discovery, I mean a new kind of painting fathered upon the antients, was reduced to its real value, in a paper which shewed our Author was possessed of a good taste for the fine arts (Phil. Trans. vol. XLIX. p. 655): and I am informed that his skill in musick was by no means inferior, and that his favourite amuse-

D'Argenville, Buffon, Le Cat, Beccaria, Amb. Bertrand, Valltravers, Ascanius, Turberville Needham,

ment was the flute. Richly, it appears from these performances, did our Author merit the honour of being a member of the Antiquarian Society, which long ago had associated him to its labours. To another Society (for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce) founded upon the great principles of humanity, patriotism, and natural emulation, he undoubtedly was greatly useful. He assisted at most of their general meetings and committees; and was for many years chairman to that of Agriculture; always equally ready to point out and to promote useful improvements, and to oppose the interested views of fraud and ignorance, so inseparable from very extensive associations. A Medical Society was instituted, by Dr. Fothergill and other respectable Physicians, Licentiates, in vindication of their privileges; and no sooner was the Society formed than Dr. Parsons became a member of it. Intimately convinced of the nobleness of its views, though from his station in life little concerned in its success, he grudged neither attendance nor expence. Neither ambitious of taking the lead, nor fond of opposition, he joined in any measure he thought right; and submitted cheerfully to the sentiments of the majority, though against his own private opinion. The just ideas he had of the dignity of our profession, as well as of the common links which ought to unite all its members, notwithstanding the differences of country, religion, or places of education, made him bear impatiently the shackles laid upon a great number of respectable practitioners; he wished, fondly wished, to see these broken; not with a view of empty honour and dangerous power, but as the only means of serving mankind more effectually, checking the progress of designing men and illiterate practitioners, and diffusing through the whole body a spirit of emulation. Though by frequent disappointments he foresaw, as well as we, the little chance of a speedy redress, he nobly persisted in the attempt; and, had he lived till the final event, would undoubtedly, like Cato, still have preferred the conquered cause to that supported by the Gods.

"The style of our friend's compositions were sufficiently clear in description, though in argument not so close as could have been wished. Full of his ideas, he did not always so dispose and connect them together as to produce in the minds of his readers that conviction which was in his own. He too much despised those additional graces which command attention when joined to learning, observation, and sound reasoning. Let us hope that his example and spirit will animate all his colleagues; and that those practitioners who are in the same circumstances will be induced to join their brethren, sure to find among them those great blessings of life, freedom, equality, information, and friendship. As long as these great principles shall subsist in this Society,

Dr. Garden, and others of the most distinguished rank in science *.

Society, and I trust they will out-last the longest livers, there is no doubt but the members will meet with the reward honest men are ambitious of, the approbation of their conscience, the esteem of the virtuous, the remembrance of posterity.

"Dr. Parsons was associated to the Oeconomical Society at Bern, Dec. 26, 1763. The letter he received on this occasion, dated Jan. 2, 1764, was conceived in very honourable terms: 'Le choix que l'illustre Societé dont vous etes un si digne membre a fait de vous pour vous mettre à la tête d'un departement aussi interessant et aussi etendu que l'est celui de l'Agriculture, a guidé notre Societé, qui en fait l'objet principal de ses recherches et de ses travaux, quand elle vous associa à elles. Recevez ce Diplome c'y-joint, Monsieur, comme une marque des sentiments qu'elle donne à ceux qui se distinguent parmi les hommes, par leurs vertus et leurs labeurs; ce sont des patriotes qui d'un choix libre s'associent tous ceux qui comme eux sacrifient leurs vies au bonheur de la patrie et de l'humanité. La Societé a cru ne pouvoir mieux faire que de vous associer Monsieur Wyche, votre illustre frere, qu'une mort premature vient, à ce que j'apprens, enlever à sa patrie, à votre Societé, et à ses amis. J'ai l'honneur d'etre, &c. N. E. Tscharne, Secretaire de la Societé."

"Dr. Parsons's answer, dated Feb. 28, 1764, was this: 'A l'instant que j'ai eu l'honneur de recevoir votre agreable Lettre, avec le Diplome de votre illustre Societé, je ne me laissois pas d'etre frappé d'une gratitude, et des sentiments tres vifs, en etant distingué d'une marque de son estime aussi glorieuse qu'interessante à mon gré. C'est un fait, Monsieur, que j'estimerai toujours encore un des plus heureux accidents de ma vie: c'est un honneur qui augment beaucoup le caractère et la reputation que chacun doit souhaiter qui aime l'humanité, et qui voudroit bien rendre service au publique. Ayez donc la bonté, Monsieur, de me faire la grace de temoigner à l'illustre Societé de Berne ma reconnoissance pour ce grand honneur qu'elle vient de me faire, et dont l'impression ne me sera jamais effacé. J'ai l'honneur d'etre, &c. J. Parsons, President dans les department dé l'Agriculture de la Societé des Arts; Membre de la Societé Royale et Antiq. de London, et du College Royal de Med."

* "Mrs. Parsons had several letters subscribed by the illustrious names above mentioned; and one from Dr. Garden shall be here inserted: 'Though I have not the honour of your personal acquaintance, yet it is with great pleasure and gratitude that I can acknowledge an acquaintance with your learned and ingenious works, to which I have been indebted for many useful things, and have perused such of them as have fallen in my way with no less pleasure than profit. What I have yet had the pleasure of seeing are, some papers in the Transactions, and 'The Analogy

As a practitioner, he was judicious, careful, honest, and remarkably humane to the poor; as a friend, obliging and communicative; cheerful and decent in conversation; severe and strict in his morals, and attentive to fulfil with propriety all the various duties of life.

of Animals and Vegetables.' This was a performance I had long wished to see, and lately was so lucky as to meet with it; since which time, I could not help resolving to address the learned Author, and humbly beg the favour of his correspondence, that I might have an opportunity from time to time of laying open my difficulties in any enquiries of that kind to him, and begging his assistance and advice. At the same time, I must own, I am but poorly qualified to make proper and suitable returns for such a favour; but if accounts of any of our Vegetable, Animal, or Mineral Productions, would be acceptable, I should take the greatest and most sensible pleasure to procure or make out such as might be agreeable of such things as may fall under my notice. It is now about three years and an half since I first arrived in South Carolina, where I have practised Physic ever since, and employed every spare hour in Botany; but my progress has been much retarded for want of the proper books and assistances. There is only my learned and ingenious friend the Honourable Dr. Bull, who knows the least Iota of Botany or any part of Natural History here, which, with my small Botanical Library (which only consisted of Tournefort, Ray, and Lin. Fund. Botan. with the Flora Virgin. Gron.), was a great hindrance and loss to a beginner. I have lately had a copy of all Linnæus's Works, except the late performance of the Species Plantarum, which I have only just heard of in a Letter from a German Correspondent. This last year I was obliged to leave Carolina, and go to the Northern Colonies, in search of a cooler and freer air, on the account of health; and as soon as my health and strength would permit, I travelled over most of the adjacent countries in search of their Vegetable Productions, and met with many curious things, some of which we have not here. In the Province of New York I met with the Honourable Cadwallader Colden, a truly great Philosopher and very accurate and ingenious Botanist; as witness his Philosophical performances, and his 'Genera Plantarum,' published in the 'Acta Upsaliensa.' I could not help being greatly pleased, and at the same time chagrined, at the account which he gave me of Dr. Kalm the Swede, who is just now publishing his Collections, made in our Colonies, in the Swedish Language, by the particular desire of his King. This will not only give them the glory and honour of such public undertakings, but the sole advantage of what observations he may have made. This looks as if we must be obliged to strangers to point out our own richness, and shew us the advantages of what we ourselves possess.

Some-

In 1769, he proposed to retire from business and from London, for the sake of his health; and, having disposed of most of his books and his fossils with that view, went to Bristol: but soon found it inconsistent with his happiness to forsake all the advantages which a long residence in the capital, and the many connexions he had formed, had rendered habitual to him. He therefore returned to his old house; and died in it, after a week's illness, April 4, 1770.

By his last will, dated in October 1766, he gave his whole property to Mrs. Parsons; and, in case of her death before him, to Miss Mary Reynolds, her only sister, "in recompence for her affectionate attention to him and to his wife, for a long course of years, in sickness and in health."

Something similar to this will soon be seen in Dr. Loefling's Voyage to our Islands and the Spanish Main, especially while he is to be supported by the Royal bounty. And have not we lands that would produce most of these vegetables that the Spaniards just now reap such advantage from? Yes, surely we have; but, as we are ignorant of the proper method of curing and manufacturing them, our people are deterred from running the risk of losing money, labour, or time, in this slow way of getting knowledge of them by experiment, while they have some other commodities that answer tolerably well in the mean time.— Mr. Clayton in Virginia, and John Bartram in Pennsylvania, are the only Botanists or Naturalists that I know of, besides Mr. Colden, on the Continent. And I doubt not but you are well acquainted with the character and genius of both these men. Mr. Bartram is certainly a most surprizing man, who, without any assistance of conversation or of books (he understands a very little botanical Latin), should have arrived at so great a knowledge of Plants, especially in a systematical way. It is a great pity that he does not understand Mr. Loefling's Dissertation on Gems; for I am fully persuaded he is amongst the best qualified men to improve that part of the science. How often have I been pleased, delighted, and instructed, by many of his lively and strong natural thoughts on gems, as to their *structure, use, time,* and properties! I shall not detain you longer, but again beg leave to request the favour of your correspondence, and your forgiveness for this trouble. I am, with great esteem, Sir, your most obedient and very humble servant, ALEXANDER GARDEN.

"*Charles Town, South Carolina, May* 5, 1755."

It

It was his particular request that he should not be buried till some change should appear in his corpse; a request which occasioned his being kept unburied 17 days, and even then scarce the slightest alteration was perceivable. He was buried at Hendon, in a vault which he had caused to be built on the ground purchased on the death of his son, where his tomb is thus inscribed:

"Here
(taken from his sorrowing family and friends,
by the common lot of frail mortality)
rests JAMES PARSONS, D. M.
member of the College of Physicians,
and F. R. S. and S. of A. M. C. R.
A man,
in whom the most dignifying virtues were united
with talents the most numerous and rare.
Firm and erect in conscious conviction,
no consideration could move him
to desert Truth, or acquiesce to her opponents.
Physic, Anatomy, Natural History, Antiquities,
Languages, and the fine Arts,
are largely indebted to his skill and industry
in each,
for many important truths discovered in their
support,
or errors detected with which they were obscured,
Yet, though happy beyond the general race of
mankind in mental endowments,
the sincere Christian, the affectionate husband,
the generous and humane friend,
were in him superior to the sage, the scholar,
and the philosopher.
He died April 4th, 1770,
in the 66th year of his age.

Here also lies the body of JAMES PARSONS,
son of the above-named Dr. PARSONS,
who died Dec. 9, 1750,
in the ninth year of his age."

A por-

A portrait of Dr. Parsons, by Mr. Wilson, is now in the British Museum; another, by Wells, was in the hands of his widow, with a third unfinished; and one of his son James; also a family piece, in which the same son is introduced, with the Doctor and his lady, accompanied by her sister.

Among other portraits, Mrs. Parsons had fine ones of the illustrious Harvey, of Bp. Burnet, and of Dr. John Freind; a beautiful miniature of Dr. Stukeley: some good paintings by her husband's own hand, particularly the Rhinoceros, which he described in the Philosophical Transactions. She possessed also his MSS. and some capital printed books; a large folio volume, intituled, "Figuræ quædam Miscellaneæ quæ ad rem Anatomicam Historiamque Naturalem spectant; quas propriâ adumbravit manu Jacobus Parsons, M. D. S. S. R. Ant. &c." another, called, "Drawings of curious Fossils, Shells, &c. in Dr. Parsons's Collection, drawn by himself. I have been indulged with a sight of these valuable drawings. Amongst other curiosities, is an exact delineation of a human fœtus, which was the subject of an extraordinary imposture; the upper part being well made, and in good proportion, the lower extremities monstrous. It was inclosed in a glass case, and shewn at the Heathcock, Charing Cross, as "a surprizing young Mermaid, taken on the coast of Acapulco." This figure the Doctor drew; and caused the show-man to be turned out of town.

She also possessed a set of the fine prints engraved at the expence of Mr. Hollis, whose character Dr. Parsons has thus briefly depicted:

"Memorabilium quorundam Monumenta, quæ curâ et sumptibus eximii viri Thomæ Hollisii Armigeri nuper prodierunt; quæque mihi grato animo dono dedit. Tanti autem viri munera mihi sanè sunt gratissima: qui dum vitam placidè inter studia politiora atque humano generi utilissima, semper trahit, non majoribus assentator servilis, nec inferioribus est

est arrogans; omnibus tamen gratus, neque unquam absentem rodit amicum. J. P.

18 *Julii*, 1764."

Dr. Parsons having sent Mr. Hollis some present in return for these valuable prints, received a reply, dated August 21, 1764, which is worth preserving, as characteristic of the writer: "I return you my thanks for a curious and obliging present, which was received this day, and is already deposited amidst my other choicest virtù. A number of the prints from the plates in my possession having been lately stricken off, and the last set having seemed not unacceptable to you; I have taken the liberty to send you another set of them, for, if you please, a friend. My time, I confess, has been greatly engaged, and even finessed on to certain purposes, honest ones it is hoped, for years past; but those purposes will have their end before it is long, and then I shall be able to partake again, happily, in the society of my friends, and of wise and good men. I am, with unfeigned and deep respect, Sir, your most obedient humble servant, T. HOLLIS."

I shall add to this letter a short extract from the biographer of Mr. Hollis: "Paid four guineas, the full subscription for six copies of the Remains of Japhet, by Dr. James Parsons; burnt five of the subscriptions. We give this memorandum just as we find it, being uncertain whether a friendly partiality for the author, or the subject, was the motive of this generous subscription. It is certain, that there are positions in that book from which, we apprehend, Mr. Hollis would dissent *."

Mrs. Parsons (I was, in 1782, enabled to say on her own authority), had she been properly applied to, was ready to have given, either to the Royal or Antiquarian Society, a portrait of her worthy husband, and a sum of money to found a lecture to perpetuate his memory, similar to that established by his friend Mr. Henry Baker.

* Memoirs of Mr. Hollis, p. 495.

Dr.

Dr. Parsons's library was sold by Mr. Paterson, June 7, &c. 1769, and his fossils June 22, &c. the same year; both under the title of "an eminent Physician, who, on account of his health, is retiring into the country."

His widow, Mrs. Elizabeth Parsons, died Aug. 8, 1786, aged 86; and was buried at Hendon *.

RICHARD RAWLINSON †, an eminent Antiquary, and great benefactor to the University of Oxford, was the fourth son of Sir Thomas, and younger brother of Thomas Rawlinson, esq. another eminent Antiquary ‡. Richard was educated at St. John's

* See a character of her, Gent. Mag. 1786, vol. LVI. p. 715.

† In Mr. Price's possession is a collection of loose papers labelled "Nomen Rawlinsonianum, ex MSS. Cod. erutum," chiefly in Dr. Richard Rawlinson's own hand-writing.

‡ For whom Mr. Addison is said to have intended his character of *Tom Folio*, in the Tatler, No. 158, but with infinitely too satirical a vein. He was a great collector of books; and himself a man of learning, as well as patron of those who were so. Maittaire has dedicated to him his edition of Juvenal: and Hearne's publication, intituled, "Aluredi Beverlacensis Annales, &c." was printed from the original MS. in this gentleman's possession. Very numerous indeed were the communications that Editor received from Mr. Thomas Rawlinson; for all which, to do him but justice, he takes every opportunity of expressing his gratitude. While Mr. Rawlinson lived in Gray's Inn, he had four chambers so completely filled, that his bed was removed out into the passage. He afterwards removed to London-house, the antient palace of the bishops of London, in Aldersgate-street; where he died, August 6, 1725, aged 44; and was buried in the church of St. Botolph Aldersgate. In London-house his immense library was sold after his decease; and there also lived and died his brother Richard; who left a portrait of his brother Thomas in crayons, another of himself, and another of Nicholas Salmon, LL.D. the Antiquary, to the Society of Antiquaries, all afterwards revoked. His MSS. took 16 days to sell, from March 4, 1733-4. (See some of them in Brit. Top. vol. I. p. 117, 216, 217, 239, 337, 338, 425, 451, 642. vol. II. p. 317, 407, 426, 429, 789.) The Catalogue of his library consists of nine parts. The amount of the first five parts was 2409*l*: 1st part, Dec. 17, 1721, price 1*s*. 2d part, March 1721-2, price 1*s*. 4th part, April 1723, price 1*s*. sold by Tho. Ballard; 6th part, at London-house, Aldersgate-street, March 1726, by Charles Davis, 2*s*. 6*d*.; 9th part, at Paul's Coffee-house, October 1727, and 19 following days, by Tho. Ballard, 1*s*. Other parts, by Thomas Ballard and C. Davis, 1727-8, took 22 and 23 days; 1729, 26 and 30 days; 1732,

college, Oxford, where he was admitted gentleman commoner; proceeded M. A. and grand compounder 1713; and was admitted to the degree of Doctor of Civil Law, by diploma, 1719. He was F.R.S.; and became F.S.A. May 10, 1727. He was greatly accessary to the bringing to light many descriptions of Counties; and, intending one of Oxfordshire, had collected materials from Wood's papers, &c. had many plates engraved, and circulated printed queries, but received accounts of only two parishes, which in some degree answered the design, and encouraged him to pursue it. In this work were to be included the Antiquities of the city of Oxford, which Wood promised when the English copy of his "Historia et Antiquitates Oxon." was to be published, and which have since been faithfully transcribed from his papers, and much enlarged and corrected from antient original authorities. All Dr. Rawlinson's collections for that County, chiefly culled from Wood, or picked up from information, and disposed by Hundreds in separate books, in each of which several parishes are omitted, would make but one octavo volume. But he made large collections for the continuation of Wood's "Athenæ Oxonienses" and "History of Oxford," and for an account of "Non-compliers" at the Revolution; which, together with some collections by Hearne, and Note-books of his own travels, he bequeathed by his will to the University of Oxford*. "The Life of Mr. Anthony Wood, Historiographer of the most famous University of Oxford, with an account of his nativity, education, works, &c. collected and composed from MSS. by Richard Rawlinson, gent. commoner of St. John's college,

1732, 18 and 26 days.—Mr. Charles Marsh, late bookseller at Charing Cross, used to say, that the sale of Mr. Thomas Rawlinson's library was one of the first events he remembered upon engaging in business; and that it was the largest collection at that time known to have been offered to the publick.

* Hearne's Diaries were purchased by Dr. Rawlinson for 100 guineas, of the widow and executrix of Dr. William Bedford, to whom they had been given by Hearne.

Oxon,"

Oxon," was printed in London in 1711; and a copy of this life, with MS additions by the Author, is in the Bodleian Library*. He published Proposals for an "History of Eton College, 1717;" and, in 1728, "Petri Abælardi Abbatis Ruyensis et Heloissæ Abbatissæ Paracletensis Epistolæ†," 8vo, dedicated to Dr. Mead.

The books the publication of which he promoted are supposed to be, the "History and Antiquities of Winchester," 1715," 8vo; "History and Antiquities of Hereford, 1717," 8vo; "History and Antiquities of Rochester, 1717, 1723," 8vo; "Inscriptions on tombs in Bunhill-fields, 1717," 8vo; "History and Antiquities of the Churches of Salisbury and Bath, 1719, 1723," 8vo; "Aubrey's History of Surrey, 1719," 5 vols. 8vo; "Norden's Delineation of Northamptonshire, 1720," 8vo; "History and Antiquities of Glastonbury, Oxford, 1722," 8vo: all which were published by Mr. Edmund Curll.

In 1728, he translated and printed Fresnoy's "New Method of studying History, with a Catalogue of the chief Historians," 2 vols. 8vo. But his principal work was, "The English Topographer, or, an Historical Account of all the Pieces that have been written relating to the antient Natural History or Topographical Description of any Part of England, 1720," 8vo; the plan of which was afterwards so much augmented and improved by Mr. Gough in his two editions of "Anecdotes of British Topography."

In 1750, he gave, by indenture, the yearly sum of 87*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.* the rents and profits of various estates which he inherited under the will of his grandfather, Daniel Rawlinson‡, to the University of Oxford, for

* Historical Passages collected by him from Wood were printed as a Supplement to Wood's Life, Oxford, 1772, vol. II. p. 249.

† "My friend Mr. Richard Rawlinson hath just published "Abelardi et Heloisæ Epistolæ," 8vo. It is dedicated to Dr. Richard Mead; and said to be printed in London, yet the first part was printed at Oxford, and this first part is the best done." Ballard's Collection of MS Letters in the Bodleian Library, LXV. 162.

‡ From an elder brother of Mr. Daniel Rawlinson, the late Sir Thomas Rawlinson, knt. alderman of London, sheriff in the year 1748, lord mayor of London in 1754, and president of St. Bartholomew's hospital, deduced his pedigree. Of this I was informed

the maintenance and support of an Anglo-Saxon lecture or professorship * for ever. To the Society of Antiquaries he gave, by will, a small freehold and copyhold estate at Fulham, on condition that they did not, upon any terms, or by any stratagem, art, means, or contrivance howsoever, increase or add to their (then) number of 150 members, honorary foreigners only excepted. He also made them a considerable bequest of dies and matrices of English seals and medals; all his collection of seals †, charters, drawings by Vertue and other artists, and other antiquities; ten walnut-tree book-cases, which had been given to his late brother Thomas by the then Earl of Pembroke, and four mahogany presses, all marked P, all his English prints of which they had not duplicates, and a quit-rent of 5*l. per annum*

informed by his only son, the late Sir Walter Rawlinson, knt. of Stow hall, in the county of Suffolk.

In St. Dionis Backchurch, Fenchurch-street, a handsome monument of white marble is thus inscribed:

"H. S. E.
sub marmore propè posito,
in expectationem beatæ resurrectionis,
corpus DANIELIS RAWLINSON, civis et œnopolæ Londinensis,
honestâ et antiquâ familiâ Grasdaliæ
in agro Lancastrensi oriundi.
Si annos spectes, satis diù vixit;
Si beneficia, premunt annos;
si animo agitata, præmaturâ morte abreptus est.
Obiit anno ætatis LXV. idibus Quintil. 1679.
Jacent juxta sepulti
Margareta uxor,
Daniel filius natu maximus,
Elizabetha filia,
Maria filia, quæ fuit uxor Johannis Mazine, armigeri,
et Rawlinson Mazine infans, nepos, et unica Mariæ proles.
Monumentum hoc, patris memoriæ sacrum, P. P.
THOMAS RAWLINSON filius, superstitum natu maximus."

* To the Saxon Professor, Mr. Gough has since been a considerable literary benefactor.

† See his Seals enumerated in the British Topography, vol. I. pp. 465, 482; vol. II. pp. 40, 96, 134, 177, 291: his plates, vol. I. pp. 390, 419, 454, 464, 492, 494, 508, 515, 537, 544, 552, 553, 641, 717; vol. II. pp. 50, 89, 141, 150, 164, 166, 237, 295, 309, 381, 474, 476, 689, 702, 715: drawings and MSS. vol. I. pp. 188, 327, 339, 421, 499, 510, 529, 534, 602, 615; vol. II. pp. 59, 75, 85, 95, 103, 155, 286, 468, 761.

in

in Norfolk, for a gold medal, for the best dissertation on any English, Saxon, Roman, or Greek coin, or other antiquity not before treated of, or in print; but, resenting some supposed want of deference to singularities and dictatorial spirit, and some reflexions on his own and his friend's honour, in an imputation of libeling the Society in the public papers, he, by a codicil made and signed at their house in Chancery-lane, revoked the whole *, and excluded all fellows of this or the Royal Society from any benefit from his benefactions at Oxford, which, besides the Anglo Saxon endowment, were extremely considerable, including a number of books with and without MS notes, all his English and foreign seals, his antique marbles, and other curiosities; his copper-plates relative to several counties, his antient Greek and Roman coins and medals, part of his collection of English medals, his series of medals of Louis XIV. and XV. a series of medals of the Popes, which Dr. Rawlinson supposed to be one of the most complete collections in Europe; and a great number of valuable MSS. which he ordered to be safely locked up, and not to be opened till seven years after his decease †.

* One reason, among others, which he gave for this, was, that their then Secretary, Mr. Gordon, was a Scotchman.

† Dr. Taylor was persuaded that this precaution was taken by the Doctor to prevent the right owners' recovering their own. He supposed that Dr. Rawlinson made no scruple of buying all that was brought to him; and that, among the rest, the MS. and printed copy of Demosthenes, which was lost on the road, and the detainer of which he had cursed very classically, would be found among the spoil. The MS. belonged to James Harris, esq. of Salisbury, by whom it was sent to Cambridge; but, to use the words of Dr. Taylor, "in itinere, malâ quorundam fide, interceptus est, et ex eo tempore diù frustráque à me quæsitus; sive imprudentiâ, sive consilio et deditâ operâ sit discerptus. Hunc SI QUIS adhuc, nec prece nostrâ nec pretio delinitus, domi in PLUTEO CONCLUSERIT, vel quovis modo FRAUDEM FAXIT, DEÆ FIDEI SACER ESTO." I quote this passage, as I can contradict the supposition it has given rise to: "I remember the note you refer to in Taylor's Demosthenes: it is the last article of his Syllabus of the books and MSS. which he perused for his edition of the third volume. But I never could learn what became

His music, MS and printed, he gave to the Music-school, at Oxford. He died at Islington, April 6, 1755; and in the same year was printed, "The Deed of Trust and Will of Richard Rawlinson, of St. John the Baptist college, Oxford, Doctor of Laws; concerning his endowment of an Anglo-Saxon Lecture, and other Benefactions to the College and University." He left to Hertford College

came of Mr. Harris's MS. which was lost by the carelessness of a common carrier. Sure I am that it never arrived at the Bodleian Library, either in Dr. Rawlinson's or any other collection. The papers, &c. which the Doctor desired might not be made public till seven years after his death, were collections for a continuation of the Athenæ Oxonienses, and Hearne's Diaries. These are now open for any one that wishes to consult them. As to the Doctor's mode of collecting, I have nothing to say. It was over with him before I entered upon my business here. We have a MS Catalogue of most of his MSS. &c.; but when it will be printed, I cannot say. The revenue of our press, by some late determinations in Parliament, has sunk very much, and will not admit our undertaking any unsaleable works. Thus, I fear, our Catalogue will remain unprinted, at least for some time." *Letter from Mr. Price to Mr. Gough, Nov.* 10, 1779.

Not two months before his death, Dr. Rawlinson addressed the following letter to the Rev. George North.

"WORTHY SIR, *Islington, Feb.* 11, 1755.

"Excuse this freedom I take in begging the favour of the loan of your priced Catalogue, after this Medal sale is over. If the favour is too great, speak freely, and tell me so. I should be glad to know particularly how *Symon's Crown*, the *Pertinax*, and gold Alectus go, and by whom purchased. The last went at Lord Oxford's sale, if I mistake not, for 63*l.* 13*s.* 6*d.* I should also be glad of the loan, if not to be master, of Wood's MS. And you may be assured of the continuance of my augmenting your Antiquity Print Collections; and let the saying be true on both sides, as it has been on mine, *Melius est dare quam accipere.* I should be glad to know if there is not some of the Corsican * short-lived Monarch's coin in this Catalogue, though I cannot find it out. I don't see any of the Spintriæ medals struck by Tiberius during his infamous retreat to Caprea's Isle, I have six; and Mr. Addison, in his Travels, mentions ten. In hopes of a favourable answer, directed to London House,

As I know you to be the Author of that part of Dr. Mead's Catalogue relating to the Coins, I should be glad to know whether the second part of the Antiquities be your's or Dr. Ward's. I am, reverend Sir,

Your humble servant, RI. RAWLINSON."

* Theodore, King of Corsica.

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the estate in Fulham before mentioned; and to the College of St. John the Baptist the bulk of his estate, amounting to near 700*l.* a year, a plate of Archbishop Laud, thirty-one volumes of Parliamentary Journals and Debates; a set of the "Fœdera;" all his Greek, Roman, and English, coins, not given to the Bodleian Library; all his plates engraved at the expence of the Society of Antiquaries, with the annuity for the prize-medal, and another to the best orator. The produce of certain rents bequeathed to St. John's College were, after 40 years' accumulation, to be laid out in purchase of an estate, whose profits were to be a salary to a keeper of the Ashmolean Museum, being a master of arts, or bachelor in civil law; and all legacies refused by the University or others to centre in this College *. To the Hospitals of Bridewell and

* The following references to Ballard's Collection of MS Letters in the Bodleian Library may be useful to some future Biographer.

Dr. Richard Rawlinson engages in a Continuation of Wood's Athenæ, II. 1. declines accepting the title of *Reverend*, 6. Translates Fresnoy's "Method of reading History" into English, 7. draws up the Life of Anthony Wood, and prifits it with a Latin Dedication to Dr. Charlett, 8. charges Mr. Tanner with purloining, 9. loses an estate of 2000*l.* a year, ibid. purchases some of Mr. Ashmole's and Sir William Dugdale's MSS. 11; his Commentary on the three Elizabeths, 14. on Queen Caroline, 15. his great affection to the University of Oxford 16. his account of printing-presses in England, 24. 53. 60. discovered by a Bookseller to be the author of the Topographer, 25. purchases a fine statue of M. Aur. Antoninus, and Sir John Cooke's Collection of Papers, 28. complains of his nephew's folly, 33. 48. his remarks on the Bench of Bishops, particularly of Bp. Gibson, 41. advises Mr. Bedford to burn Mr. Hearne's MS Life of himself, 41. 42. gives a very great character of Mr. Baker of Cambridge, and Mr. Anstis, ib. 43. displeased at an advertisement concerning him in the Daily Gazetteer, 50. purchases Dr. Compton's and Bp. Robinson's papers, 51. highly disgusted at Dr. Huddesford's being made keeper of the Ashmolean Museum, 175. master of the largest collection of old seals in England, 69. purchases several of Lord Oxford's curiosities, ibid. his characters of Lord Oxford and Mr. West, 71. 80. methodizes the papers of Bp. Turner and Dr. Turner, president of Corpus Christi college, 77. 87. purchases several curious MSS. out of Mr. Bridgeman's Collection, 75.

Bethlehem, for the use of the incurables of the latter he left 200*l.* and ten guineas as an equivalent for the monthly coffee which he had received in Bethlehem common room; but, if they did not give up the picture of his father hanging in their hall, in order to its being put up in the Mansion-house, they were to forfeit the larger sum, and receive only the smaller. This picture, after it had hung up at the Mansion-house for some years, without any companion, in a forlorn neglected state, and received considerable damage, the late Sir Walter Rawlinson obtained leave of the Court of Aldermen (being then himself a member of that body, and president of those hospitals) to restore to Bridewell. It is one of Sir Godfrey Kneller's best performances, and well engraved by Vertue. Constantine, another brother, is mentioned by Richard Rawlinson's will, as then residing at Venice *, to whom he gave the copper-plate of his father's portrait; and all family-pictures, except his father's portrait by Kneller, which was given to

75. his character of Dr. Perry's performance, 80. adds several curious MSS. to his Collection, 83. his remarkable account of his brother's marriage and its consequences, 88. makes new accessions to his MSS. ibid. finishes his History of Eton and King's College, 93. purchased Mr. Chamberlaine's and Mr. Newman's papers, 94. a misunderstanding between the Duke and Mr. Brome's family, 103. 104. 107. Gives some pictures to the Bodleian Gallery and Magdalen College, ibid. purchases a fine wax figure of King Charles II. 110. binds up Mr. Hearne's papers, 2. purchases Mr. Pepys's papers 115. gives some account of his family, 116. a catalogue of his Medals of the Popes given to the Bodleian Cabinet, 137. exclaims against party, 147. purchases a valuable MS. out of Mr. Samuel Gale's sale which formerly belonged to Charles the Ninth of France, ibid. 163. purchases a numerous Collection of Original Letters, &c. ibid. 165. complains of ill treatment from the Antiquary Society ibid. 168. 169. 170. displeased with the Bodleian Librarian, ibid. 176. 179. declines the task of finishing Mr. Carte's History, ibid. 179. V. 90. XVIII. 87. 89. 94. 102. XIX. 10. Mr. Brome's character of him 27. 32. a farther character of him, 33. 34. 36. 38. 41. 43. 50. 53. 54. 56. 57. 59. 61. 62. 66. 69. 70. 75. 76. 78. 80. 83. 90. 95.

* This gentleman, in the year 1763, Sir Walter Rawlinson met with at Venice, where he had resided many years, and where he died, Jan. 6, 1779.

the

the Vintners Company, of which his father was a member. He left him also his rents in Paul's Head-court, Fenchurch-street, jointly with his sisters, Mary Rawlinson and Anne Andrews, for life. In the same will is mentioned another brother, John, to whom he left estates in Devonshire-street, London, and a nephew Thomas.

To St. John's College he bequeathed also his diploma, and his heart, which is placed in a beautiful marble urn against the chapel-wall, inscribed:

"Ubi thesaurus, ibi cor.
Ric. Rawlinson, LL. D. et ANT. S. S.
Olim hujus Collegii superioris ordinis Commensalis.
Obiit VI Apr. MDCCLV."

His body was buried in a vault, purchased by him in the North aile of St. Giles's church, Oxford, of which he had a plate engraved in his life time, with this inscription:

Γνῶθι σεαυτόν——*Velut in Speculum.*
Manet omnes una nox—Non moriar omnis.
Hoc Dormitorium 8 ped. lat. 8 ped. long.
à parochiâ D. Egidi Oxon, concess. 25 Febr. et.
facult. Episc. confirmat. 5 Maii J. L. arm. et.
assign. A. D. M,DCC,LIV.
Pallida mors æquo pulsat pede,
Semel est calcanda via lethi.
Ultima Thule.
R. Rawlinson, LL. D. R. & A. SS.
olim Collegii S. Joannis Bapt. Oxon.
superioris ordinis commensalis,
obiit VI Apr. MDCCLV. æt. LXV."

When the head of Counsellor Layer *, who was executed for being concerned in the Plot of 1722,

* Christopher Layer, a young Counsellor of the Temple, was apprehended in the middle of September 1722, and, attempting his escape next day, was overtaken and committed to the Tower. He was examined Sept. 21, before the Privy Council; and, after a trial of 18 hours, in the King's Bench, on an indictment for inlisting men in Essex for the Pretender's service, and corresponding with them, was convicted, and received sentence of death.

and fixed on Temple-bar, was blown off, and taken up by Mr. John Pearce, an eminent attorney of Tooke's-court, and agent for the Nonjuring party, Dr. Rawlinson purchased it of him at a high price, preserved it as a valuable relic, and directed that it should be buried in his right hand *.

His library of printed books and books of prints was sold by auction in the year 1756; the sale lasted 50 days, and produced 1164*l.* There was a second sale of upwards of 20,000 pamphlets, reduced into lots under proper heads, with his most uncommon, rare, and odd books, in the following year, during ten days; which was immediately succeeded by a sale of the Doctor's single prints, books of prints, and drawings, which lasted eight days †.

death. But, being reprieved from time to time, the House of Commons appointed a Committee to examine him in relation to the conspiracy. He declined making any discovery; and was executed at Tyburn May 17, 1722, and his head fixed upon Temple-bar. In a short speech he justified what he had done, and recommended the interest of the Pretender. His trial was printed some time before his execution. *Tindal's Continuation of Rapin*, vol. IV. p. 666.

* "The political principles of Dr. Rawlinson are now merely matter of speculation; but may be ascertained by this peculiar circumstance: When the head of Layer was blown-off from Temple Bar, it was picked up by a gentleman in that neighbourhood, who shewed it to some friends at a public-house; under the floor of which house, I have been assured, it was buried. Dr. Rawlinson, mean-time having made enquiry after the head, with a wish to purchase it, was imposed on with another instead of Layer's; which he preserved as a valuable relique, and directed it to be buried in his hand. Imagine this venerable Antiquary and his companion waking out of their slumber; how would the former be amazed and mortified on his perceiving that he had been taking to his bosom, not the head of the Counsellor, but the worthless pate of some strolling mendicant, some footpad, or the superannuated harlot! There is a memorable story of the same kind relative to the bones of Livy, supposed to have been found at Padua in 1413, but which proved to be the remains of one Halys, who had been a slave to some one of the name of Livius." *T. F.*

† See a vindication of Sir William Dugdale and Dr. Rawlinson in Gent. Mag. vol. LXXX. p. 507.

Dr. William Stukeley, descended from an antient family * in Lincolnshire, was born at Holbech in that county, November 7, 1687. After having had the first part of his education at the free-school of that place, under the care of Mr. Edward Kelsal, he was admitted into Bene't college in Cambridge, Nov. 7, 1703, under the tuition of Mr. Thomas Fawcett, and chosen a scholar there in April following. His turn for Antiquities appeared very early. In a copy of Logan's Cambridge I find his name printed thus, "Novemb. 7, 1704, William Stukeley, C. C. Coll. Printed at the University Press, Cambridge." Whilst an under-graduate, he often indulged a strong propensity to drawing and designing; but made physick his principal study; and with that view took frequent perambulations through the neighbouring country, with the famous Dr. Hales, Dr. John Gray of Canterbury, and others, in search of plants; and made great additions to Mr. Ray's "Catalogus Plantarum circa Cantabrigiam;" which, with a map of the county, he was solicited to print; but his father's death, and various domestic avocations, prevented it. He studied anatomy under Mr. Rolfe, the surgeon; attended the chemical lectures of Signor Vigani; and, taking the degree of M. B. in 1709, made himself acquainted with the practical part of medicine, under the great Dr. Mead, at St. Thomas's hospital. He first began to practise at Boston, in his native county; where he strongly recommended the chalybeate waters of Stanfield, near Folkingham. In 1717 he removed to London; where, on the recommendation of his friend Dr. Mead, he was soon after elected a fellow of the Royal Society; and was one of the first who revived that of the Antiquaries †, in 1717-18, to

* His father, John, was of the family of the Stukeleys, lords of Great Stukeley near Huntingdon. His mother, Frances, daughter of Robert Bullen, of Weston, Lincolnshire, descended from the same ancestors with Anne Bullen.

† He was also one of the earliest members of the Gentlemen's Society at Spalding; and held a regular correspondence with

which last he was secretary for many years during his residence in town. He took the degree of M.D. at Cambridge, in 1719; and was admitted a fellow of the College of Physicians in the year following; about which time (1720) he published an account of "Arthur's Oon" in Scotland, and of "Graham's Dyke," with plates, 4to. In the year 1722, he was appointed to read the Gulstonian Lecture, in which he gave a description and history of the Spleen: and printed it, in folio, in 1723, together with some anatomical observations on the dissection of an elephant, and many plates coloured in imitation of nature. Conceiving there were some remains of the Eleusinian mysteries in Free-masonry, he gratified his curiosity, and was constituted master of a lodge (1723), to which he presented an account of a Roman Amphitheatre at Dorchester, 4to.

After having been one of the censors of the College of Physicians, of the council of the Royal Society, and of the Committee to examine into the condition of the astronomical instruments of the Royal Observatory at Greenwich, he left London in 1726; and retired to Grantham * in Lincolnshire; where he soon came into great request. The Dukes of Ancaster and Rutland, the families of Tyrconnel, Cust, &c. &c. and most of the principal families in the country, were glad to take his advice. During his residence here, he declined an invitation from the Earl of Hertford † to settle as a physician at Marl-

Maurice Johnson, esq. and the learned Gales. Several of his letters to those Gentlemen adorn the "Reliquiæ Galeanæ."

* In this town Sir Isaac Newton (one of the early friends of Dr. Stukeley) received the first part of his education, and intended to have ended his days, if he could have met with a suitable house. Dr. Stukeley, by his residence there, had an opportunity of collecting some memoirs of the earlier part of Sir Isaac's life and family, which he communicated to Mr. Conduit, who then proposed publishing his life. These papers, through the marriage of a daughter, fell afterwards into the hands of the late Lord Lymington. I have Dr. Stukeley's copies of some of them.

† Algernon Seymour, earl of Hertford, eldest son to Charles Duke of Somerset, by Elizabeth Lady Percy, was born Nov. 11, 1684.

borough, and another to succeed Dr. Hunton at Newark. In 1728 he married Frances, daughter of Robert Williamson, of Allington, near Grantham, gent. a lady of good family and fortune. He was greatly afflicted with the gout, which used generally to confine him during the winter months, on account of which, for the recovery of his health, it was customary with him to take several journeys in the spring; in which he indulged his innate love of antiquities, by tracing out the footsteps of Cæsar's expedition in this island, his camps, stations, &c.

1684. He was appointed custos rotulorum of Sussex, January 1705-6; made a campaign in Flanders in 1708, and was present at the victory of Oudenard, and taking of Lisle; was at the taking of Tourney and Mons in 1709; appointed colonel of a regiment of foot, Oct. 23, that year, and served in every campaign till the peace of Utrecht; was appointed governor of Tinmouth Fort in Feb. 1710-11; colonel and captain of the second troop of Horse-guards, and gentleman of the bed-chamber to the Prince of Wales, on the accession of George I. In 1722, on the death of his mother, he became baron Percy, Lucy, Poynings, Fitzpayne, Bryan, and Latimer. He was elected president of the Society of Antiquaries in 1724; was appointed brigadier-general, March 19, 1726-7; major-general of the horse, Nov. 11, 1735; governor of Minorca, Sept. 26, 1737; lieutenant-general of horse, July 2, 1739; colonel of the royal regiment of Horse-guards, May 6, 1740; governor of Guernsey, March 13, 1741-2; general of the horse, March 24, 1746-7; became Duke of Somerset, on the death of his father, Dec. 2, 1748; and was created, Oct. 2, 1749, earl of Northumberland and baron Warkworth; and next day earl of Egremont and baron Cockermouth. Dying Feb. 1, 1749-50, without issue male, the baronies of Percy, Lucy, Poynings, Fitzpayne, Bryan, and Latimer, devolved on the Lady Elizabeth, his only daughter; the titles of duke of Somerset and baron Seymour fell to Sir Edward Seymour, baronet; those of earl of Egremont and baron Cockermouth to his nephew, Sir Charles Wyndham, bart.; the earldom of Northumberland and barony of Warkworth to Sir Hugh Smithson, bart. who had married the Duke's daughter in 1740; and who obtained an act of parliament, April 11, 1750, to take and use the name, and bear and quarter the arms, of the Percys earls of Northumberland; and Oct. 18, 1766, was created earl Percy and duke of Northumberland. The earldom of Hertford and barony of Trowbridge were revived, in the person of Francis Seymour lord Conway, Aug. 3, 1750.—Duke Algernon was uniformly through life the patron of Dr. Stukeley, and was attended by him during his last illness.

The

The fruit of his more distant travels was his "Itinerarium Curiosum; or, an Account of the Antiquities and Curiosities in Travels through Great Britain, Centuria I." adorned with 100 copper-plates, and published in folio, London, 1724. This was reprinted after his death, 1776, with two additional plates; as was also published the second volume (consisting of his description of the Brill, or Cæsar's camp at Pancras, *Iter Boreale* 1725, and his edition of Richard of Cirencester *, with his own and Mr. Bertram's † notes) illustrated with 103 copper-plates, engraved in the Doctor's life-time.

Overpowered with the fatigue of his profession, and repeated attacks of the gout, he turned his thoughts to the Church; and, being encouraged in that pursuit by Archbishop Wake, was ordained at Croydon, July 20, 1729; and in October following was presented by Lord Chancellor King to the living of All Saints, in Stamford ‡. At the time of his entering on his parochial cure (1730), Doctor Rogers of that place had just invented his Oleum Arthriticum; which Dr. Stukeley seeing others use with admirable success, he was induced to do the like, and with equal advantage: for it not only saved his joints, but, with the addition of a proper regimen, and leaving off the use of fermented liquors, he recovered his health and limbs to a surprizing degree, and ever after enjoyed a firm and active state of

* Published in 1757, under this title, "An Account of Richard of Cirencester, Monk of Westminster, and of his Works: with his antient Map of Roman Britain; and the Itinerary thereof."

† See "Britannicarum Gentium Historiæ Antiquæ Scriptores tres: Ricardus Corinensis, Gildas Badonicus, Nennius Banchorensis. Recensuit Notisque et Indice auxit Carolus Bertramus Societatis Antiquariorum Londinensis Socius, &c. Havniæ, 1757." 8vo. See also Dr. Stukeley's publication, p. 12, 13. The Doctor's letters to Mr. Bertram (which were in being Dec. 24, 1773, at Copenhagen) would be a curiosity. Those of Mr. Bertram to the Doctor are safely preserved.

‡ He had the offer of that of Holbech, the place of his nativity, from Dr. Reynolds, bishop of Lincoln; and of another from the Earl of Winchelsea; but he declined them both.

body,

body, beyond any example in the like circumstances, to a good old age. This occasioned him to publish an account of the success of the external application of these oils in innumerable instances, in a letter to Sir Hans Sloane, 1733; and the year after he published also "A Treatise on the Cause and Cure of the Gout, from a new Rationale;" which, with an abstract thereof, has passed through several editions. He collected some remarkable particulars at Stamford in relation to his predecessor Bp. Cumberland; and in 1736 printed an explanation *, with an engraving, of a curious silver plate, of Roman workmanship, in basso relievo, found under ground at Risley Park in Derbyshire; wherein he traces its journey thither, from the church of Bourges, to which it had been given by Exsuperius, called St. Swithin, bishop of Thoulouse, about the year 205. He published also the same year his "Palæographia Sacra, No. I. or, Discourses on the Monuments of Antiquity that relate to Sacred History," in 4to; which he dedicated to Sir Richard Ellys, bart. "from whom he had received many favours." In this work (which was to have been continued in succeeding numbers †) he undertakes

* Read before the Society of Antiquaries, April 8, 1736. A copy of it is in the British Museum, No. 4064; as are also the following articles: 4432. 14. Miscellaneous Observations on his Travels through England, in 1721; 51. Account of a Shower of Wheat, 1732; 75. Account of his Book on the Cause and Cure of the Gout; 4437. Account of a Chaise that may be worked by a Man carried upon it, 1740-1; with a Drawing. (See *Ayscough's Catalogue.*)

† "In the progress of this work, one of my views is an attempt to recover the faces or resemblances of many great personages in antiquity, mentioned in the Scriptures. If novelty will please, I need not fear of success: but it will not appear so strange a matter as it seems at first sight, when we have once ascertained the real persons characterized by the Heathen Gods and Demi-gods." *Dr. Stukeley to Mr. Gale, MS. May* 9, 1737.—"I have wrote this summer a Discourse on the Mysteries of the Antients, and would willingly communicate it to you as a second number to my Palæographia Sacra.—Poor Maittaire is now at Belvoir with the Duke. I think the Critic is in a declining state of health.—I visited *Meadus;* and found the man, as usual, beset with a parcel of sycophants, puffs, and what not?" *Ibid. July* 30, 1738.

to

to shew, how Heathen Mythology is derived from Sacred History; and that the Bacchus in the Poets is no other than the Jehovah in the Scripture, the conductor of the Israelites through the Wilderness. In his country retirement he disposed his collection of Greek and Roman coins according to the order of the Scripture History; and cut out a machine in wood * (on the plan of an Orrery) which shews the motion of the heavenly bodies, the course of the tide, &c. In 1737 he lost his wife; and in 1738 married Elizabeth, the only daughter of Dr. Gale, dean of York, and sister to his intimate friends Roger † and Samuel Gale, esquires; and from this time he often spent his winters in London. In 1740 he published an account of Stonehenge, dedicated to the Duke of Ancaster, who had made him one of his chaplains, and given him the living of Somerby, near Grantham, the year before. In 1740 he preached a Thirtieth of January Sermon before the House of Commons; and in that year became one of the founders of the Egyptian Society‡. In 1743 he printed an account of Lady Roisia's sepulchral cell § lately discovered at Royston, in a tract, intituled, "Palæographia Britannica, No. I." to which an answer was published by Mr. Parkin || in 1744. The Doctor replied in "Palæographia Britannica, No. II." 1746, giving an account therein of the origin of the Universities of

* He also cut out a Stonhenge in wood, arranged on a common round trencher; which at his sale was purchased by Edward Haistwell, esq. F. S. A. for 1*l.* 12*s.*

† Whom he frequently accompanied in their antiquarian excursions.

‡ Of which, see before, p. 334. The great and learned Earl of Pembroke, the first patron of this Society, accompanied Dr. Stukeley in opening the burrows on the Wiltshire Downs; and drawings of his Lordship's antique marbles at Wilton were taken by the Doctor.

§ "It is a Cave; and there is a story belonging to it, not fit for a decent publication." *T. F.*

|| Charles Parkin, M. A. rector of Oxburgh, who continued Mr. Blomfield's History of Norfolk.

Cam.

Cambridge and Stamford, both from Croyland Abbey; of the Roman city Granta, on the North side of the river, of the beginning of Cardike near Waterbeach, &c. To this Mr. Parkin again replied in 1748; but it does not appear that the Doctor took any farther notice of him. In 1747 the benevolent Duke of Montagu (with whom he had become acquainted at the Egyptian Society) prevailed on him to vacate his preferments in the country, by giving him the rectory of St. George, Queen square; whence he frequently retired * to

* The following verses (written, I am informed, by Mr. James Holcombe, then one of Dr. Stukeley's parishioners) were addressed to him from Queen-square, Oct. 5, 1761:

"To a Brother Druid.

"Dear Sir, your patience I solicit,
While, in a short poetic visit,
I thanks return for the repast
You gave two friends, on Thursday last,
At your delicious country seat,
With truly rural charms replete;
And, a few thoughts with rhyme adorning,
Tell you, how well I past my morning.
With joy, I sipp'd the sable fluid,
As calm as a contented Druid,
And, while I view'd the fairy spot,
The hurry of the town forgot.
The winding walk, the rising ground,
With nobly spreading sun-flowers crown'd;
The Tumulus, the Temples twain,
The Hermitage, the Gothic Fane,
Whose use so richly you explain,
And all your garden's glorious treasure,
Gave me variety of pleasure,
Which, if I could Apollo bribe,
I would more feelingly describe.
Thrice happy you, who can employ
Your time, in scenes which never cloy;
Who now and then from crowds can steal,
And raptures in retirement feel.
The curious plants you nurse with care,
Which strike the eye, and scent the air,
At once our admiration win,
And stir up moral thoughts within.
For who can Nature's charms explore,
And not the Ruling Power adore?

The

Kentish Town, where the following inscription was placed over his door:

"Me dulcis saturet quies;
Obscuro positus loco
Leni perfruar otio
Chyndonax * Druida.

O may this rural solitude receive,
And contemplation all its pleasures give,
The Druid priest †!"

He had the misfortune to lose his Patron in 1749; on whose death he published some verses, with others on his entertainment at Boughton, the Duke's seat in Northamptonshire; and a

The Power Supreme, without whose aid,
The whole Creation soon would fade!
Your motto is with meaning fraught,
Tho' not, I trust, by many sought,
And while 'tis in a Roman dress,
Few passengers the purport guess.
However 'tis most *apropos*,
And makes one think of misletoe.
Adieu, dear Sir, I have not time,
To dress my thoughts in better rhyme.
No poet by profession, I
Hope, you will not my numbers try
By Criticism's rigid rules,
Which nature cramps, and genius cools.
Unskill'd in any tricks of art,
I only scribble from the heart;
And therefore, while my verse you read,
Let candid favour for me plead;
For candour I submissive sue,
That sure is to a neighbour due.
May placid peace, and buxom health,
Which wise men covet more than wealth,
Long shed on you their blessings down,
In Ormond-street, or Kentish Town!"

* Alluding to an urn of glass so inscribed found in France, which he was firmly persuaded contained the ashes of an arch-druid of that name (whose portrait forms the frontispiece to Stonehenge), though the French Antiquaries in general considered it as a forgery; but the late Mr. Tutet had a MS vindication of it, by some learned French antiquary, 43 pages in small 4to; which was bought at his sale by Mr. Bindley, and is now (1810) in his collection.

† After Dr. Stukeley's death, this inscription was taken down by his son-in-law, Richard Fleming, esq.

"Phi-

"Philosophic Hymn on Christmas-day." Two papers by the Doctor, upon the Earthquakes in 1750, read at the Royal Society, and a Sermon preached at his own parish church on that alarming occasion, were published in 8vo, 1750, under the title of "The Philosophy of Earthquakes, Natural and Religious;" of which a second part was printed with a second edition of his Sermon on "the Healing of Diseases as a Character of the Messiah, preached before the College of Physicians, Sept. 20, 1750." In 1751 (in "*Palæographia Britannica*, No. III.") he gave an account of Oriuna, the wife of Carausius; in Phil. Trans. vol. XLVIII. art. 33, an account of the Eclipse predicted by Thales; and in the Gentleman's Magazine, 1754, p. 407, is the substance of a paper read at the Royal Society in 1752, to prove that the coral-tree is a real sea-vegetable. On Wednesday the 27th of February, 1765, Dr. Stukeley was seized with a stroke of the palsy, which was brought on by attending a full vestry, at which he was accompanied by Serjeant Eyre *, on a contested election for a lecturer. The room being hot, on their return through Dr. Stukeley's garden, they both caught their deaths; for the Serjeant never was abroad again, and the Doctor's illness came on that night. Soon after this accident his faculties failed him; but he continued quiet and composed until Sunday following, the 3d of March, 1765, when he departed, in his 78th year, which he attained by remarkable temperance and regularity. By his own particular directions, his corpse was conveyed in a private manner to East-

* "William Eyre, esq. called to the degree of serjeant-at-law, Jan. 23, 1741. That gentleman was educated at Winchester school, and formerly fellow of New college. He was a good lawyer, and an eminent Antiquary; and had a very noble collection of gold and silver Greek, Roman, and English coins, which he bequeathed, by will, to Winchester College, after the death of his brother, the Rev. Dr. Eyre, F.R. and A.SS. who, very soon after the Serjeant's death, delivered them up to the aforesaid College, where they now remain." *This Note is Dr. Ducarel's.*

Ham

Ham in Essex, and was buried in the church-yard, just beyond the East end of the church, the turf being laid smoothly over it, without any monument. This spot he particularly fixed on, in a visit he paid some time before to the vicar of that parish *, when walking with him one day in the church-yard. Thus ended a valuable life, daily spent in throwing light on the dark remains of antiquity. His great learning and profound skill in those researches enabled him to publish many elaborate and curious works, and to leave many ready for the press. In his medical capacity, his "Dissertation on the Spleen" was well received. His "*Itinerarium Curiosum*," the first fruits of his juvenile excursions, presaged what might be expected from his riper years, when he had acquired more experience. The curious in these studies were not disappointed; for, with a sagacity peculiar to his great genius, with unwearied pains and industry, and some years spent in actual surveys, he investigated and published an account of those stupendous works of the remotest antiquity, Stonehenge and Abury, in 1743; and hath given the most probable and rational account of their origin and use, ascertaining also their dimensions with the greatest accuracy. So great was his proficiency in Druidical history, that his familiar friends used to call him "The Arch-Druid of this age."

* This was the Rev. Joseph Sims, B. D. of Catharine hall, Cambridge, formerly chaplain to Bishop Wilcocks, whom he had succeeded as chaplain to the English factory at Lisbon; in his five months absence from which, Mr. Nicolas Tindal, translator of Rapin (see p. 516), officiated for him. He was rector of St. John the Evangelist in Westminster; and obtained the vicarage of East Ham January 9, 1756; and rebuilt the parsonage-house there at his own expence. He was also a prebendary of Lincoln and of St. Paul's; a learned divine; and published a Sermon on the Rebellion, 1745, 4to, and a volume of excellent Sermons, in 8vo, 1772. He died April 28, 1776, at the rectorial-house at St. John, Westminster, aged 84, and was buried at East Ham. See his Tithe-cause in Burn's "Ecclesiastical Law;" by which Mr. Sims claimed tithe of beans and pease; but which was determined against him both in Chancery and on appeal to the House of Lords.

His

His works abound with particulars that shew his knowledge of this celebrated British priesthood; and in his Itinerary he announced a "History of the antient Celts, particularly the first inhabitants of Great Britain," for the most part finished, to have consisted of four volumes folio, with above 300 copper-plates, many of which were engraved *. Great part of this work was incorporated into his Stonehenge and Abury.

In his "History of Carausius," in two vols, 4to, 1757, 1759, he has shewn much learning and ingenuity in settling the principal events of that Emperor's government in Britain. To his interest and application we are indebted for recovering from obscurity Richard of Cirencester's Itinerary of Roman Britain †.

His discourses, or sermons, under the title of "Palæographia Sacra, 1763." on "the vegetable creation," &c. bespeak him a botanist, philosopher, and divine, replete with antient learning, and excellent observations; but a little too much transported by a lively fancy and invention.

He closed the last scenes of his life with completing a long and laborious work on antient British coins, in particular of Cunobelin; and felicitated himself on having from them discovered many remarkable, curious, and new anecdotes, relating to the reign of that and other British kings. The 23 plates of this work were published after his decease; but the MS. (left ready for publishing) remained in the hands of his daughter, Mrs. Fleming, relict of Richard Fleming, esq. an eminent solicitor, and one of the six clerks in Chancery, who was the Doctor's executor; and died in 1774, leaving his relict executrix. By his first wife Dr. Stukeley had three daughters; of whom one died young; the other two survived him; the one, Mrs. Fleming, already

* I have some of his drawings of Druids and Druidical Remains, intended probably for this work.

† See p. 502.

men-

mentioned; the other, wife to the Rev. Thomas Fairchild*, rector of Pitsey in Essex. By his second wife Dr. Stukeley had no child. To the great names already mentioned among his friends and patrons, may be added those of Mr. Folkes, Dr. Berkeley, bishop of Cloyne (with whom he corresponded on the subject of Tar-water), Dr. Pocock, bishop of Meath, and many others of the first rank in literature, at home; and, among the eminent foreigners with whom he corresponded, were, Dr. Heigertahl, Mr. Keysler, and the learned Father Montfaucon, who inserted some of his designs (sent him by Archbishop Wake) in his "Antiquity explained."

A good account of Dr. Stukeley was, with his own permission, printed in 1755, by Mr. Masters, in the second part of his "History of Corpus Christi College;" and very soon after his death a short but just character of him was given in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1765, by his friend Peter Collinson. Of both these, the compiler of the present memoir has availed himself; and was favoured with several additional particulars from Dr. Ducarel and Mr. Gough.

After Dr. Stukeley's death, a large medallion of him was cast and repaired by Gabb; on one side his head, adorned with oak leaves, inscribed, REV. GVL. STVKELEY, M. D. S. R. & A. S. Exergue, æt. 54. Reverse, a view of Stonehenge, OB. MAR. 4, 1765, ÆT. 84; [but this is a mistake, for the Doctor was but 78.]—There is a portrait of him by Kneller, from which a mezzotinto was scraped by J. Smith, in 1721, before he took orders, with his arms; viz. Argent, a Spread Eagle double-headed Sable. Mrs. Fleming had another portrait of him, in his robes, by Wills; and Mrs. Parsons (relict of Dr. James Parsons †), had a fine miniature, which was esteemed a good likeness.

* M. A. of Catharine hall, Cambridge. He obtained the rectory of Pitsey in 1757; and died of an apoplectic stroke, May 31, 1782, aged 62. His relict died in Sussex, Sept. 19, 1782.

† Who was among the very intimate friends of Dr. Stukeley in the latter part of his life.

SIR

Sir Peter Thompson, knt. F.R. and A.S.S. was third son of Captain Thomas Thompson *, of Poole, in the county of Dorset; in which town Sir Peter was born, Oct. 30, 1698, and died Oct. 30, 1770. James, his elder brother, died at Poole, March 8, 1739-40. Sir Peter was engaged in mercantile business more than forty years; during which period he chiefly resided in Mill-street, Bermondsey, in the county of Surrey; and was in the commission of the peace. He was elected F.S.A. 1743; when he was "Peter Thompson, merchant;" appointed high-sheriff for the said county, 1745; and, upon the breaking out of the rebellion in Scotland, presented to the King a loyal address and association from that county; and upon that occasion received the honour of knighthood †. He represented the borough of St. Alban's in parliament from 1747 to 1754. He made it his choice, in 1763, to withdraw from the engagements of commercial affairs, that he might enjoy the pleasures of studious retirement and reflexion, and the conversation of his friends, in the place of his birth; where he lived respected by all ranks of people for his affability and benevolence; and where, in an agreeable situation, he had built a handsome house, and, at a great expence, formed a capital collection of books, manuscripts, fossils, and other literary curiosities. This valuable library and museum, by the bequest of Sir Peter in his last will, became the property of his kinsman and heir Peter Thompson, who in 1782 was a Captain of the company of grenadiers in the Surrey militia: by whose indulgence, free access to this collection was readily granted to his intimate friends, and any other gentlemen desirous of satisfaction as to matters of history and antiquities. Sir Peter collected, with great care and expence, all the antient records that could be found relating to the Town of Poole, in the Public

* Whose mother was buried, at Poole, in January 1781.

† At the time of receiving this honour, he wore a pair of worsted stockings equal in fineness to the finest silk, and which cost him 3*l.* being made on purpose for him.

Offices,

Offices in London, as well as the Archives of Dorsetshire, which, through the medium of Dr. Ducarel*, he liberally communicated to Mr. Hutchins for

* A few extracts from some of his letters on this occasion will tend to illustrate his character.

1. "DEAR DOCTOR, *Bermondsey, March* 13, 1762.

"I have tried every method in my power to prevail on Mr. Awnsham Churchill to give Mr. Hutchins liberty to print that part of Aubrey's MS. which you wish to have printed. I went so far, by one of his most intimate acquaintance, to try, in the most delicate manner, what value he put on those four volumes of Antiquities. My friend told me he valued them at 100*l.*—'*However*,' says he, '*if you'll give me a commission to offer* 50*l. I think I shall obtain them for you.*" As I did not know how an offer to purchase might be taken, I let the matter rest till it is known what Lord Milton can do in the affair. The last time I saw Mr. Hutchins he assured me that Dr. Stukeley is possessed of a transcript of Aubrey's MS. If this be fact, why not print from the Doctor's MS? I have collected several anecdotes relating to our late friend Ames; but I must ask his daughter some questions before I can think of submitting them to Dr. Ducarel's consideration. I propose being at the Society next Thursday, if the weather is mild.

I am, dear Doctor, your faithful, &c. PETER THOMPSON.

2. "DEAR DOCTOR, *Poole, May* 12, 1762.

"You have herewith a transcript from my manuscript of all that is mentioned of Antique Windows. I could not please myself with an abstract, so I have sent you the whole; which I am inclined to think will not answer your expectations, the numbers on the plates and the numbers in my manuscripts not agreeing. I have taken the liberty to make the numbers on the plates correspond with my book, as you will please to observe. Another thing, in the plates there are two numbers 27. I have crossed one of them out, and added a window at the bottom of the plate (No 30).—How this omission happened, I cannot say, Mr. Ames you know to be a careful copier. In 1755, in the summer of that year, Mr. Ames pleasured me with his company here about three months. That was the time he copied as much of Mr. Hutchins's Abstract from Aubrey's MS. as he chose. On his return to London, he formed it into a book of an octavo size, of 300 pages, in which he inserted many anecdotes relating to history, which he had picked up in the course of his life. On the 30th September 1759 Mr. Ames made me a present of this manuscript; and it so happened that he died the 7th of October following. Yours, &c. PETER THOMPSON."

3. "DEAR SIR, *Poole, May* 8, 1762.

"I was greatly pleasured this morning with your agreeable letter of the 6th insant, which mentions (as many of my other friends' letters do) the present epidemical distemper in and near Lon-

his History of Dorsetshire; which see, vol. I. p. 12. His materials for a life of Mr. Ames came into

London, which God grant may be of a short duration. At present we are entirely free from it here. I fully intended to have pleasured myself with the company of my friends at the Mitre the 23d of last month; but I set out for this place that morning, owing to a letter I received the day before from Dr. Swinhow, that my sister was ill with a fever and in danger. I thank God I found her free from fever, but her paralytic disorder nearly the same as it has been for four years past.—I shall very soon transcribe the account of the church windows, which now is in my view; but I must beg you'll please to think to whom I shall direct my pacquets to save postage. In my humble opinion matters of mere curiosity should pass *free*—matters of trade and business *not*. I think I could make free with some members who live in the city, also with Mr. Mawbey near Vauxhall; but perhaps Dr. Ducarel may direct a more eligible method of conveyance.—I find that my copy of the Survey of the Churches in this County in the Commonwealth's time, which Mr. Rooke obliged me with, is imperfect; all which imperfections I seem to think Dr. Ducarel can supply me with from the copy in the Lambeth Library; but I must beg the Doctor will please to consider of dispensing with stamps, an indulgence I have always had at the Rolls and the Tower. The expence of copying I shall thankfully pay. I shall, soon after I have transcribed the names, &c. of 44 churches whose windows Mr. Perry has engraved, set about considering how many parishes I shall want to be transcribed to make my copy complete.—I shall next Monday write a letter to our mutual good friend Mr. Kingston, and I have some thoughts of a tour to Dorchester and Sherborne before Midsummer.—I cannot conclude without acknowledging how much you delighted me with the sight of the Lambeth Library, which is happily under your inspection and care. The different order I found those valuable manuscripts, to what they were in when I last saw them, gave me a pleasure not easily expressed. Posterity will venerate Dr. Ducarel's great learning, skill, and industry; and highly applaud the wisdom of his Grace of Canterbury, in promoting so desirable a work as the methodizing the manuscripts in the Lambeth library. Dr. Ducarel will excuse this from his most faithful friend and obedient humble servant, PETER THOMPSON."

"DEAR SIR, *Poole, June* 12, 1762.

"I was greatly pleased with the favour of your agreeable letter of the 10th instant, and inclose you all that my book mentions regarding your intended sixth plate. You have three glass windows, my book has only two. I will suppose Mr. Ames did not copy the whole of Mr. Hutchins's Abstract: that will account for the difference. I only desire two or three sets, and no more. Pray let the rest go for Mr. Perry's benefit. I am glad the Plates of Medals are under the direction of such learned

the hands of the late Mr. Herbert of Cheshunt; and were used by Mr. Gough in the Memoirs prefixed to Mr. Herbert's edition of the "Typographical Antiquities."

gentlemen. When they are complete, I intend to have a set, and my friend Mr. Ralph Willett another.—I have been confined with the gout for three weeks past; which prevented my going to Wareham and Dorchester, as I intended. What I want from Mr. Josiah Jones of Lambeth is, an account when the ingenious Mr. Sylvanus Morgan died; whose Heraldical MSS. Mr. Paterson sold, in 1759; and, to clear up one of Morgan's entries, I could wish to know when he died. I knew Mr. Jones near 40 years back. He was painter to Drury-lane Playhouse then. Should he be living, and should he leave a letter at your house at Lambeth for me, please to direct it be taken in. I am

Your most faithful humble servant, PETER THOMPSON."

"DEAR SIR, *Poole, August* 16, 1762.

"Your motion to inspect the Minutes of the Society must give a real pleasure to all lovers of Antiquity. I am promised a visit from Mr. Kingston in the next week, when I am to be happy with the company of Mr. Josiah Colebrooke.—Mr. Thomas Hollis sent me the first number of Mr. Perry's English Medals, &c. which is curious.—The title you propose I much approve of; and I submit whether it may not be right to add, "Transcribed by the late Mr. Joseph Ames, F. R. S. &c. and now in the Collection of Sir Peter Thompson."—The fire at Wareham began about 3 in the afternoon, 25 last month. I got there by 1 o'clock next morning. A terrible conflagration it was: the better half of the town was demolished, and it reduced great numbers of poor people to the greatest distress. I don't think any accident equal to it (in this country) has happened in our times. The people on the South side of the river threw their furniture into the river; they on the North, East, and West, sides of the town, got what they could into the meadows, and, being fatigued almost to death, laid themselves down to sleep on the grass, by their little parcels of goods. 'Twas a moving sight at 4 in the morning, when I got thither. It rather took too much hold of my weak frame. Pray God I may never behold the like!—Mr. Hutchins was at his living of Swire in this county (about 25 miles West of Wareham). His house, furniture, and library of books, were all consumed. His manuscripts relating to his intended History of Dorset were saved. They, it seems, were in a bureau in the parlour, and that was the only piece of furniture saved, as he informed me himself. His parsonage-house was insured 300*l.* which money will be of use to rebuild it. He told me, what plate and money he had was left in the houses. Had he been at home, no doubt but that would have been secured.—This morning I received a letter from Mr. Kingston. He says that Mr. Hutchins has

NICOLAS TINDAL (nephew to the celebrated author of the "Rights of the Christian Church," from whom he had expectations of being provided for, but, by the artifices of Eustace Budgell, was tricked and defrauded) was of Exeter college, Oxford, where he took the degree of M. A. June 5, 1713. He was presented to the rectory of Alverstoke in Hampshire by the Bishop of Winchester, and to the vicarage of Great Waltham, near Chelmsford, Essex, 1722, by Trinity College, Oxford, of which he had become a fellow.

In 1724 he published, in monthly numbers, "Antiquities Sacred and Prophane, being a Dissertation on the Excellency of the History of the Hebrews above that of any other Nation; wherein are examined the Antiquities and History of the Assyrians, Chaldeans, Egyptians, Phœnicians, Chinese, &c. with the Peopling of America. To which are added, Chronological Tables of the Kings of Assyria, Chaldea, Persia, and Media. Written in French by R. P. D'Augustin Calmet; and done into English with Notes by N. Tindal, Vicar of Great Waltham, Essex."

He began a History of Essex; of which he published a small part, in two quarto numbers, proposing to include it in three quarto volumes, at one guinea each *; but left it, in 1726, for the translation of Rapin's History of England †; in which

has only saved his fair copy, that all his loose papers were burned. I hope he is somehow misinformed, by reason I understood from what Mr. Hutchins told me, that *all* was saved. I am, dear Sir,

Your most faithful humble servant, PETER THOMPSON."

* British Topography, vol. I. p. 345, n.

† This Translation, originally published in 8vo, 1726, and dedicated to Thomas Lord Howard, baron of Effingham, was re-printed in weekly numbers, in two volumes folio, 1732 and 1733. The second volume of the 8vo edition had been inscribed to Sir Charles Wager, when the Translator was chaplain on board the Torbay, in the Bay of Revel, in the Gulf of Finland. Vol. IV. is dedicated to the same, from the same place, 1727. Vol. VI. from Great Waltham, 1728, to the English Factors at Lisbon, where the Translator officiated as chaplain five months, in the absence of Mr. Sims. The "Continuation" was likewise published

work, as well as in the "Continuation" of it, he was most materially assisted by Mr. Morant (see vol. II. p. 241); and the sale of both so far exceeded the expectation of the booksellers (J. J. and P. Knapton), that they complimented him with a present of 200*l.*

In 1727 he translated the text printed with Mr. Morant's Translation of the Notes of Messrs. de Beausobre and L'Enfant on St. Matthew's Gospel *.

In 1732 a second edition of Rapin was published, with additional notes, in two volumes folio, with cuts by Vertue; dedicated to Frederick Prince of Wales; who was so pleased with the performance, that he very condescendingly presented to Mr. Tindal a gold medal worth 40 guineas †. A portrait of him is prefixed to the second volume of this translation.

On the discovery of the imposition practised on his uncle, he entered into a controversy with the person who had cheated him; and published, among other things, a pamphlet, intituled, "A Copy of the Will of Dr. Matthew Tindal ‡, with an Account of

lished in weekly numbers, which began in 1744, and were completed March 25, 1747, which is the date of the dedication to William Duke of Cumberland. This last was printed in two volumes, but is accompanied with a recommendation to bind it in three; vol. III. to contain the reign and medals of King William; vol. IV. the reign of Queen Anne; and vol. V. the reign of King George I. with the medals of Queen Anne and King George; a summary of the History of England, and the Index. A second edition of the "Continuation" appeared in 1751; and a new edition of the whole, in 21 volumes 8vo, 1757. When the "History" was published, Mr. Tindal was "Vicar of Great Waltham." In the "Continuation" he is called "Rector of Alverstoke, and chaplain to the Royal Hospital at Greenwich."

* See before, vol. II. p. 204.

† See the Dedication, with remarks, copied from "The Englishman," in Gent. Mag. 1733, vol. III. p. 356.

‡ By which 2000 guineas, and the MS. of a second volume of "Christianity as old as the Creation," were bequeathed to Mr. Budgell; and only a small residue to his nephew, whom, by a regular will, he had not long before appointed his sole heir. The transaction, which occasioned some suspicions of a fraud, is thus alluded to by Pope:

"Let Budgell charge low Grub-street on my quill,
And write whate'er he please, except my Will."

what

what passed concerning the same, between Mrs. Lucy Price, Eustace Budgell, esq. and Mr. Nicolas Tindal, 1733," 8vo.

In 1734 he published a translation of "Prince Cantemir's History of the Othman Empire," folio. He was also editor of "A Guide to Classical Learning, or Polymetis abridged, for Schools;" a publication of much use, and which has passed through several editions.

He quitted Great Waltham in 1740, on being presented to the rectory of Colbourne, in the Isle of Wight; having previously (in 1738) been appointed, by Sir Charles Wager, chaplain to Greenwich Hospital; where he died, at the advanced age of 87, June 27, 1774, and was interred July 2.

Mr. Tindal said of Mr. Garrick, "The *deaf* hear him in his *action*, and the *blind* see him in his *voice*."

Dr. John Ward, son of a Dissenting minister of the same name, was born in London, April 1679. His father died Dec. 28, 1717, in his 82d year*; his mother (Constancy †) in April 1697. He was for

* He was interred in a church in Worcester; the following epitaph being written upon him by his son: "H. S. E. Joannes Ward, Tysoe in agro Warwicensi natus, civis verò Londinensis; vir antiquis moribus magnâque pietate præditus; qui, si quis alius, variam et incertam humanæ vitæ conditionem expertus, sibi similis et constans semper permansit; multa enim integritatis, multa religionis causâ perpessus, omnia fortissimo et excelso animo sustinuit, utpotè qui felicitatem non tam in externâ rerum specie, quam in mente recti sibi conscia collocavit. In matrimonio habuit Constantiam Rayner, Londinatem, feminam virtute ac sanctimoniâ præstantem, studioque in omnes bonos, dum vixit, singulari, quæ liberos XIV ei peperit, quorum duo tantum superstites Joannes et Abigail. 'Post vitam autem annis et laboribus exhaustam, terrenas res diù pertæsus, cœlúmque suspirans, in Christo placidè obdormivit v. kal. Jan. A. D. MDCCXVII. ætatis suæ LXXXII."

† "Caleb's Spirit paralleled, in a Sermon preached at the Funeral of the late Mrs. Constancy Ward, of East Smithfield, London, at the Meeting-house in Devonshire-square, April 7, 1697. By Walter Crosse, M. A. Lond. 1697." 4to.

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some years a clerk in the Navy-office; and at leisure hours pursued his studies with great diligence, under the guidance of John Ker, M. D.* author of "Selectarum de linguâ Latinâ observationum libri II." who kept an academy, first at Highgate, and afterwards in St. John's-square, Clerkenwell. He continued in his employment in the Navy-office till the summer of 1710, when, finding no other means of gratifying his zeal for the acquisition of knowledge, he was induced to undertake the education of a certain number of the children of his friends; choosing rather, as he expressed himself in a letter to a friend, "to converse even with boys upon subjects of literature, than to transact the ordinary affairs of life among men." For this purpose he opened a school in Tenter-alley in Moorfields, which he kept for many years. In 1712 he became one of the earliest members of a society, formed by a set of gentlemen, divines, and lawyers, in London, who agreed to meet together once a week, or as often as their affairs would permit, to prepare and read discourses, each in his turn, upon the civil law, as also upon the law of nature and nations, for their mutual entertainment and improvement. This Society, with some occasional interruptions, was kept up till Michaelmas term, 1742. Several of the members have been persons of distinguished character both in church and state; and Mr. Ward continued highly esteemed among them, while the society subsisted. In the same year, 1712, he published a small piece in Latin, of 39 pages in 8vo, printed in London, with the title of "De ordine, sive de venustâ et eleganti tum vocabulorum, tum membrorum sententiæ collocatione. His quædam adjiciuntur de vitiis ordinis: item de variis modis,

* He took that degree at Leyden, March 5, 1696-7, as appears from his Thesis printed there, in 4to, and intituled "Disputatio physico-medica inauguralis de secretionis animalis efficiente causa et ordine." In the title-page, Dr. Ker styles himself Scoto-Hibernus.

quibus,

quibus, pro verborum numero, ordo sententiæ transponi potest." Mr. Ainsworth having drawn up the elaborate account of Mr. Kemp's Antiquities, which has been mentioned in vol. V. p. 249, was furnished by his friend and neighbour Mr. Ward, not only with the descriptions and explanations of the statues and lares in the collection, but likewise with the discourse "de vasis et lucernis, de amuletis, de annulis et fibulis," and particularly the learned "Commentarius de asse et partibus ejus," which had been printed in 1719, 8vo. Mr. Ward became so eminent for his knowledge of polite literature, as well as antiquity, that on the 1st of September, 1720, he was chosen Professor of Rhetoric in Gresham College, and on the 28th of October following made his inaugural oration there, "de usu et dignitate artis dicendi." The same year Dr. Mead having published, at London, in 8vo, his discourse of the plague, Mr. Ward gave the publick, in 1723, a Latin translation of the eighth edition, the Doctor not approving the translation of the first edition by Mr. Maittaire, which was never printed. Nov. 30, 1723, Mr. Ward was elected F.R.S. and was often chosen afterwards into the council of that respectable body; and at last, in 1752, appointed one of their Vice-presidents; in which office he continued till his death. In 1724, he subjoined to an edition of Gerard John Vossius's "Elementa Rhetorica," printed at London, an excellent piece "de ratione interpungendi," containing a system of clear and easy rules with regard to pointing, superior to whatever had been before published on that subject. Dr. Conyers Middleton having, in 1726, published at Cambridge, in 4to, a Latin dissertation "de Medicorum apud veteres Romanos degentium conditione;" Mr. Ward, in February 1726-7, published an answer * to it in 8vo, under the title of "Ad viri Reverendi Con. Middletoni, S.T.P. de

* See what is said on this head in vol. I. p. 267, which this article of Dr. Ward will illustrate.

Medi-

Medicorum apud veteres Romanos degentium conditione Dissertationem, quâ servilem atque ignobilem eam fuisse contendit, Responsio." Dr. Middleton published a defence of his dissertation in 1727; to which Dr. Ward replied, in a piece, published at London in 1728, in 8vo, intituled, "Dissertationis V. R. Con. Middletoni, S. T. P. de Medicorum Romæ degentium conditione ignobili et servili Defensio examinata: ubi omnia, quæ contra Responsionis Auctorem disseruit, infirmata sunt et refutata *." In 1728 Mr. Ward assisted in preparing Thuanus for the press; and translated from Mr. Buckley's English the dedication to the King, and his three letters to Dr. Mead (see vol. II. p. 26), concerning the new edition; which translations were prefixed to it in 1733; in the month of August of which year, he took a journey through Holland and Flanders to Paris, whence he returned in October following. In 1732, he was employed by the booksellers, who were patentees for printing Lily's Grammar of the Latin Tongue, to give a correct edition of it, purged of the numerous errors which had crept into all the former. This he executed with great accuracy †,

* "Dr. Middleton finished an answer to this last piece of Dr. Ward's; but, meeting Mead at Lord Oxford's, he was prevailed on to deliver up the MS. to Lord Oxford. After all the parties were dead, Dr. Heberden presumed there could be no harm in publishing a few copies of a mere piece of literature in 1761, to be given away only.—The Author of "Breves Notæ" on Middleton's Dissertation, 1726, was Dr. P. Wigan, a Scotchman. Dr. Middleton answered it as his. See p. 23, of his last publication, where he calls him *medicus noster*. Middleton seldom wrote but out of pique. The present controversy arose on his part from a conversation at Cambridge, where having complimented the modern professors of physic at the expence of the antient, he found himself called upon by the company to maintain his opinion against Dr. Mead, who publicly asserted the contrary. See Middleton 2, 3." *T. F.*

† The reverend and learned Author of "A Letter to his Grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, containing a Proposal for the Improvement of Latin Schools, London, 1748," 8vo, remarks, p. 20, that, "we are certainly in debt to the last editor of Lily's Grammar, Mr. Ward, Professor of Gresham College, for many valuable improvements of this Grammar. I am sorry," adds

and added in the preface an accurate and curious history of that Grammar. In that year he assisted Mr. George Thompson, Master of the Grammar-school at Tottenham High Cross, in his "Apparatus ad Linguam Græcam ordine novo ac facili digestus," 8vo. In the same year, Mr. Horsley's "Britannia Romana" being published at London, in folio, there was printed in it an "Essay on Peutinger's Table so far as it relates to Britain," by Mr. Ward; who had revised that elaborate work of Mr. Horsley in manuscript, and communicated to him many important remarks for its improvement. On the 5th of February, 1735-6, Mr. Ward was chosen a member of the Society of Antiquaries, of which he was elected director, on the 15th of January, 1746-7, on Dr. Birch's resignation of that office. And in April 1753 the Professor was appointed Vice-president of that Society, and continued so till his death. In 1736 Mr. Ainsworth was again indebted to him for literary assistance (see vol. V. p. 251); as were Mr. (afterwards Dr.) Patrick and Mr. Young in the succeeding edition of Ainsworth's Dictionary. In the same year (1736) he was chosen one of the first Committee of the Society for the Encouragement of Learning (see vol. II. p. 90), as he was of several subsequent ones during the subsistence of that Society; who printed, among other works at their expence, two which do honour to Professor Ward; the prefatory dedication to the new and beautiful edition of Maximus Tyrius being written by him, who had the care of the edition; and in the preface to the edition of Ælian "De Animalibus," the editor, Abraham Gronovius, is full of acknowledgments to Mr. Ward for his assistance in that work, and has also testified his regard by inscribing to him, in a long dedication, his edition of Pomponius Mela, 12mo, Leyden, 1743. In December 1740

adds the author, "that this learned gentleman should think of patching up another's performance, and not rather give us one of his own."

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his "Lives of the Professors of Gresham College *" were published at London, in folio; a work which is a considerable addition to the history of learning in our country. In 1741 he translated into Latin the Life of Dr. Johnston prefixed to Auditor Benson's edition of that author's version of the Psalms. In the Gentleman's Magazine for 1740, pp. 30, 31, is preserved Mr. Ward's explanation of a Roman altar found at Castle Steeds in Cumberland; and in the Magazine for 1743, p. 328 & seq. occurs a specimen of the candid spirit of the writer, in his defence of his assertion, in his Lives of the Professors of Gresham College, that the works of the famous Dr. Sydenham were composed by him in English, and translated into Latin by Dr. Mapletoft and Mr. Havers. This piece of his is nowhere else to be met with. In 1751 Dr. Wishart, principal of the University of Edinburgh, published a new edition of "Florentius Volusenus, or Wilson, de animi tranquillitate," with a Latin letter to the editor from Mr. Ward, dated ipsis idibus Novemb. 1750. On the 20th of May, 1751, the Professor was honoured by the University of Edinburgh with the degree of LL. D. Upon the establishment of the British Museum, in 1753, Dr. Ward was, on the 11th of December, elected one of the trustees of it; in which office he was singularly useful, by his assiduous attendance, advice, and assistance in forming that establishment, and settling rules for rendering it of benefit to the publick. In July of the year following, he published an edition of "Institutio Græcæ Grammatices Compendiaria, in usum Scholæ Westmonasteriensis," compiled by Camden while master of Westminster school. In this edition Dr. Ward carefully corrected the errors of the former, and made several very considerable improvements in the Grammar itself. The last

* A copy of this work also, with considerable additions by the author, is in the British Museum.

work

work published by himself was his "Four Essays upon the English Language, by John Ward*, D. LL. *R. P. G. C.* F. R. and A. SS. and *T. B. M.*" which he gave the world in the month of June, [1758,] preceding his death, the preface being dated May 24. He died in the 80th year of his age, at his apartments in Gresham college, on Tuesday, October 17, 1758, having gone well to bed; but he waked between three and four in the morning with a complaint of a coldness in his head, and soon after expired. His body was interred on the 24th of the same month, in the burial-ground of Bunhill Fields. He had written an epitaph for himself in 1752 (seeming then to be apprehensive that his death might be nearer than it really proved to be); which, with the alteration only of dates, and the addition of the four lines printed in *Italic*, was afterwards adopted for him by his friend Dr. Chandler:

"Hic requiescit
quod mortale fuit
JOHANNIS WARD, LL. D.
in Collegio Greshamensi
per ann. XXXVIII Rhetor. Profess.
Ob. ann. Salut. Human. MDCCLVIII,
[Ætatis suæ LXXX.†]
Bonus, ut melior vir,
aut doctior, non alius quisquam;
imbutusque anima, qualem neque candidiorem
terra tulit.
Item
dilectæ ejus sororis
ABIGAILIS WARD‡."

His executors were Mr. John Ward, bookseller in

* The meaning of these strange capitals may not at first sight be obvious. Those in Roman are well known; the others are, "Rhetorick Professor in Gresham College," and "Trustee of the British Museum."

† This line is not on the stone.

‡ Mrs. Abigail Ward, the Doctor's sister, died at his apartments in Gresham college, on Tuesday Sept. 10, 1745.

Corn-

Cornhill, a very distant, if any relation*, who died soon after the Doctor; and Mr. Thomas Treadway, late glover in Leadenhall-street, an ingenious man, of a literary turn.

The Doctor had a valuable library, which was sold by auction, March 19, 1759, and the fourteen following days. The late John Loveday, esq. of Caversham had all his coins and antiques. He had prepared for the publick his "System of Oratory, delivered in a Course of Lectures publicly read at Gresham College, London," which were, in pursuance of his intention, printed at London in 1759, in 8vo, in two volumes. Another posthumous work of his, published at London in 1761, in 8vo, was intituled "Dissertations upon several Passages of the Sacred Scriptures †," which he had selected out of many others in manuscript, and of which he had actually caused a fair copy to be transcribed for the press. A second volume of these "Dissertations" came out in 1774; which, though not, as the former, transcribed for the press, were equally designed for it by the Author. The papers written by him, and communicated to the Royal and Antiquarian Societies, are enumerated below ‡. He communi-

* Anne Goodam, of Warwick, was his heir.

† In 1762 the late Dr. Nathaniel Lardner published, at London, in 8vo, "Remarks upon the late Dr. Ward's Dissertations upon several Passages of the sacred Scriptures;" and observes, that "Dr. Ward's intimate acquaintance with antiquity, and his uncommon skill in all parts of literature, are well known; his sincere piety and respect for the sacred Scriptures were as conspicuous; and his Dissertations, though posthumous, have been well received by the publick." Of the second volume, which is not very easily to be met with, see Gent. Mag. 1775, p. 127.

‡ 1. A Latin dissertation *de equuleo*, or the wooden horse of the antient Romans, Phil. Trans. No. 412, p. 231. 2. "Remarks upon an antient Date, found at Widgel Hall, near Buntingford, in Hertfordshire, on an oaken plank," No. 439, p. 120. 3. "Remarks upon an antient Date, over a Gateway, near the Cathedral at Worcester," No. 439, p. 136. 4. "An Account of a Dissertation published in Latin by Dr. Weidler, concerning the vulgar Numeral Figures; as also some Remarks upon an Inscription, cut formerly in a Window belonging to the Parish Church of Rum-

cated to Mr. Vertue, when he published upon two large sheets, "A Draught of a Roman Mosaic Pave-

Rumsey in Hampshire. Read June 7, 1744." No. 474, p. 79. 5. "An Explication of a Roman Inscription found not long since at Silchester in Hampshire. Read December 13, 1744." No. 474, p. 200. 6. "A brief Enquiry into the Reading of two Dates in Arabian Figures, cut upon Stones found in Ireland." Read February 28, 1744-5. No. 475, p. 283. 7. "An Attempt to explain some Remains of Antiquity lately found in Hertfordshire." Read April 4, 1745. No. 476, p. 349. 8. "A brief Account of a Roman Tessera." Read March 3, 1747-8. No. 486, p. 224. 9. "A Description of the Town of Silchester in its present State, with a short Account of an antient Date in Arabian Figures at Shalford Farm, adjoining to Wasing, in the Parish of Brimpton, near Aldermarston in Berkshire." Read December 22, 1748. No. 490, p. 603. 10. "Remarks upon an antient Roman Inscription found in Italy, erected to the Goddess Flora." Read January 11, 1749-50. No. 494. p. 293. 11. "An Abstract of a Discourse on the Medals of Pescennius Niger, and upon some Circumstances in the History of his Life; written in French by Mons. Claude Gros de Boze. Read May 31, 1750. No. 495, p. 452. 12. "An Attempt to explain an antient Greek Inscription on a bronze cup, published with a Draught of the Cup by Dr. Pococke, in his Description of the East, vol. II. part 2, p. 207." Read June 28, 1750. No. 495, p. 488. 13. "An Account of a Roman Altar, with an Inscription upon it, lately found at York." Read February 1, 1753, vol. XLVIII. p. 33. 14. "An Abstract of a Discourse intituled, the History of the Emperor Tetricus, explained and illustrated by Medals; written in French by Mons. Claude Gros de Boze." Read April 5, 1753. Vol. XLVIII. p. 124. 15. "An Attempt to explain an antient Roman Inscription, cut upon a Stone lately found at Bath." Read November 22, 1753. Vol. XLVIII. p. 332. 16. "An Account of a Roman Inscription found at Malton in Yorkshire, in the Year 1753." Read March 20, 1755. Vol. XLIX. p. 69. 17. "An Account of four Roman Inscriptions, cut upon three large Stones, found near Wroxeter in Shropshire, in the Year 1752." Read May 15, 1755. Vol. XLIX. p. 196. 18. "An Attempt to explain two Roman Inscriptions, cut upon two Altars, which were dug up some Time since at Bath." Read December 11, 1755. Vol. XLIX. p. 285. 19. "Some Considerations on a Draught of two large Pieces of Lead, with Roman Inscriptions upon them, found several Years since in Yorkshire." Read July 1, 1756. Vol. XLIX. p. 686. "Among the 'Vetusta Monumenta' of the Society of Antiquaries were published two Discourses of his, viz. "De codice Geneseos Cottoniano dissertatio historico," in 1744, and "A brief Account of the Court of Wards and Liveries," in 1747. See also vol. II. No. 15. 19. His other communications to that Society, are, 1. "Copy of a Letter from Mr. Professor Ward to Mr. Vice-

pre-

ment, found in Littlecote Park, in the Parish of Ramsbury, Wiltshire," a large account of it, engraved on one of the plates, with the initial letters of his name. He was likewise the author of the dedication, preface, and notes, in the edition of Horace engraved by Pine. He wrote many epitaphs, admired for their elegance and propriety, on his friends, and other persons of distinction in the republick of letters; and particularly that upon his excellent friend Dr. Mead (see vol. VI. p. 216). His piety was sincere and unaffected; and his profession as a Christian was that of a Protestant Dissenter, with a moderation and candour which recommended him to the esteem of those members of the Established Church who had the pleasure of his acquaintance or friendship. His knowledge of Antiquity was extensive and accurate; and he was remarkably well skilled in the Roman law, which was of no small advantage to him in his researches into the constitution, customs, and history of the Roman empire. His modesty was equal to his learning, and his readiness to contribute to any work of literature was as distinguished as his abilities to do it. Among other learned men, to whom he communicated what lights occurred to him on the subjects in which they were engaged, Dr. Lardner was obliged to him for his remarks, inserted in the first volume of that excellent writer on the Credibility of the Gospel History, and for a conjecture published in part II. vol. VII. p. 350. In the works

president Folkes, relating to an Inscription found at Chichester," three pages, read Oct. 9, 1740. 2. "A brief Enquiry into the Antiquity of an antient Map of London and Westminster, contained in six sheets; as also some Account of several antient Prints of the Royal Exchange, built by Sir Thomas Gresham." Read July 15, 1742. 3. "Extracts from the Accompts of the Church-wardens of the Parish of St. Helen's, in Abingdon, Berkshire; from the first of Philip and Mary, to the 34th of Queen Elizabeth (now in the Possession of Mr. George Benson) with some Observations by Mr. Professor Ward." Read Nov. 24, 1743. Printed in Archæologia, vol. I. p. 11. 4. A Discourse on Beacons, April 13, 1749. Ibid. p. 1.

of

of Dr. George Benson are likewise three dissertations of Mr. Ward, but without his name. "The Manner of St. Paul's two Confinements at Rome considered," is printed in the Appendix to Philemon, in 1752. That "concerning the Persons to whom St. Paul wrote what is called the Epistle to the Ephesians," is printed in the History of the first Planting of the Christian Religion, vol. II. p. 342, in 1755. And that called "A Postscript to the aforegoing Dissertation," in form of a letter, in vol. III. p. 55, in 1756 *.

Francis Wise, B. D. and F. S. A. many years fellow of Trinity college, Oxford, was born Oct. 3, 1695, educated at New-college school under Mr. Badger, admitted at Trinity college 1710-11, A. M. 1717, and assistant to Dr. Hudson in the Bodleian library; elected fellow of his college 1719; where he had the honour of having for his pupil, 1721, the Earl of Guilford; who appointed him his chaplain, and presented him to the vicarage of Ellesfield † in Oxfordshire, 1726; as did his College to the rectory of Rotherfield-Grays, in the same county, 1745. He was appointed keeper of the Archives 1726, and in 1748 Radcliffe librarian. He published, 1. "Annales Ælfredi Magni, Oxon. 1722," 8vo. 2. "Letter to Dr. Mead ‡ concerning some

piece to the Preface to his Bodleian Coins. Mr. Boswell, in his Life of Johnson, vol. I. p. 247, 5th edition, has recorded the visit paid to Mr. Wise, at this parsonage, by Mr. Thomas Warton and Dr. Johnson, with a pleasant account of it.

* "An Account of the Life of John Ward, LL. D. &c. by Thomas Birch, D. D." printed for Vaillant in the Strand, 8vo, 1766 (a posthumous work); was published by Dr. Maty, with a short Preface.

† A view of his house and grounds at Ellesfield forms a tail-

‡ This Letter was as rudely as sillily animadverted upon in a pamphlet called, "The Impertinence and Imposture of modern Antiquaries displayed, or a Refutation of the Rev. Mr. Wise's Letter to Dr. Mead, concerning the White Horse, and other Antiquities in Berkshire, in a familiar Letter to a Friend. By Philalethes Rusticus. With a Preface by the Gentleman to whom

Antiquities in Berkshire. Oxford, 1738," 4to. 3. "Further Observations upon the White Horse and other Antiquities in Berkshire; with an Account of Whiteleaf-cross in Buckinghamshire; as also the Red Horse in Warwickshire, and other Monuments of the same Kind. Oxford, 1742," 4to.

In 1750, he published by subscription "Catalogus Nummorum Antiquorum in Scriniis Bodleianis reconditorum, cum Commentario," with plates of many of the Coins, folio.

In 1758, "Enquiries concerning the first Inhabitants, Languages, &c. of Europe," 4to.

In 1764, "Observations on the History and Chronology of the Fabulous Ages," 4to.

After a long struggle with the gout, he died at his favourite retreat at Ellesfield, Oct. 6, 1767 *, aged 72, universally beloved and esteemed † on account of his great merit and learning ‡.

whom this Letter was addressed. Lond," 4to, said, in a MS note in Mr. Wise's own copy, to be written by Mr. Asplin, vicar of Banbury, and the preface by his friend Mr. William Bumpstead, of Upton, supercargo of the Prince Frederick South-Sea ship (of whom there is much to be met with in some of the pamphlets concerning the Assiento contract carried on by the South-Sea Company). It was replied to by Mr. North, as mentioned in vol. V. p. 426. In canvassing for the office of Radcliffe librarian, Mr. Wise was much hurt by the endeavours of the author of this pamphlet to represent him as disaffected to the Government. —The pamphlet was so universally disliked, that the author is said to have called it in very soon after publication; it has therefore long been very scarce, and, like many a misbegotten brat, its parent could never be found with any certainty. Notwithstanding the general opinion that it was written by Mr. Asplin, well known by some pamphlets on a different subject, the late Mr. Rowe-Mores always asserted the author's name was Aspinwall; and others have attributed it to the Rev. Mr. Bumpstead, a clergyman in Essex.

* Five years before his death the following *ludicrous anticipation* of it appeared in the London papers. "Dec. 9, 1762, died the Rev. *Solomon Wise*, greatly regretted by the studious part of the University of Oxford. His death was occasioned by a violent cold, contracted by too close attendance on the duties of his respective offices in the Bodleian and Radcliffe libraries."

† Gough's British Topography, vol. I. p. 176.

‡ I have several of his original letters to Dr. Z. Grey and Dr. Ducarel.

No. XI.

BISHOP WARBURTON *.

(See vol. II. p. 120.)

THIS very learned Prelate was descended from an antient and respectable family † at Orley hall in Cheshire, of which Sir Peter Warburton, the present baronet, is at the head.

William Warburton, the grandfather of our Bishop, distinguished himself as a royalist in the civil wars of the seventeenth century. He married Frances, daughter of Robert Awfield, of Etson in Nottinghamshire; and settled at Shelton, about six miles from Newark, where he practised the law, and was coroner for the county till his death.

* I am aware that, since this article was first compiled, it has been in a great measure superseded by the excellent Biographical Preface of the Bishop of Worcester.—I cannot, however, omit so prominent a feature of my original Work; but give it (in substance) as it before appeared; illustrated by notes, principally from Bp. Warburton's own delineation of himself and his writings. The character of this truly great man will not suffer by a faithful delineation of some of his peculiarities.

† The Warburtons are descended from Adam Dutton, a younger son of Hugh, grandson of Hudard, or Odard, who came over into England with William the Conqueror. Sir Peter Dutton, great-grandson of Adam, in the reign of King Edward the Second, settling at Warburton in Cheshire, assumed the name of his residence; and his descendants removed to Arley, where the family mansion was built by Peter Warburton, esq. who died in 1495. (Lysons' Cheshire, p. 361.) Sir John Warburton, son of Peter, was one of the Knights of the Body to King Henry VII. sheriff of Cheshire for life, and died in 1524. His son, Sir John Warburton, who died in 1575, æt. 52, had four sons; of whom Peter, the eldest, was called to the degree of serjeant-at-law in 1594, and one of the judges of the Court of Common Pleas in 1601. He died July 22, 1626, without issue male; but left nine daughters, one of whom, Alice, was married to her relation, Peter Warburton, esq. of Helpestone Grange; who was born in 1588, made one of the justices of Chester by the Parliament in 1647, and afterwards one of the judges of the Court of King's Bench. He died at Polsden in Surrey, Feb. 28, 1665-6; and was buried at Fetcham. Of his three sons, the two eldest died in their infancy; and the youngest, Richard Warburton, esq. of the Grange, married Elizabeth, daughter of Alderman Barkley,

Mr. William Warburton had three sons; the second of of whom, George Warburton, was an attorney, and town-clerk of Newark; where he was much esteemed for integrity; and married, about the year 1696, Elizabeth, daughter of William Hobman, an alderman of the same town; by whom he had five children; George, William, Mary, Elizabeth, and Frances. He died about 1706; and his eldest son died young.

WILLIAM WARBURTON was born at Newark, Dec. 24, 1698; and was put to school there under Mr. Twells, whose son afterwards married his sister Elizabeth; but he had the chief part of his education under Mr. Weston * and Mr. Wright, at Okeham; where he continued till 1714; when his cousin, Mr. William Warburton †, being made head-master

of London. "He greatly affected retirement and privacy; spent the greatest part of his time in reading and prayer; and his house was a little sanctuary for *silenced ministers*, and those that adhered to them." He died, after repeated attacks of the palsy, April 14, 1696; leaving one son, Dr. Warburton, of Abbot's Bromley in Staffordshire; and one daughter, Mary, second wife of the Rev. Matthew Henry, the celebrated Dissenting minister, who died in 1714." (Life of Matthew Henry, by Tong, pp. 107. 326. 337).—George Warburton, esq. second son of the last-mentioned son John, had five sons; of whom Peter, the eldest, died without issue; and George, the second son, created a baronet in 1660, was the immediate ancestor of the present Sir Peter Warburton; whose family are now the only known descendants in the male line of the antient stock of the Duttons. —A younger branch of this family was George Warburton, of Brase-nose college, Oxford, chaplain in ordinary to king James I. and afterwards to king Charles I. He published "King Melchizedeck, a Sermon preached at Court, at East Hamsted, Sept. 2, 1623; was installed dean of Gloucester June 14, 1631; and on the 3d of August following was presented by the king to the deanry of Wells. In 1640 he went to London, to attend the Long Parliament; and died, in Drury-lane, about the month of December 1641. (Wood's Fasti, II. 270.)

* Mr. Weston (who was afterwards vicar of Campden in Gloucestershire, in which he was succeeded by his son, both from the gift of Lord Gainsborough) expressed the greatest surprize when "The Divine Legation" appeared; declaring, "that, when at school, he had always considered young Warburton as the dullest of all dull scholars." *Gent. Mag. vol. L. p. 474.*

† This gentleman was the son of John Warburton, M. A. of St. John's college, Cambridge; M. A. 1664; and was himself of the

of the public grammar-school at Newark, he returned to his native place, and was for a short time under the tuition of that learned and respectable person.

His original destination was to the same profession as that of his father and grandfather; and he was accordingly articled, in 1714, as a clerk *, to Mr. Kirke †, an attorney at East Markham in Nottinghamshire; with whom he continued till April 1719.

From the expiration of his clerkship to the time of his entering into holy orders, his actual pursuits in life are involved in an obscurity which would be of no consequence in the memoirs of any ordinary man. But, in the history of so gigantic a Scholar, the mode of passing his early years becomes an object of no common interest.

It has been generally supposed, and there seems no occasion to doubt it, that he was regularly admitted in one of the Courts at Westminster; and that, for a short time at least, he practised as an

the same College; B. A. 1707; M. A. 1710. He was father of the Rev. Thomas Warburton, of Jesus college, Cambridge; B. A. 1742; M. A. 1744; elected fellow 1745; vicar of Fordham, Cambridgeshire, 1746; archdeacon of Norfolk; and rector of Redenhall with Harleston in that county; who died at Harleston, aged about 76, Nov. 1, 1797.—There was an earlier Thomas Warburton, of St. John's college also, B. A. 1721; probably a brother to the school-master.

* As a matter of curiosity merely, the following particulars of his enrollment are extracted from the Registry of the Stamp-office: "William, son of Elizabeth Warburton, widow, was articled, April 23, 1714, for five years from that date, to John Kirke, of East Markham in Nottinghamshire, gent. with a premium of 95*l.*; the twelve-penny duty on which, being 4*l.* 15*s.* was received on Saturday June 19."

† The Kirkes have long been a respectable family at East (generally called Great) Markham.—John Kirke, gent. died there in 1710, aged 58.—Anne, daughter of John Kirke, gent. and wife of Thomas Hanson, gent. deputy registrar of the Archidiaconal Court at Lincoln (*pronepos* of John Hanson, bishop of Oxford 1619, and of Durham 1628) died March 15, 1723; and is buried, with a Latin epitaph, in Lincoln Cathedral: "ob beneficentiam et comitatem ab omnibus dilecta et desiderata."—William Kirke, esq. died at East Markham 1773, æt. 58.—Edward Kirke, esq. 1786, æt. 67.—John Kirke, esq. was a considerable freeholder in 1797.

attorney on his own account. Certain it is, that he very early returned to his family at Newark; and, the bent of his genius having long before appeared in a passionate love of reading, he had here an opportunity of giving way to his favourite inclination, under the immediate advice and assistance of his relation, the master of Newark school; who, besides his classical merit, which was great, had that of being an excellent Divine, and a truly learned as well as good man; and "employed all the time he could spare in instructing him, and used to set up very late at night with him to assist him in his studies *."

* This anecdote was communicated to Bp. Hurd by the son of the school-master; and was often mentioned by the pupil himself, who used to enlarge with pleasure on his obligations to his old tutor; and has illustrated his theological and other learning in the following handsome epitaph, inscribed on a brass plate against the wall of the North cross aile in Newark church.

"Si sit in pretio, Hospes,
aut Virtus, aut Doctrina;
siste, et libato cineri vicino
Rev. GULIELMI WARBURTON, A. M.
JOANNIS supers. sancti senis fil.
ex agro Cestriensi
generosâ stirpe atque antiquissimâ
profecti.
Ore trilingui, ac animo omnis capaci
Antiquis Literis consignatæ sapientiæ,
plurimùm pollebat.
Criticus sine fastu,
sine pertinaciâ Theologus.
Sed apage nænias;
apage vos prostibulas,
justitiæ, prudentiæ, castimoniæ, &c.
super omnem tumulum quotidiè constupratas,
magnificas voces:
virtutem tam sinceram inimico,
tam absolutam, immò etiam temerario amico
enarrandam,
ausem relinquere.
Hujus amplitudinis, si quæras,
qualis data est merces?
Pudet dicere, sileo.
Si tandem quæras,
qualem merebat illa?
Dicam,
Tempora feliciora.
Vix. ann. XLI.—Ob. A. R. MDCCXXIX."

The

The success which he met with as a man of business was probably not great. It was certainly not sufficient to induce him to devote the rest of his life to it: and it is probable that his want of encouragement might tempt him to turn his thoughts towards a profession in which his literary acquisitions might be more valuable, and in which he might more easily pursue the bent of his inclination. He appears to have brought from school more learning than was requisite for a practising Lawyer. This might rather impede than forward his progress; as it has been generally observed, that an attention to literary concerns, and the bustle of an attorney's office, with only a moderate share of business, are wholly incompatible. It is therefore no wonder that he preferred retirement to noise, and relinquished what advantages he might expect from continuing to follow the Law *. "His love of letters continually growing stronger, and the seriousness of his temper, and purity of his morals, concurring with his unappeasable thirst of knowledge, determined him to quit that profession for the Church."

In 1723 he took deacon's orders; and his first printed work, consisting of Translations from Cæsar, Cicero, Pliny, Claudian, and others, appeared, under the title of "Miscellaneous Translations in Prose and Verse, from Roman Poets, Orators, and Historians †," 12mo, was in that year addressed to Sir Robert Sutton ‡; and seems to have laid the founda-

* It has been suggested that he for some time was employed as an assistant in a school; and Mr. Hutchinson (History of Durham, vol. II. p. 174, citing Dr. Z. Grey's MSS.) says he was "a school-master at Newark." It is not improbable that he might, for the sake of his own improvement, be occasionally useful to his relation in that capacity.

† The Title-page is dated 1724. This juvenile performance is barely alluded to in Bp. Hurd's Life of the Author, and not at all noticed by either of them in their Correspondence.

‡ The Latinity of this address has been much objected to: but the reader shall judge for himself: "Excellentissimo, præstantissimo, et honoratissimo viro, Dº Roberto Sutton, Equiti Aurato, ad Gallicum Monarcam, dare morem Catholicæ Pacis, cum authoritate maximâ proximè, misso: in Legationibus, Gloriæ Britanniæ

tion of his first ecclesiastical preferment; for in 1726, being then in priest's orders, he obtained, by the recommendation of his patron, the small vicarage of Gryesly in Nottinghamshire.

About Christmas 1726 he came to London; and, while there, with that ardent thirst of knowledge which was his characteristic quality, became intimately acquainted with several literary characters; and, amongst others, with Mr. Theobald, to whom he communicated some notes on Shakspeare, which afterwards appeared in that Critic's edition of our great Dramatic Poet. At this period also he wrote the much-talked of letter to Mr. Concanen *.

In 1727, his next work, intituled, "A Critical and Philosophical Enquiry into the Causes of Pro-

tamiæ et Europæ stabilitatis æquilibris, Fautori tenaci; SENATU, commodi Provinciæ et Libertatis patriæ, Vindici egregio; DOMI, Virtutum Humanitatis, Religionisque Moderationum, Exemplari perillustri; has Nugas in summi honoris, animique dictatissimi testimonium, D. D. D. Q. W. WARBURTON. CIↃ IↃCCXXIII."

* Dr. Akenside, in a note on his "Ode to Mr. Edwards," says, "During Mr. Pope's war with Theobald, Concanen, and the rest of their tribe, Mr. Warburton, the present lord bishop of Gloucester, did with great zeal cultivate their friendship; having been introduced, forsooth, at the meetings of that respectable confederacy: a favour which he afterwards spoke of in very high terms of complacency and thankfulness. At the same time, in his intercourse with them he treated Mr. Pope in a most contemptuous manner, and as a writer without genius. Of the truth of these assertions his Lordship can have no doubt, if he recollects his own correspondence with Concanen; a part of which is still in being, and will probably be remembered as long as any of this Prelate's writings.—The Letter was found about the year 1750, by Dr. Gawin Knight, first librarian to the British Museum, in fitting up a house which he had taken in Crane-court, Fleet-street. The house had, for a long time before, been let in lodgings, and in all probability Concanen had lodged there. The original letter has been many years in my possession, and is here most exactly copied, with its several little peculiarities in grammar, spelling, and punctuation. April 30, 1766." *M. A.*—The Letter itself, dated Jan. 2, 1726-7, was given to the publick, by Mr. Malone, in his "Supplement to Shakspeare, 1780," vol. I. p. 222, with the following introduction: "If the letter here alluded to contained any thing that affected the moral character of the writer, tenderness for the dead would forbid its publication. But that not being the case, and the learned Prelate being now beyond the reach of criticism, there is no reason why this literary curiosity should be longer with-held from the publick."

digies

digies and Miracles *, as related by Historians. With an Essay towards restoring a Method and Pu-

* In answer to a letter from Mr. Hurd (noticed in a future page), Mr. Warburton says, Jan. 3, 1757, "Your little History is very dear to me, though it calls the sins of my youth to remembrance. I was very much a boy when I wrote that thing about *Prodigies*, and I had never the courage to look into it since; so I have quite forgot all the nonsense that it contains. But, since you mention it, I will tell you how it came to see the light. I met many years ago with an ingenious Irishman at a coffee-house near Gray's-inn, where I lodged. He studied the Law, and was very poor. I had given him money for many a dinner; and at last I gave him those papers, which he sold to the booksellers for more money than you would think, much more than they were worth. But I must finish the history both of the Irishman and the papers. Soon after, he got acquainted with Sir William Yonge, wrote for Sir Robert ‡, and was made Attorney-general of Jamaica. He married there an opulent widow, and died very rich a few years ago here in England; but of so scoundrel a temper, that he avoided ever coming into my sight: so that the memory of all this intercourse between us has been buried in silence till this moment. And who should this man be but one of the heroes of the Dunciad, *Concanen* by name! The papers had a similar fortune. A few years before Curll's death, he wrote me a letter to acquaint me he had bought the property of *my excellent Discourse;* and that, as it had been long out of print, he was going to re-print it; only he desired to know if I had any additions or alterations to make, he should be glad of the honour of receiving them. The writer, and the contents of his letter, very much alarmed me; so I wrote to Mr. Knapton, to go to the fellow, and buy my own book of him again, which he did §; and so ended this ridiculous affair, which may be a warning to young scribblers."—"Let your revilers," replies Mr. Hurd, Jan. 9, "make their best of your acquaintance with *Matthew Concanen* ||, *esq.*—But I have more to say to your *quondam* authorship. You have a right to undervalue your first attempts in literature as much as you please. The so much greater things you have done since, are your warrant for so doing. But I should not be very patient of this language from any other. The truth is, and I am not afraid to say it roundly to any man: not *one* of all the wretches that have written or rail against you, and who affect to find great consolation in this

‡ Walpole—at the head of affairs during great part of the Reign of George the Second.

§ It has been said that the Bishop bought up these two early publications to destroy them. This report took its rise, probably, from the circumstance here mentioned.

|| It has been asserted that he was turned out of his office at Jamaica by Governor Trelawny. He returned in 1748 to England; and died of a consumption, Jan. 22, 1749.—See Warburton's character of him in Pope's Works, ed. Bowles, vol. V. pp. 20. 43. 184. 187. 349. 350. 352; and a note by Dr. Warton, vol. VI. p. 228.

first

rity in History. In which the Characters of the most celebrated Writers of every Age, and of the several Stages and Species of History, are occasionally criticized and explained. In two Parts," was published in 12mo, and was also inscribed to Sir Robert Sutton *, in an English dedication of

first escape of your pen, was ever able in the *acmè* of his parts and judgment to produce any thing half so good. Mr. Balguy and I read it together some years ago, and we agreed there was the same ingenuity of sentiment and vigour of expression as in your other works; in a word, that it was a fine effort of genius, not yet formed indeed and matured, but even in this juvenility portending plainly enough what you were one day to be capable of. I have read it again very lately, and I think of it just the same: so that I almost blame your anxiety about Curll's edition. It was not worth, perhaps, your owning in form. But your reputation was not concerned to suppress it. One sees in it your early warmth in the cause of virtue and public liberty, and your original way of striking out new hints on common subjects. There are many fine observations up and down; amongst which, that in the Dedication, on the characters of the three great Romans, which you have since adopted in the notes on Pope, is admirable. In running it over this last time, I find I have stolen a hint from you which I was not aware of. It is what I say of the Apes of Plato and Aristotle, in page 79 of the Commentary on the Epistle to Augustus, taken from what you say in page 9 on that subject. I should not have said so much on this matter (for I am as much above the thought of flattering you, as you are above the want of it) but that I think your shyness in acknowledging this little prolusion of your genius, gives a handle to your low malignant cavillers, which you need not have afforded them. I must further request it of you, as a favour, that, if Knapton has not destroyed the copies, you would oblige me with half a dozen, or so, which you may trust me to dispose of in a proper manner. I ask it the rather, because I could never get one into my own possession. I have tried several times, and now very lately this winter out of Baker's sale; but it was bought up before I could order it. Such a curiosity have both your friends and enemies to treasure up this proscribed volume."

* Of these juvenile compositions, his right reverend Biographer thus speaks: "The fruit of his industry during this interval (from 1723 to 27) appeared in some pieces, composed by him for the improvement of his taste and style, and afterwards printed (most of them without his name) to try the judgment of the publick. As he never thought fit to reprint or revise them, they are omitted in this edition." Among these *blossoms of his youth* (to use an expression from Cowley) were the notes inserted in Mr. Theobald's edition of Shakspeare.—The "Miscellaneous Trans-

twenty pages; in which both the public and private character of Sir Robert Sutton, and of his lady the Countess of Sunderland, are well pourtrayed; and "the Writer, happy in a generous Patron, and unable to discharge his obligations, by publishing them to the world, gives a kind of security for the debt, at the same time that he makes a boast of his credit."

In 1727 he published a treatise under the title of "The Legal Judicature in Chancery stated*," which he undertook at the particular request of Samuel Burroughs, esq. afterwards a master in Chancery, who put the materials into his hands, and spent some time in the country with him during the compilation of the work.

On the 25th of April, 1728, by the interest of Sir Robert Sutton, he had the honour to be put upon the King's List of Masters of Arts, created at Cambridge, on his Majesty's visit to that University †.

Translations" also have his *name at full length* subscribed to the Dedication. Nor did either of his early works reflect on him the least discredit; on the contrary, they shewed the vigour of his parts, and the more than common hopes which might be entertained of such a writer. A modern re-publication of them will be duly noticed hereafter.

* Mr. Burroughs had published, in 1726, "The History of the Chancery; relating to the Judicial Power of that Court, and the Rights of the Master;" and was rewarded for it, by Lord Chancellor King, with a Mastership in Chancery.—This "History" was answered (but anonymously) by Sir Philip Yorke, at that time Attorney General (and afterwards Lord Chancellor Hardwicke), in so able a manner, that Mr. Burroughs was advised, by one of his friends, to call in the assistance of Mr. Warburton, which produced the above "Reply."

† He had, not long before, paid a handsome compliment to that learned Body, and to King George the First, in his Discourse on Prodigies and Miracles: "The Republick of Letters is already overstocked with the retailers of its commodities, as well as the Civil; which, under the best regulations, can never make any real increase of the stock. Their present use is, that our rulers may raise a tax from the itinerant pedlar; and the bookseller, like the receiver of stolen goods, knows how to improve his mystery, by the choice pack of the sharping *Garreteer*. But their great increase always predicts the certain decay of trade and learning. But

In June, the same year, he was presented by Sir Robert Sutton to the valuable rectory of Burnt

But the late *Royal Institution for the Study of History* has given a new æra to the reign of the Muses. Under the auspices of another Augustus they shall regain their old honours, and be once again the favourites of Courts. Their ill habits shall be reformed, their manners polished, and a right taste lastingly established. For our *invincible Monarch*, after his accomplished toils of Empire, has now got time to respire, and to cast his eye upon the literary world; where the abject condition of *British* History (which we have described above) caught his first regard, and determined him to this most effectual method to raise and ennoble it. 'Tis surely then the office of every one that bears a relation to letters, and is zealous, as he ought, in any capacity, to distinguish his duty to *the Father of his Country*, to second his gracious intentions. It is my utmost ambition to have it believed, that this engaged me in my present labour. I imagined a better foundation could not be laid for the advancement of *modern History*, than in a right intelligence of the *antient*. And it is honour enough for me to be employed as an under-labourer, in clearing the ground, and removing the rubbish. This noble *Institution* must produce the master-builders, to give us that finished body of *English* History so long wanted, and till now despaired of.—At least I have reason to expect, that as the successes of the *British* arms, if we be provoked to employ them; will, without doubt, raise up amongst us a plentiful harvest of Journalists and Historians, the foregoing remarks may, perhaps, be of seasonable use to direct them in the most nice *detours* of the story; *the true causes of things*. That they no longer make such bungling work of it as was scarce excusable in their monkish ancestors, and ramble abroad to the very limits of the Universe for causes which are to be found much nearer home, in the wise and steady councils of our victorious Sovereign, the effects of which, now opening to the world, will be a better proof than any given in the preceding Discourse, of what great things the human mind alone is capable to perform; which, misunderstood by the admiring many, has made men fly to Prodigies for explanation, and give a *guardian Deity* to accompany the *Hero*. Such a work alone would be worthy a *Royal Foundation*; but this has already procured far more important advantages. The University, conquered by repeated acts of Sovereign Favour, is become *ambitious* of receiving them; and with unfeigned love and gratitude *repeats* her numerous obligations.—Methinks I see her, like the mighty Eagle, renewing her *immortal youth*, and purging her opening sight, at the unobstructed beams of our benign meridian *Sun*; which some pretend to say had been dazzled, and abused by an inglorious pestilential meteor; while the ill-affected Birds of Night would, with their envious hootings, prognosticate a length of darkness and decay."

(other-

(otherwise Brand) Broughton *, Lincolnshire, but in the neighbourhood of Newark, where he fixed himself, accompanied by his mother and his sisters †; and spent a considerable part of the prime of life ‡, from 1728

* Thomas Kempson, the preceding rector of Brand-Broughton, died June 15, 1728, æt. 68.

† The affectionate interest which he took in the welfare of his relations will appear in the following extract of a letter to Mr. Hurd, July 12, 1757: "I had the pleasure of finding a Sister and a Niece well at Broughton; with whom I spent a few days with much satisfaction: for you must know I have a numerous family, perhaps the more endeared to me by their sole dependence on me. It pleased Providence that two of my Sisters should marry unhappily, and that a third, on the point of venturing, should escape the hazard, and so engage my care only for herself.—I reckon this a lucky year; for I have married a Niece to a reputable Grocer at York, and have got a Commission for a Nephew in the Regiment of Artillery: and this fierce Man of War lies at present encamped, much at my expence, at Amersham, near High Wycombe (as he *notifies* to me), with two field-pieces under his command. These are pleasures; but less than what I enjoy in the superior merit and affection of a friend like you."—Several years after, on the death of Dr. Hurd's mother, he says, "I do not know whether I ought to condole with you, or congratulate you, upon the release of that excellent woman, full of years and virtues. I rejoice when I find a similarity of our fortunes, in the gentler parts of humanity.—My mother, somewhat less indebted to years, though not to the infirmities of them, at length fell asleep, and departed, in all the tranquillity and ease that your mother did. The last leave she took of all human concerns, as she winged her way into the bosom of our common God and Father, was an anxious enquiry concerning my welfare: which being assured of, she immediately closed her eyes for ever.—But I must turn mine from this tender subject, which will give us both relief."

‡ This happy period of his life he thus pleasingly recollects: "If you have seen my friends at Grantham, particularly Mr. Towne, you will have no reason to think yourself disappointed. There are half a dozen worthy men there, with whom, for a course of years, I have spent the most pleasurable parts of my life. And few things can make me amends for the loss I have of them. I am particularly glad you have given so sincere a pleasure to Mr. Towne, who will think himself both honoured and happy in your visit. If you think the acquisition of a warm friend valuable, treasure him up in your heart, for such he will prove to you, for no esteem could be higher than his for you, before he knew you. I would have every man of virtue and letters imitate the true Virtuoso-taste in this, who enjoy and even adore antient coins for the elegance of their figures and the learning of their inscriptions; *and use as they deserve* the current

to 1746 in a studious retirement, devoted entirely to letters *; usually sitting up a great part of the night in study; and there planned, and in part executed, some of his most important works; but several years elapsed, after obtaining this preferment, before he appeared again in the world as a writer †.

current cash, which the necessities of life make it prudent to get as much of as they fairly can, but never be an idolizer of that which is a slave to every body else." *Letter to Mr. Hurd.*

* The following remarkable instance of his intenseness of thinking is recorded by a Correspondent of Mr. Urban: "My father, who was a neighbour of Bp. Warburton when he was plain Mr. Warburton, residing at Brand Broughton, his living in Lincolnshire, was invited to meet him at Lord Tyrconnel's. On his arrival at Belton hall, he found the company lamenting Mr. Fane of Fulbeck's sad accident; his house being likely to be destroyed by a fire, which was still burning. Some one said, "We shall know the particulars when Mr. Warburton comes, who must pass by it." Mr. Warburton arrived;—was questioned, —'saw no fire or bustle.' It was hoped the report was not true: 'It must be some other house was burning down.' But the bad news was soon confirmed by people from Fulbeck, who also saw Mr. Warburton ride by. He had rode close by it, without asking a question, or having the thread of the argument which occupied his thoughts interrupted. Yet he was not an absent man; read every thing, Magazines, Novels, Dictionaries; and forgot nothing. (Fulbeck still belongs to the Fanes of the Westmoreland family)." *W. E.—Gent. Mag. vol. LXXIX. p.* 519.

† At least, there was nothing published which can be with certainty ascribed to him. In the year 1732, his patron, Sir Robert Sutton, having been a member of the Charitable Corporation, fell under the censure of the House of Commons on account of that iniquitous business. He was expelled the House, and his fortune for some time seemed to be held but on a precarious tenure. On this occasion a pamphlet appeared, intituled, "An Apology for Sir Robert Sutton." It can only be conjectured that Mr. Warburton had some concern in this production; but when the connexion between him and Sir Robert, and the recent obligation received from that gentleman, are considered, it will not be thought unlikely that he might, on this occasion, afford his Patron some assistance by his pen.—Gratitude indeed was a predominant feature in this great man's mind.—In an Appendix to his Biographical Discourse, Bp. Hurd has preserved a letter which Mr. Warburton addressed to Mr. Pope, in vindication of Sir Robert Sutton; written, it appears, with the view of prevailing with him to strike that gentleman's name out of his satires; which sets the author in an amiable light, and seems to confirm a conjecture, that his former dissatisfaction with Mr. Pope had arisen from this circumstance.—

"I have

It was in this season of early discipline, while his mind was opening to many literary projects,

"I have known this gentleman," he says, "about twenty years. I have been greatly and in the most generous manner obliged to him; so I am very capable, and, you will readily believe, very much disposed to apologize for him. Yet, for all that, if I did not really believe him to be an honest man, I would not venture to excuse him to you." He then gives the early history of Sir Robert Sutton in his public capacity, as an ambassador at Constantinople; and of his connexion with the Charitable Corporation, by which he lost near 20,000*l.*; and adds, "He is a tender and indulgent father, to very hopeful children, a kind master, and one of the best landlords to his tenants. I speak all this of my own knowledge. He has a good estate in this place. My parishioners are good people. The times (till very lately) for this last fifteen years have been extreme bad for the graziers; I got of him for them two abatements in their rents, at two several times. I will only beg leave to give you one more instance, that relates to myself, and is not equivocal in his character. I chanced to know him, when I was very young, by means of my neighbourhood to Lord Lexington (whom I never knew), where he oft came. And, without any consideration to party or election interest, he seemed to have entertained an early esteem for me. He had two good livings, on estates he had lately bought; and, without the least intimation or solicitation, he told me I should have the first that fell. He was as good as his word. But this was not all. As soon as I became possessed of the living, he told me, that (from what he had been informed by my predecessor, who at his death was going to commence a suit for his just dues) the living was much injured by a long and illegal composition. That he thought I ought to right myself; and he would join with me against the other freeholders, for his estate is something more than one half of the parish. I replied, that as he paid all the tithes for his tenants, the greatest loss, in my breaking the composition, would fall upon himself, who must pay me half as much more as he then did. He said, he did not regard that: I was his friend, and it was my due. I answered, that, however, I could not do it yet, for that the world would never conceive it to be done with his consent, but would say that I had no sooner got his living than I quarelled with him. But, when I came to my parish, I found them so good a sort of people, that I had as little inclination to fall out with them. So (though to my great injury) I have deferred the matter to this day, though the thing in the opinion of Sir R. Raymond, who gave it on the case, as drawn up by the parishioners themselves, is clear and indisputable; yet, they won't give it up without a law-suit."—In 1750 he tells Mr. Hurd, "Mr. Richard Sutton, a pensioner of Trinity College, is the younger son of the late Lady Sunderland and Sir Robert Sutton, persons with whom I had a long and

that he conceived an idea, which he was long pleased with, of giving a new edition of Velleius Paterculus, a plan of which he printed in the "Bibliotheque Britannique, ou Histoire des Ouvrages des Savans de la Grande Bretagne, à la Haye, &c.

intimate friendship, and was under great obligations to. He is just come to College, after having been long at the head of Westminster School. A perfect boy in the simplicity of his manners, but of surprizing acquirements. Besides his knowledge of the antient languages, he speaks and writes Spanish and French with great exactness, understands Italian, and is now learning High-Dutch. I had promised him you should take notice of him. I am sure I cannot render him so great a service as by obtaining this favour of you. Besides, I believe the acquaintance and friendship of so promising a youth will be a pleasure to you. I believe you will find him perfectly docile. He has determined for the Law. I have wrote to him, so that whenever you send for him you will do a real pleasure to us both. Had I had any direction in his education, he should not be where he is."—Again, "I am sorry the letter, with the Dutch book, never came to hand. It was to recommend to your favour and notice a charming young boy, a younger son of Sir Robert Sutton and Lady Sunderland, who is now of Trinity College. I had high obligations and close friendship with his father and mother, and the greatest love for the whole family. Not that I should have recommended him to your notice, but that he is the most extraordinary young boy I every knew. If you won't take my word, I will give you Dr. Nicoll's [then master of Westminster school], who tells me he never met with his fellow. He was bred at Westminster, and having mastered the learned languages at school, he got the three modern ones in conversing with his mother and sister; some of which he speaks. I told him I would recommend him to you, and it gave him great pleasure. I fancy by this time he must be come back to College, from his cousin Mr. Spencer's † at Althorpe. Whenever you have leisure to give him an hour of your time, if you send for him you will make him very happy."—Eleven years afterwards, Mr. Hurd says, "Mr. Sutton did me the favour to steal away from his companions on the Circuit last week, and to spend a day with me at Thurcaston. He seems intent upon his profession. But what pleased me most was, to find the same sweetness of temper, and simplicity of manners, which he carried out with him when he made the grand tour. I took this short visit very kindly; and the more so, as he promises to repeat it as oft as he comes to Leicester."

† John, the late Earl of that name; with whose family Mr. afterwards Sir Richard Sutton, bart. always kept up the closest intimacy.

1736."

1736 *." But the design never was completed. Dr. Middleton, in a letter, dated April 9, 1737, returns him thanks for his letters, as well as the Journal, "which," says he, "came to my hands soon after the date of my last. I had before seen the force of your critical genius very successfully employed on Shakspeare, but did not know you had ever tried it on the Latin authors. I am pleased with several of your emendations, and transcribed them into the margin of my editions, though not equally with them all. It is a laudable and liberal amusement, to try now and then in our reading the success of a conjecture; but, in the present state of the generality of the old writers, it can hardly be thought a study fit to employ a life upon; at least not worthy, I am sure, of your talents and industry, which, instead of trifling on words, seem calculated rather to correct the opinions and manners of the world †." These sentiments of his friend appear to have had their due weight ‡; for, from that time, the intended edition was laid aside, and never afterwards resumed.

It was in the same year, 1736, that this colossal Writer may be said to have emerged from the obscurity of a private life into the notice of the world.

The first publication which rendered him afterwards famous now appeared, under the title of "The Alliance between Church and State §; or, the Necessity and Equity of an Established Religion and a Test-Law, demonstrated from the Essence and

* Tome Septième, seconde Partie, pour les Mois Juillet, Aout et Septembre, Art. II. "G. Warburton, A.M. in Velleii Paterculi Historias Emendationes."

† Middleton's Works, vol. II. p. 470.

‡ "He was charmed with the elegance of this writer, and the high credit in which emendatory criticism (of which Paterculus stood much in need) was held in the beginning of the eighteenth century, occasioned by the dazzling reputation of such men as Bentley and Hare, very naturally seduced a young enterprizing scholar into an attempt of this nature. But Dr. Middleton advised him very properly to drop the design." *Bp. Hurd, p. 6.*

§ See before, vol. II. p. 83.

End

End of Civil Society, upon the fundamental Principles of the Law of Nature and Nations *." In three parts: the first, treating of a Civil and Religious Society; the second, of an Established Church; and the third, of a Test Law; 8vo. †

The "Alliance" was much talked of at Court; and Bp. Hare, on whom that work had impressed the highest ideas of Mr. Warburton's merit, took the favourable opportunity of noticing him to the Queen; and the recommendation was very favourably received; but the sudden illness and death of her Majesty, Nov. 20, 1737, put an end to the friendly negotiation.

At the end of the "Alliance" was announced the scheme of Mr. Warburton's *magnum opus*, in which he had at this time made a considerable progress; and of which the first volume was published in January 1737-8, under the title of "The Divine Legation of Moses ‡ demonstrated on the Principles

* Bp. Hare, to whom he had sent a copy of this work, told him, "I had formerly been very agreeably entertained with some emendations of yours on Shakspeare, and was extremely pleased to find this work was by the same hand. You having great acuteness, an ingenious working head, and depth of thought, will always please as an author, though we are not entirely in the same way of thinking.—You have, Sir, not only my thanks for what you have done, but my sincere wishes, that what was intended for the service of the publick may prove also to be for your own, in which my endeavours, in any proper way, shall not be wanting."

† Four editions of this volume were printed in the author's lifetime, and each with considerable variations; and Mr. Edwards, in his "Canons of Criticism," p. 261, ed. 1758, sarcastically says, "The first edition of "The Alliance" came out without a Dedication, but was presented to the Bishops; and, when nothing came of that, the second was addressed to both the Universities; and, when nothing came of that, the third was dedicated to a noble Earl (Lord Chesterfield), and nothing has yet (*i. e.* 1748) come of that." It must be confessed, all this is very severely said; but the long neglect and late advancement of a person of Bishop Warburton's talents will, now personal rancour has subsided, and the still voice of reason may be heard, reflect disgrace on those only who ought to have noticed him sooner.

‡ Some of the sheets of the Divine Legation were transmitted to Bishops Hare and Sherlock whilst passing through the press; and

of a Religious Deist, from the Omission of the Doctrine of a future State of Rewards and Punishments in the Jewish Dispensation. In Six Books. By William Warburton, M. A. Author of The Alliance between Church and State *." This volume, which was introduced by a long Dedication to the *Freethinkers*, met with a reception which neither the subject, nor the manner in which it was treated, seemed to authorize. It was, as the Author afterwards observed, fallen upon in so outrageous and brutal a manner, as had been scarcely pardonable, had it been "The Divine Legation of Mahomet;" and so many unhandsome reflections on it appeared in "The Weekly Miscellany †," that, in less than

and from both these learned Prelates Mr. Warburton received very gratifying marks of their approbation of the work, both before and after its publication, some of which may be seen in the "Discourse" of his excellent Friend and Biographer.

In answer to a letter from the pious and benevolent Dr. Doddridge, Mr. Warburton thus writes:

"REV. AND WORTHY SIR, *London, April* 19, 1738.

"I found the very agreeable favour of your letter of the 13th instant in London, where I am lately come for a few days. I can now easily forgive the *Country Clergyman;* as, owing to him, in some measure, the acquisition of such a friendship as I flatter myself, Sir, to reap in you. And though you give so polite a turn to that occasion, I must never suffer myself to believe that it was any merit in my Book, but a generous indignation against an abandoned Libeller, that has procured me the honour of so considerable a Patroniser. I will assure you, Sir, that, next to the service of Truth, my aim in writing was, to procure myself the favour and friendship of good and learned men. So that you will not wonder that I accept the friendship you are pleased to offer me in so generous and polite a manner, with all the pleasure that gifts most esteemed among men are generally received with. Difference of religious persuasion, amongst sincere professors, never was, I thank God, any reason of restraining or abating my esteem for men of your character in life and learning."—This led to a regular and confidential correspondence; and many excellent letters by Bp. Warburton (some of which are here extracted) may be seen in the "Letters to and from Dr. Doddridge," published by Mr. Stedman in 1790.

* See vol. II. p. 120.

† Amongst the many valuable correspondents of Mr. Warburton at this time was the industrious and accurate Mr. Birch; whose literary researches were frequently employed in the service of his friends. Several instances of their mutual regard have been given

two months, he was constrained to defend himself, in "A Vindication of the Author of the Divine Legation of Moses, from the Aspersions of the Country Clergyman's * Letter in the Weekly Miscellany of February 24, 1737-8," 8vo.

in a former volume of these Anecdotes, and others will occur in the notes on the present article.—Amongst many of Mr. Warburton's Letters addressed to Mr. Birch, preserved in the British Museum (of which several were printed by Mr. Maty, in 1782, in his *New Review*, under the title of *Warburtoniana*) is a very curious one on the Character and Compositions of Milton; at the end of which he very kindly adds, "I shall endeavour to give you what satisfaction I can; in any thing you want to be satisfied, in any subject of Milton; and am extremely glad you intend to write his Life. Almost all the Life-writers we have had, before Toland and Desmaiseaux, are indeed strange insipid creatures; and yet I had rather read the worst of them, than be obliged to go through with this of Milton's, or the other's Life of Boileau, where there is such a dull, heavy succession of long quotations of uninteresting passages, that it makes their method quite nauseous. But the verbose, tasteless Frenchman seems to lay it down as a principle, that every Life must be a Book; and, what is worse, it seems a Book without a Life; for what do we know of Boileau after all his tedious stuff? You are the only one (and I speak it without a compliment) that by the vigour of your style and sentiments, and the real importance of your materials, have the art (which one would imagine no one could have missed) of adding *agrémens* to the most agreeable subject in the world, which is, Literary History." *Nov.* 21, 1737.—In a subsequent letter to Dr. Birch, he says, "I do not know what you think in town of the *Miscellany Papers*; but, I protest, the surprizing absurdity made me think, that people would imagine I got somebody to write booty, had not the equal virulency shewn the writer to be in earnest. You surprize me much in what you tell me of the *London Doctors* of my acquaintance. I can only assure you, upon the word of an honest man, they expressed themselves in a direct contrary manner to my face, and pretended to seek my acquaintance and friendship."

* The Reader will not be displeased to read his account of himself as given in this pamphlet, which breathes a spirit very advantageous to his character as a Divine. "There are, and those esteemed sincere Christians too, who would have taken the names of *Infidel* and *Heretic* for favours at the hand of the Letter-writer. But I am of a different humour. These titles have no charms for me. I have lived some time in the world; and, blessed be God! without giving or taking offence. This time has been spent in my parish-church (for I am a Country Clergyman, and reside constantly on my cure), in the service of my neighbour, in my study, and in the offices of filial piety:

With

After publishing the "Vindication," he applied himself with great industry to compose the *second volume* of his work, notwithstanding the clamours which had been raised, and now grew louder, against the *first* *.

Mr. Warburton's extraordinary merit had now attracted the notice of the Heir-apparent to the Crown, in whose immediate service we find him, in June 1738, when he published "Faith working by Charity to Christian Edification; a Sermon preached at the last Episcopal Visitation for Confirmation in the Diocese of Lincoln †; with a Preface, shewing the Reasons of its Publication; and a Postscript, occasioned by some Letters lately published in the Weekly Miscellany ‡. By William Warbur-

With lenient arts t' extend a Mother's breath,
Make languor smile, and smooth the bed of death;
Explore the thought, explain the asking eye,
And keep awhile one Parent from the sky.

"Excess of zeal in such as the Letter-writer, and defect of Religion in others of better breeding, so efface these feelings of nature, that I could hardly have known how to have told them, had I not both the example, and the fine words too, of one of the politest men of the age to keep me in countenance. The time spent in my study has been employed in confirming my own faith against the erroneous opinions the Letter-writer has raked together, and then in planning a work to confirm my brethren. All the reward I ever had, or ever expect to have here, is the testimony of a good conscience within doors, and a good name without. The first, no man can take from me; the other, this Letter-writer, in the most unchristian manner, has attempted to invade."

* "I go steadily on, he tells Dr. Middleton, Nov. 12, 1738, amidst much ill-treatment. If you ask what it is that supports me, I will tell you, my excellent friend: it is the love of truth, and mature conviction of the reality of the Jewish and Christian Revelations." *Bp. Hurd*, p. 27.

† Re-printed, as "A faithful Portrait of Popery, 1745."

‡ In a letter written just before to Mr. Birch, he says, "I hope you received my last. You might perceive I was in a passion against W[ebster] when I wrote; but his last letter against me has cured me of it; and I design to take no manner of notice of him in the Preface of my Sermon. You will wonder at this odd kind of cure; but there is a certain point, at which when any thing arrives, it loses its nature; so that what was before only simple calumny appears now to be madness; and I should have an ill office to endeavour the cure of it."—In a subsequent letter

ton, M. A. Chaplain to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales *."

In October 1738 we find Mr. Warburton a Correspondent (though without his name) in the periodical work intituled "The Works of the Learned †;"

he adds, "Mr. Gyles has sent me word that W[ebster] has published all his Letters together; and he thinks it proper to do the same by those Newspapers wrote in defence of me. I have returned answer, that it was a matter of the utmost indifference; but that, if he thought it worth his while, I gave my consent: so I have left it to him to do what he thinks proper.—To think I will ever enter into a controversy with the weakest as well as wickedest of all mankind, is a thing impossible. This I shall do indeed, in a short Preface to the *Second Volume*. I shall hang him and his fellows as they do vermin in a warren, and leave them to posterity to stick and blacken in the wind; and this will I do was the Pope himself their protector. Other business with them in the way of argument I shall never have any."

* "It is a great pleasure to me that such judges as you approve of my Sermon, and almost as great that my enemies are such as Webster. As I am resolved for the future not only not to answer, but even not to read, what that wretch writes against me; his putting his name to what he does will be of use to me. I wish you could contrive that that should come to his ear."—Yet in the same letter (addressed to Mr. Birch) he adds, "I have not seen Webster's Circular Letter [to the Bishops]. Pray, when you go by Mr. Gyles's shop, desire him to send it me."

† "I am indebted," says the Editor of that Work, "for the favour of the following lines to a gentleman who has distinguished himself very eminently in the Commonwealth of Letters, but who will not allow me the honour of naming my Correspondent. There are some people of so nice a decorum, that they will not be seen in *dishabille*, though the graces of their person are not to be concealed by any dress they can appear in."—The anonymous Correspondent's Letter thus begins: "A late book, intituled *Remarks* on Spenser's *Poems*, seems not to be so well known as so learned and judicious a performance deserves. The modest, worthy, and very learned Author has here given the justest plan for a good edition of *Spenser* (who had the Antients always in view) in the method he has observed of marking out, as he goes along, the imitations of the Classic Writers; which affords him an opportunity of making many useful and well-grounded remarks. The continence he has observed, with regard to the Author's text, appears to have been partly owing to the modesty of his nature, in part to a reasonable conviction that *Spenser's* text is very pure; and principally to his disgust at some strange liberties taken of late years with English Poets, on pretence of amending and restoring them. So masterly a piece of criticism then will very well deserve any one's notice. And I dare say nothing

in which the first volume of the "Divine Legation" had been noticed; and in which he was himself not unfrequently an occasional Writer *.

The novelty of the arguments in the Divine Legation, the paradoxical appearance of its data, and the variety of learning displayed in it, had excited the attention of the world; and many of the Orthodox Divines became alarmed at the idea of its being a covert attack on Christianity, instead of a defence of it. The Author was therefore very roughly handled in consequence of it; but he soon shewed that he was more than a match for his antagonists, even in their own way, by the improvements which he made † in a second edition of the first volume, "corrected and enlarged," which appeared in November 1738.

His reputation was now rising every day; and, to exalt it as high as it could be carried, he had about this time the good fortune to render a service to Mr. Pope, by means of which he acquired an ascendancy over that great Poet, which will astonish those who observe the air of superiority which, until this connexion, had been shewed in all his friendships even with the greatest men of the age.

The "Essay on Man" had been now published some years; and it is universally supposed that the Author had, in the composition of it, adopted the philosophy of Lord Bolingbroke, whom on this occasion he had followed as his Guide, without understanding the tendency of his principles. In

nothing can be more agreeable to the Author, than our endeavour to satisfy a few doubts and queries which here and there occurred to him." Then follow some excellent criticisms.

* See p. 562!!

† On this subject he thus writes to Mr. Birch:—"You see I have published a second edition of my first volume. There are several additions, in support of my scheme, and reasonings on it, which I hope will not displease you; as likewise several omissions of passages which were thought vain, insolent, and ill-natured, particularly that against the Author of the 'Enquiry into the Demoniacks;' which I hope will less displease you."

1738,

1738, M. de Crousaz * wrote some remarks on it, accusing the author of Spinosism and Naturalism †; which falling into Mr. Warburton's hands, he published a Defence of the *first* Epistle ‡, and soon

* "Crousaz was a professor of Switzerland, eminent for his treatise of Logick, and his *Examen de Pyrrhonisme;* and, however little known or regarded here, was no mean antagonist. His mind was one of those in which Philosophy and Piety are happily united. He was accustomed to argument and disquisition, and perhaps was grown too desirous of detecting faults; but his intentions were always right, his opinions were solid, and his religion pure. His incessant vigilance for the promotion of Piety disposed him to look with distrust upon all metaphysical systems of Theology, and all schemes of virtue and happiness purely rational; and therefore it was not long before he was persuaded that the positions of Pope, as they terminated for the most part in Natural Religion, were intended to draw mankind away from Revelation, and to represent the whole course of things as a necessary concatenation of indissoluble Fatality; and it is undeniable, that in many passages a religious eye may easily discover expressions not very favourable to Morals, or to Liberty."—Dr. JOHNSON, *Life of Pope.*

† The objections of Crousaz were ushered into the world by the assistance of Johnson; who tells his friend Cave, "I am pretty much of your opinion, that the *Commentary* cannot be prosecuted with any appearance of success; for, as the names of the authors concerned are of more weight in the performance than its own intrinsic merit, the publick will be soon satisfied with it. And I think the *Examen* should be pushed forward with the utmost expedition. Thus, 'This day, &c. *An Examen of Mr. Pope's Essay,* &c. containing a succinct Account of the Philosophy of Mr. Leibnitz on the System of the Fatalists; with a Confutation of their Opinions, and an Illustration of the Doctrines of Free-will;' [with what else you think proper]."—One of these treatises was published, in November 1738, under the title of "An Examination of Mr. Pope's Essay on Man; containing a succinct View of the System of the Fatalists, and a Confutation of their Opinions; with an Illustration of the Doctrine of Free-will, and an Enquiry what View Mr. Pope might have in touching upon the Leibnitzian Philosophy and Fatalism. By M. Crousaz, Professor of Philosophy and Mathematicks at Lausanne, &c."—The other was kept back till November 1741; when it appeared under the title of "A Commentary on Mr. Pope's Principles of Morality, or Essay on Man. By Mons. Crousaz. With the Abbé du Resnel's Translation of the Essay, into French Verse, and the English interlined; also Observations on the French, Italian, and English Poetry."

‡ The first Letter appeared in "The Works of the Learned" for December 1738.—"I had the following Observations," says the

after of the other *three*. The opinion which Mr. Pope conceived of these Defences, as well

the Editor, "from the Gentleman who favoured me with those in the History of the last month relating to *Remarks on Spenser*. I am under great obligations to him for the advantages of his Correspondence, though he will not allow me the honour of naming him."—A second Letter appeared in January 1739; a third in February; a fourth in March; and a fifth in May. —In a letter to Dr. Doddridge he says, "I make no doubt but you have seen Mr. De Crousaz's Critique on Pope's Essay on Man. I have defended our great Poet, as you will see, in some of the late notes of the *History of the Works of the Learned*; but my name is a secret. I thought Mr. De Crousaz maliciously mistaken; and I considered it of service to Religion, to shew our Libertines that so noble a Genius was not of their party; which delusion they have affectedly embraced." *Feb.* 12, 1738-9.—In this letter, dated from *Newark*, he mentions, as an excuse for not writing sooner, his "living in a much less comfortable neighbourhood [than Dr. Doddridge], and at a greater distance from the few friends whose acquaintance is worth cultivating. But the knowledge of my friends' happiness always relieved my own unhappiness. I am going on, as fast as my health will permit, with my work."—In his next, April 4, 1739, he says, "I write to you amidst a strange mixture of entertainments and study, between the College-halls and Libraries. The necessity of consulting books only to be met with here, has brought me to Cambridge; but my long nights in company make my mornings by myself so very short, that I am likely to return as wise as I came; which will be in a few days. Before I left the country, I had the pleasure of receiving your *Family Expositor*. My mother and I took it by turns. She, who is superior to me in every thing, aspired to the divine learning of the improvements, while I kept groveling in the human learning in the notes below. The result of all was, that she says she is sure you are a very good man, and I am sure you are a very learned one. I sat down to your notes with a great deal of malice, and a determined resolution not to spare you. And, let me tell you, a man who comments on the Bible affords all the opportunity a caviller could wish for. But your judgment is always so true, and your decision so right, that I am as unprofitable a reader to you as the least of your flock. A friend of mine, Dr. Taylor of Newark, who has seen your book, desires to be a subscriber."—In another, from Brand Broughton, Aug. 13, 1739, he says, "You judge right, that the *next* volume of the Divine Legation will not be the *last*. I thought I had told you, that I had divided the Work into three parts: the first gives a view of Paganism; the second of Judaism; and the third of Christianity. You will wonder how this last enquiry can come into so simple an argument, as that which I undertake to enforce. I have not room at present to tell you more than this,

that

as of their learned and highly respectable Author; will be best seen in his own Letters *.

that to leave neither doubt nor obscurity in the argument, after I have proved a future state not to be *in fact* in the Mosaic dispensation, I next shew that if Christianity be true it *could not possibly* be there. And this necessitates me to explain the nature of Christianity, with which the whole ends. But this, *inter nos*. If it be known, I should possibly have somebody writing against *this part too* before it appears. Your kind and friendly advice to *mind my business* is very seasonable, when one naturally grows tired of an old subject, and has not met with that return from one's friends which one might expect. But I would not have you think that any of the Letters against Crousaz cost me more than two or three hours in an evening. Mr. Pope has desired, they may be collected and printed together. I have therefore complied with the bookseller, who is now re-printing them in the size of Mr. Pope's duodecimo volumes, and I suppose they will come out in Michaelmas term." In the "Works of the Learned," for May 1740, is a letter signed W. D. against the System of Mr. Pope and his learned Commentator; inviting Mr. Warburton to a controversy, in which, however, he did not engage. "The Correspondent who wrote the following Letter," says the Editor of that Journal, "must have entertained a very favourable opinion of my impartiality, or he would hardly expect that I should allow it a place in the History of the Works of the Learned, where the gentleman he attacks has several times appeared, to my great honour, and declared satisfaction. But, as I am really of no party in the Republick of Letters, regarding and complying with all men of worth and erudition, however they may differ from one another, or from me, in their sentiments; and as I know I could disoblige Mr. Warburton in nothing more, than suppressing any thing that may be offered against what he advances (who is actuated in all his researches only by the love of truth) so I very readily comply with this Writer's request of giving his reflections a place in our Journal, as expeditiously as possible. I doubt whether he will so easily engage Mr. Warburton to enter into a controversy with him as he seems to wish for, or to take the least notice of what is here offered; not merely because he has business of vastly greater importance to employ his time, and exercise his genius; but because he has no peculiar concern in the greatest part of it; and as to that little, in which he may be thought interested, he has abundantly superseded all occasion for any reply, by what he has already answered to Mr. Crousaz."

* In the first, dated *April* 11, 1739, he says, "I have just received from Mr. R[obinson †] two more of your Letters. It is in the greatest hurry imaginable that I write this, but I

† Mr. Jacob Robinson, bookseller near the Temple Gate, Fleet-street, and uncle to the late Mr. George Kearsley.

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No more than Five Letters appeared in "The Works of the Learned;" but those, at Mr. Pope's request *, he revised; and, by a new arrangement

cannot help thanking you in particular for your *Third* Letter, which is so extremely clear, short, and full, that I think Mr. Crousaz ought never to have another answer, and deserved not so good a one. I can only say, you do him too much honour, and me too much right, so odd as the expression seems; for you have made my system as clear as I ought to have done, and could not. It is indeed the same system as mine, but illustrated with a ray of your own, as they say our natural body is the same still when it is glorified. I am sure I like it better than I did before, and so will every man else. I know I meant just what you explain, but I did not explain my own meaning so well as you. You understand me as well as I do myself; but you express me better than I could express myself. Pray accept the sincerest acknowledgments. I cannot but wish these letters were put together in one book, and intend (with your leave) to procure a translation of part, at least, or of all of them into French; but I shall not proceed a step without your consent and opinion, &c."—*May* 26. "As to any corrections of your Letters, I could make none, but what resulted from inverting the Order of them, and those expressions relating to myself which I thought exaggerated. I could not find a word to alter in the last Letter, which I returned immediately to the Bookseller. I must particularly thank you for the mention you have made of me in the Postscript to the last Edition of the Legation of Moses." [Mr. Pope alludes to the note in pp. 546, 547.]

* *Sept.* 20. "As soon as Mr. R[obinson] can transmit to me an entire copy of your Letters, I wish he had your leave so to do; that I may put the book into the hands of a French gentleman to translate; who, I hope, will not subject your work to as much ill-grounded criticism as my French translator has subjected mine. In earnest, I am extremely obliged to you, for thus espousing the cause of a stranger, whom you judged to be injured; but my part, in this sentiment, is the least. The generosity of your conduct deserves esteem, your zeal for truth deserves affection from every candid man: and as such, were I wholly out of the case, I should esteem and love you for it. I will not therefore use you so ill as to write in the general style of compliment; it is below the dignity of the occasion: and I can only say (which I say with sincerity and warmth) that you have made me, &c."—*Jan.* 4, 1739-40. "Some of the most knowing, as well as most candid judges think me as much beholden to you as I think myself. Your Letters meet from such with the approbation they merit, and I have been able to find but two or three very slight inaccuracies in the whole book, which I have, upon their observation, altered in an exemplar which I keep against a second Edition."

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(making three Letters out of the two first), published them, in 1739, in a small volume, under the title of "A Vindication of Mr. Pope's Essay on Man, from the Misrepresentations of M. de Crousaz, Professor of Philosophy and Mathematicks in the University of Lausanne. By the Author of the Divine Legation. In Six Letters *."

In the month of May 1739 he addressed the following letter to Mr. Birch †: "I hope you received

* To which, in a new Edition, 1740, was added "A *Seventh* Letter; to be had separately."

† This letter will be illustrated by the following Correspondence, preserved in "The Works of the Learned," for August 1739. "I do not go out of my province," says the Editor of that work, "when I take notice of any extraordinary phænomenon in the Republick of Letters; and as such I look upon the two following pieces, signed *Romaine*." The first of them is an odd composition; but the latter merits an other-guess epithet, which I leave the Reader to apply. They have been already published in one of the Evening Papers; but, being desired by an acquaintance of one of the parties concerned to insert them in this Work, whereby he imagined they would come under the notice of some persons whom they might otherwise escape, and having obtained Mr. Warburton's consent, I was willing to comply with so reasonable a request; especially as I thought it my duty to concur both with the said Mr. Warburton and Mr. Romaine, in displaying to the world, as far as I am able, so rare an example of sincerity, candour, and politeness, as appears in these epistles. The first of them was written, as we see, from Epsom, and addressed to the Author of 'The Divine Legation of Moses demonstrated,' under this superscription, 'To the Rev. Mr. Warburton, at *Bruton*, near Newark-upon-Trent, Nottinghamshire, by London.' Here is a copy of it:

'REVEREND SIR, *Surrey, Epsom, Oct.* 4, 1738.

'I happened lately to meet in company with some Clergymen, where your last excellent book, "The Divine Legation of Moses," was the subject of their discourse. As I had read it more than once, with a great deal of pleasure; and had ever admired your elegant style, great learning, and strength of argument, and had been used to hear the same praises from others, I was very much surprised to hear those whom I imagined from their character to be men of good sense, and that ought to commend and encourage whatever tended to promote true Religion, speak with great disrespect of your performance. I thought myself concerned to defend the truth; and, to my great satisfaction, I found, upon a short enquiry, that what they advanced affected nothing which you had already writ, but what you had promised. Here was large room for mirth; and one could not but laugh at the oddness,

one from me by the last post, and that we shall ferret out the *Epsom Letter-writer*.

oddness of some men's tempers, who are so ridiculous as to censure what they have never seen, and to condemn what it is impossible they should yet judge of. When they saw how unjust their reflections were, that they might not (like true disputants) seem to give up the point, they attacked even the proposition which you have promised to demonstrate, and I must ingenuously confess, that they put some queries to me, which I, being no great proficient in Divinity, was not able to answer. This, and the opportunity of returning my grateful acknowledgments for what you have wrote, was the occasion of the trouble I now give you; and as you are the only person I have heard of, who has thoroughly considered this subject; as your character is concerned in the affair, and as I would (if it was in my power) hinder the least fault from entering your finished performances, and could wish that Envy itself might be dumb, I hope you will favourably interpret my sending you these (which are to me, though not to you) difficulties, and oblige me with an answer to them, if ever an idle half-hour should lie heavy on your hands. —They first mentioned the Parable of Dives and Lazarus; Dives desired Abraham to send Lazarus to his brethren, lest they should come into that place of torments, and to assure them that there was such a state. The answer is, *That if they believe not Moses and the Prophets, that neither would they believe though one rose from the dead.* Then there is greater evidence for this truth in Moses and the Prophets, than a message from the other world would be.—John v. 39. *Search the Scriptures, for in them ye think ye have eternal life, and they are they which testify of me:* All the Scriptures testify of Christ and Moses, ver. 46, 47, in a particular manner; so they had, or thought they had, eternal life in his writings. St. Paul preached a resurrection of the dead, and future state, on Moses's authority, as Acts xxvi. 22, 23. *Witnessing both to small and great, saying none other things than those which the Prophets and Moses did say should come: That Christ should suffer, and that he should be the first that should* (which implies that others were to) *rise from the dead.* And what, adds one of the company, did Moses affirm that Christ should suffer, and rise from the dead, and that others after him should arise? And doth St. Paul affirm he doth say so? And will the learned Warburton censure the Christian Writer? All I could answer was to this effect, that those objections proved nothing, unless they could produce a passage from Moses himself, where he mentioned a future state. To this it was answered, that these texts suppose it was, or ought to be, there: that the Law was spiritual, Rom. vii. 14. That they (Jews) had Prophets continually to teach them the spiritual meaning of it; that Angels often appeared; that God himself very often spoke to them; that the Gospel was preached to them, Heb. iv. 2; that

Heb.

It is the sport, to see the Ingeneer
Hoist with his own petar—

Heb. ix. supposes all the types spiritual, and that this was signified to the Jews, as chap. viii. 5, and x. 1. They asked me in what the image of God in Adam consisted? What was the meaning of the Tree of Life? The reason given for the prohibition of murder? What is Abel's sacrifice, was it not in faith he offered—Faith in what? What is Enoch's translation? What means, *they were gathered to their fathers, slept with their fathers*, &c. so often used? What means the whole 11th chapter of Hebrews, and ver. 35 in particular, where St. Paul, having mentioned those who actually did see the promises afar off, says, that they expected a better resurrection? And lastly, does Christ argue fairly, Matt. xxii. 31, concerning the resurrection? If he does, it follows by a logical inference, that Moses enforces the observance of the law by the hopes of a future state.—There are to me many difficulties in these points, which I confess I could not answer, having neither learning nor acquaintance enough in the antient languages; but I hope to see them all cleared up by you, and flatter myself that you will not think you act out of character, when you inform the ignorant, confirm the wavering, and oblige a sincere admirer. If you would be so good as to think any thing I have said worthy your notice, and would condescend to write one word to fix my doubts, you will lay the greatest obligation on your constant reader, and most humble servant, W. Romaine.'

"After this Letter, we find in the General Evening-Post (May 24—26, 1739), where it is printed, the following paragraphs relating to it.

'N. B. Mr. Warburton, on the receipt of this letter, not being able, by all the enquiry he could make, to find out who this W. Romaine was, returned him a very short, but very civil answer; in which, however, he gave him to understand, that it was a necessary part of the argument of the "Divine Legation, &c." to prove that the Fathers, Patriarchs, and Prophets, of the Jewish line, had a knowledge of a future state, and the redemption of mankind by the Messiah.

'But, unluckily, Mr. Romaine's Letter was wrote after, and transcribed from his Sermon, as should seem from several similar periods. For instance, speaking of the Parable of Dives (as he calls him, both in the Sermon and Letter) and Lazarus, p. 25, he has these words, to be found likewise in the Letter, *Then there is greater evidence for this truth in the writings of Moses and the Prophets than even a message from the other world would be.* Again, p. 26. *Doth Moses then say that Christ was to suffer, and to arise from the Dead? And doth St. Paul affirm that he doth say so? And can any Christian, after this, doubt whether such Doctrines are really taught by Moses?* And again, p. 6. *Many strong and unanswerable arguments which suppose that it* (a future

says Shakspeare. If it was he, never was there a more execrable scoundrel, who calls down the secu-

future state) *is, and prove that it ought to be there* (in the Law of Moses).

'So that, it appears, the end of writing his Letter was to avoid the imputation of being *so ridiculous* (as he well expresses it) *as to censure what he had never seen, and to condemn what it is impossible he should yet judge of.* This, he hoped, a reply to his difficulties would in some measure prevent. Accordingly, two or three hints given him in the answer to his Letter (which might have kept him from making himself *ridiculous)* have served this purpose, and he has produced them as *common* objections to his notions. P. 36 he introduces one of them in this manner, *But if it should be said, as it often has been,* &c.

'Lastly, Mr. Warburton, in justice to his reverend brethren, thinks fit to declare, that he does not believe one word of what the said Mr. Romaine writes of a conversation with them on the subject of his book. He is too well acquainted with their candour and learning, to think they could ever afford an opportunity to this *benevolent* gentleman to *laugh at the oddness of their tempers,* &c.; but takes it for granted, that this *worthy* man had no other meaning than to conceal his own kind *intentions,* under a false accusation of his brethren.'

"The foregoing letter, in the hand-writing of Mr. Romaine, is to be seen at Mr. Fletcher Gyles's, bookseller, in Holborn."

"The publication of the preceding epistle by Mr. Warburton, and the ensuing remarks, happened, it seems, to offend Mr. Romaine; who, a few days after, notified his resentment to the world, by a letter in the General Evening-Post for June 2—5. This is a performance that can hardly be paralleled amongst the productions of any other Clergyman; and is the properest supplement that can be to the celebrated Oxford Sermon, preached some time ago by the same Reverend Gentleman. I am persuaded, there is not one of my readers who will be of a different opinion, when he has perused it as here ensuing:

'To the Author of the General Evening-Post.

'SIR, As Mr. Warburton hath violated the rules of decency, by publishing, in your Paper of May 26, a private letter of mine without my leave; I think it necessary to say, that the notes upon the Letter cannot be allowed to be an answer to any thing advanced, either in the Letter or the Sermon; but were designed to take off people's attention from the points in dispute, to a personal quarrel. I have no bad opinion either of Mr. Warburton's capacity or learning; but he might have made a better use of them, than to think he deserved, or that I meant in *earnest,* those compliments in the Letter, as he did, or at least says he did. He says, he gave me some hints in his Letter, which might have hindered me from making myself *ridiculous;* I suppose he means by publishing my Sermon. If I should be provoked to publish his Letter to me, and my Answer to it, it would then suf-

lar arm upon me. Can I outlive it? If I do, it will be in mere spight, to rub another volume of the Divine Legation* in the noses of bigots and zealots."

sufficiently appear who is *ridiculous;* but, unless necessity forces me, I shall not answer him any more in that *low way* which he and his Bookseller have chosen to dispute in. Whether I have answered any thing which he hath not published, may be seen from his title-page, 'The Divine Legation of Moses demonstrated from the Omission of a Future State,' and his Abridgement of the Second Volume in the Appendix to the 'Alliance.' He supposes the conversation was false: if he pleases to answer the Sermon, or to advance any thing new upon the subject, he will find that it was not false; but that there are numbers of Clergymen who understand the subject, and are ready to defend it against him.—Query, hath not Mr. Warburton recanted his whole scheme, as delivered in the Appendix to the 'Alliance,' and in the second proposition of the Divine Legation, in the first Paragraph of his N. B.—where he says, 'It was a necessary part of the argument of the Divine Legation, &c. to prove that the Fathers, Patriarchs, and Prophets of the Jewish Line, had a knowledge of a future state, and the redemption of mankind by the Messiah?' W. Romaine.'

"This Letter would bear a very curious and entertaining comment: nay, I doubt not but an edition of it by itself, *cum notis variorum*, which might fill a moderate volume, would do the Editor a great deal of honour, and abundantly recompense his trouble. [1] He will find a noble scope for the exercise of his own genius. He may leave to others, grammatical niceties, and employ himself in descanting upon the logic of the first period; the probity and candour that shine so conspicuously in the second; the bravery and generosity that appear so eminently in the third; the sagacity and subtilty of the rest; and the uncommon modesty, notwithstanding the elegance and graces, of the whole. Much do I wish, that I had leisure and ability for so laudable an undertaking; but, as indeed I have not, I must content myself with being in a lower degree instrumental, for conveying to the world an idea of Mr. Romaine's most excellent moral as well as natural accomplishments."

* Mr. Jones, in his Life of Bp. Horne, says, "When the first volume of the Divine Legation was shewn to Dr. Bentley (as his son-in-law the late Bp. Cumberland told me), he looked it over, and then observed of the author to his friend, '*This man has a* monstrous † *appetite, with a very bad digestion.*" And adds, in a note, "This was written before I had a sight of the learned Bp. Hurd's Life of Bp. Warburton, lately published, in which such sublime praises are bestowed on the 'Alliance,' the 'Divine Legation,' and other works of that fanciful but very ingenious projector of unfounded theories. Though I honour the charac-

† Mr. Cumberland, who repeats the anecdote, reads *voracious.*

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Mr. Warburton's intended Edition of Shakspeare was announced in "The Works of the Learned," for January 1739-40; and some specimens of it were there given, with the introduction transcribed below *."

ter of Bp. Hurd, and admire every thing he writes, my opinion of the *usefulness* of the works of Dr. Warburton is very little changed by what I have seen. I am still persuaded, that neither Religion nor Learning will ever derive much benefit, nor the Christian world any considerable *edification*, from the works of that famous Writer; neither will they probably derive any great harm, because it is apprehended the reading of Bp. Warburton's books will hereafter be much less than it hath been. The Methodists despised him for a part of his Christian character, as much as he despised them for a part of their character; and both had equal reason. His Learning is almost as much unlike to Christianity, as their Christianity is unlike to Learning. I forbear to indulge any farther reflections on so critical a subject."

* "No Author has had a greater honour conferred on him by his Editors than Shakspeare. Among these we may reckon a sublime Genius, who is one of the principal ornaments of this age, and of the British Nation. The Reader need not be told that it is Mr. Pope, whom I intend by this character. But as the works of our Dramatick Poet have merit enough to engage the concern even of this celebrated person, so it is certain, that they extremely needed it, on account of the almost innumerable corruptions by which, through one means or other, they have been depraved. By his care and sagacity many of these have been removed or amended, and the guilty causes of them assigned. Shakspeare has been in a great measure restored to his original purity, and his admirers are no longer at a loss to account for that surprizing inconsistency with which he was wont to be charged, of being in many instances one of the most judicious, and with regard to others one of the most nonsensical writers in the world. However, after all that the incomparable Mr. Pope, the ingenious Mr. Rowe, and the plodding Mr. Theobald, have done to cleanse and restore him to his native lustre, there still remain in him many faults to be amended, and a thousand graces which have never yet been discovered. In truth, both of these were so multifarious, that it required the joint endeavours of many (and those of the ablest) hands to rectify the one, and to explicate the other. Therefore we are not to wonder, if men of consummate ability still think their talents very worthily employed in so laudable a task. Accordingly, the Rev. Mr. Warburton has bestowed thereon some of those leisure hours which he could spare from the duties of his sacred function: he is determined to add his labours to those of that illustrious Critick and the others above named, in removing the blemishes, and exemplifying the beauties, of his inestimable Author,

In March 1739-40, the world was in danger of being deprived of this extraordinary Genius, by an intermitting fever; which, with some difficulty, was relieved by a plentiful use of the bark.

Soon after this period, he had his first interview with Mr. Pope, who, in a letter dated April 16, 1740, on a prospect of their meeting soon, says, "Let us meet like men who have been many years acquainted with each other, and whose friendship is not to begin, but continue. All forms should be past when people know each other's mind so well. I flatter myself you are a man after my own heart, who seeks content only from within, and says to greatness, *Tuas habeto tibi res, egomet habebo meas.* But as it is but just your other friends should have some part of you, I insist on my making you the first visit in London, and thence, after a few days, to carry you to Twickenham, for as many as you can afford me." This meeting appears soon after to have taken place*, to the satisfaction of both parties; and a firm friendship was established between them, which continued with undiminished fervour until the death of Mr. Pope; who, during the remainder of his life, paid the utmost deference and respect to his friend's judgment and abilities.

Meantime Mr. Warburton was proceeding with his *magnum opus*; and, *July* 1, 1740, tells Dr. Doddridge, "I have been about two months in

Author, which did not fall under their consideration; so that we are like to be shortly furnished with a more complete and accurate edition of his writings than has hitherto been published. Of this undertaking somewhat has been already said by the Rev. Mr. Birch, in the ninth volume of the General Dictionary, p. 190, &c. where likewise that Gentleman has inserted several specimens of it, extracted from Mr. Warburton's own manuscript. But as these are, in that costly (though valuable) Work beyond the reach of a great many readers, who are very desirous of seeing the sketches of so great a master, I think it not amiss, for their sake, to make them the subject of this article."

* "Their very first interview was at Lord Radnor's garden, just by Mr. Pope's at Twickenham. Dodsley was present; and was, he told me, astonished at the high compliments paid him by Pope as he approached him." Dr. WARTON.

Lon-

London, where I was in a constant hurry; and this threw me so much back, that I have been as busy since I came home. The *second volume* of the Divine Legation goes slowly on*; but I hope to have it out next winter."

In the beginning of the following year he received a Letter from the above-named very pious and learned Friend †, offering to select proper Extracts for in-

* Early in 1740 he tells Mr. Birch, "The *second volume* is in the press: I have received *two sheets;* two more are coming, and they cry out for more copy. *Inter nos,* I only write from hand to mouth as they say here, so that an East wind, a fit of the spleen, want of books, and a thousand other accidents, will frequently make the press stand still. This will be an inconvenience to Mr. Gyles, but I told him what he was to expect; and his hands are so full of great works, that I may well be spared, amongst the first-rate of the fleet, and cruise at my leisure in a lee-shore, safe from Webster and the rest of these guarda-costas."

† "I am far from being pleased with the manner in which the Extracts from Books are generally made in "The Works of the Learned," and other monthly papers of that kind. I think it would be more for the credit of our Nation abroad, and the improvement of it at home, that these accounts should be a kind of *abridgement* of the most material things contained in books of importance; which might give those who have never read them some idea of their contents, and revive in those who have read them an impression of their most material passages. This is what I would especially wish, where so valuable a Book as yours is in question. And though, where every thing is so charming as this second volume will be, if it be like the first, it is difficult to know what to omit, and consequently how to abridge it; yet, if you please to trust me, I will do my best; and, busy as I am, will, in two or three successive articles, give such an abstract of it as may do it the least wrong; and, till some translation of it can be made, give the learned world abroad the justest notion of its design which so narrow limits will permit. Now, if you think this little piece of friendship worth your acceptance, I beg you would let me know, and that you would order the second volume, in sheets, to be sent me as soon as it is printed off. At the same time letting the Author of this Paper know, that the affair is lodged in my hands, and, consequently, that he is to wait for the first article from me, which I will dispatch as soon as possible." *Jan....* 1740-1.

In answer, Mr. Warburton says, *Feb.* 2, "I am to thank you, dear Sir, for your friendly and obliging concern for my reputation. What you observe of that absurd account of my first volume in the 'Works of the Learned' is exactly true. I believe there never was so *nonsensical a piece of stuff* put together. But

sertion in "The Works of the Learned:" a favour which was gratefully accepted. Accordingly,

the Journal in general is *a most miserable one* [see p. 549]; and, to the opprobrium of our Country, we have neither any better, nor, I believe, any other. And that this will never grow better, I dare be confident, but by such an accidental favour as this you design it. I altogether approve of the method you propose to take in abstracting it; and Robinson, I dare say, will not presume to alter a word. I am sure I would not: and therefore my seeing it before he prints it will be needless. I will take care you shall have a copy sent you before publication. I propose to have it out about Easter; and yet, to my shame I must tell you, though it consists of three books, the first is not yet entirely printed, and the far greatest part of the other two I have not yet composed. To let you into this mystery, I must acquaint you with my faults and imperfections, the common occasion of all prophane mysteries. I am naturally very indolent, and apt to be disgusted with what has been any time in my hands or thoughts. When I published my first volume, I intended to set about the remainder immediately; but found such a disgust to an old subject, that I deferred it from month to month, and year to year: till at length, not being able to conquer my listlessness, I was forced to have recourse to an old expedient; that is, begin to set the press on work, and so oblige myself unavoidably to keep it a-going. I began this project last year, but grew weary again before I had half got through the first book: and there it stuck till just now, when I set it a-going again; and have absolutely promised the Bookseller to supply him constantly with copy till the whole volume is printed, and to get it ready by Lady-day. So that now I hurry through it in a strange manner; and you may expect to find it as incorrect as the former, and for the same reason. Yet I had resolved against serving this volume so: and still my evil nature prevailed, and I find at length it is in vain to strive with it. I take no pride, I will assure you, in telling you my infirmities. I confess myself as to a friend, without any manner of affectation. And, that you may see it is so, I would not have you think that natural indolence alone makes me thus play the fool. Distractions of various kinds, inseparable from human life, joined with a naturally melancholy habit, contribute greatly to increase my indolence, and force me often to seek in letters nothing but mere amusement. This makes my reading wild and desultory: and I seek refuge from the uneasiness of thought from any book, let it be what it will, that can engage my attention. There is no one whose good opinion I more value than yours; and the marks you give me of it make me so vain, that I was resolved to humble myself, in making you this confession. By my manner of writing upon subjects, you would naturally imagine they afford me pleasure, and attach me thoroughly. I will assure you, no. I have

amused

April 22, 1741, Mr. Warburton says, "You will receive in a very little time my *second volume* *. I have

amused myself much in human learning, to wear away the tedious hours inseparable from a melancholy habit. But no earthly thing gives me pleasure, but the ties of natural relation and the friendship of good men. And for all views of happiness, I have no notion of such a thing, but in the prospects which Revealed Religion affords us. You see how I treat you, as if you were my confessor. You are in a more sacred relation to me: I regard you as my friend."

* Feb. 4, 1740-1, Mr. Pope tells him, "I am heartily glad of the advancement of your *second volume;* and particularly of the *Digressions,* for they are *so much more of you*; and I can trust your judgment enough to depend upon their being pertinent. You will, I question not, verify the good proverb, that the furthest way about, is the nearest way home: and much better than plunging through thick and thin, *more Theologorum;* and persisting in the same old track, where so many have either broken their necks, or come off very lamely. This leads me to thank you for that very entertaining, and, I think, instructive story of Dr. W[aterland], who was, in this, the image of * * *, who never admit of any remedy from a hand they dislike. But I am sorry he had so much of the modern Christian rancour, as, I believe, he may be convinced by this time, that the kingdom of Heaven is not for such."—The story concerning Dr. Waterland, to which Mr. Pope alludes, is related with much pleasantry by Dr. Middleton, in the following words: "In his last journey from Cambridge to London, being attended by Dr. Plumtre, and Dr. Cheselden the surgeon, he lodged the second night at Hodsden; where being observed to have been costive on the road, he was advised to have a clyster, to which he consented. The Apothecary was presently sent for, to whom Dr. Plumtre gave his orders below stairs, while Dr. Waterland continued above; upon which the Apothecary could not forbear expressing his great sense of the honour which he received, in being called to the assistance of so celebrated a person, whose writings he was well acquainted with. The company signified some surprize to find a Country Apothecary so learned; but he assured them, 'that he was no stranger to the merit and character of the Doctor, but had lately read his ingenious Book with much pleasure, *The Divine Legation of Moses.*' Dr. Plumtre, and a Fellow of Magdalen, there present, took pains to convince the Apothecary of his mistake, while Cheselden ran up stairs with an account of his blunder to Waterland, who, provoked by it into a violent passion, called the poor fellow a puppy, and blockhead, who must needs be ignorant in his profession, and unfit to administer any thing to him, and might possibly poison his bowels; and, notwithstanding Dr. Plumtre's endeavours to moderate his displeasure, by representing the expediency of the operation, and

wrote to Robinson, as you directed, concerning the Extracts. When you see the book, you will find what a trick I have been played: in the most impudent piece of *plagiarism** that perhaps ever was known

the man's capacity to perform it, he would hear nothing in his favour, but ordered him to be discharged, and postponed the benefit of the clyster till he reached his next stage."

* The MSS. of the Rev. John Jones (many years curate to Dr. Young at Welwyn) supply the following particulars on this subject:

"Mr. Warburton's account of the late difference between him and Mr. Coventry, &c.; which Mr. Warburton gave me in conversation, July 2, 1741. "Mr. Warburton had, on repeated occasions, fallen into company with Mr. Coventry at Cambridge [sometimes at Dr. Middleton's, sometimes at Mr. Caryl's, sometimes at Mr. Hardwick's, &c.] On those occasions they fell into discourse about matters of *Religion* and *Literature*. Coventry took occasion to lay the plan of his pamphlet before Warburton; and particularly acquainted him with the method in which he intended to proceed with regard to the *false theory* of Religion amongst the antient *Heathens*. Which Warburton in the main approved of, though he thought he was going out of the road he had at first chalked out for himself; which was, to expose false religion amongst *Christians* only. However, Coventry enlarges upon his plan, and represents to him in particular the favourable notion he had of Shuckford's scheme, and of that of L'Abbé Pluche. For he had hitherto gone upon their schemes, and (as may be seen by the conclusion of his third piece, especially with regard to the former writer) intended to proceed upon that plan. In the course of his design he proposed (as he there promised) to give an account, agreeably to their notions, of the origin of the *hero* and *symbolic* worship, as he had (I think) before, of that of the *celestial luminaries*. Warburton perceived he was wrong in his sentiments about the *succession and progress* of these several kinds of worship. He endeavours to set him right. Coventry (having already formed his plan, and published it in part to the world) was not very forward at first to come into this new scheme, which would disconcert his measures, make him seem inconstant in his notions and designs, and embarrass him in other difficulties, not easy to be got over. However, upon farther conversation and reflection, he seemed in a great measure, if not altogether, convinced. Warburton then, having (as it seemed) set Coventry upon the right scent, matters were like to go on in a fair way of proceeding, and Coventry was left to his discretion to proceed upon that or the former plan; for Warburton was very willing he should make use of the notions he had suggested, in print, if he pleased, though he himself at the same time was preparing (as he also intimated) to give a full account of the matter in his next volume, which was then in considerable forwardness for the press. But then, as this gentle-

at any time. The story is so ungrateful to me, that I cannot think of telling it twice. You will

gentleman goes on to inform me, there was *one* notion (that relating to the *hieroglyphics)* which he did not think fit at that time to give Coventry a particular information of, and neither then, nor since, gave him any leave to publish it, the notion being (as far as I can find) peculiarly his own, and not known nor taken notice of by modern writers, such as Vossius, &c. whom Coventry had hitherto followed, and had intended to follow. And, as Warburton had not derived it from any modern, but had, *proprio Marte,* struck it out from a diligent attention to the antients only, carefully compared one with another, he intended himself to give the world the first notics. This notion, which it seems was but just hinted, and that occasionally, Coventry had a desire to be let more fully into the knowledge of. The other gentleman desired to be excused at that time, and so the matter ended for the present. Not long after Warburton's return from Cambridge to Newark, Coventry sends him a very civil letter, expressing his thanks for the information he had given him, which he said he now gave a full assent to, and requesting a further favour, *viz.* a particular information about the *hieroglyphic* affair. Warburton, intending to give it in print, and having at that time much business upon his hands, desired again to be excused; for that it would require much writing to set the matter in a due light. "But," said he, "I will endeavour to gratify your desire the first opportunity that offers, as far as I can conveniently." This passed for that time. The year following, as I remember (either the spring or summer of the year 1740) Mr. Coventry being in town, calls upon Fletcher Gyles*, who was then printing Mr. Warburton's second volume, and desires him to let him see some part of the written copy. Fletcher Gyles, having had no permission from the Author to communicate his MS. (a thing, perhaps, never done without permission) was upon his guard, and made a proper answer. About this time, or not long after, Coventry meets Warburton in town, and in a civil manner claims the promise. Warburton readily communicates to him a few of the printed sheets relating to the point which Coventry had in view. But, as there was more of the subject remaining, Coventry begs to see the rest. "The first sheets I receive from the press," said Warburton, "you shall see, when you and I are come to Cambridge;" for they both purposed to be there soon, and the fresh sheets were to be sent after the Author thither. He communicates to Coventry there what came to hand during his stay. And that, it seems, was as much as Coventry desired, his curiosity being, I suppose, competently satisfied. Last winter, or the beginning of last spring, Coventry's fourth piece comes out. He sends a copy for a pre-

* Mr. Fletcher Gyles was the publisher; and Mr. Bowyer was the printer.

sent

see it in an advertisement prefixed. Pray give it in some proper place one stroke of your pen. The

sent to Warburton, but no letter with it. Warburton, finding Coventry had published his notion with regard to the Hieroglyphics before his own Book was come from the press, sends him a short, but (as he tells me) civil letter, expressing his dislike of what the other gentleman had done, and signifying to him, that, as he had started unfairly, he expected he would make a just acknowledgment, and that in as public a manner as he had, without his privity or consent, communicated this notion to the world before him, who ought to have been permitted to do it first, as it was his own notion, and had been communicated by him to Coventry only in private, as to a friend, for present satisfaction. This letter Warburton sent unsealed, in a case to a friend at Cambridge (one who, with some others, had suspected Coventry of plagiarism, and wondered how he came by the notion). The letter, thus conveyed, somewhat nettled Coventry, and drew from him an answer expressing some (I think Warburton said *much*) resentment. Nevertheless, in the said answer, he promised to do Mr. Warburton justice in the piece he should next put out. Warburton, not thinking this sufficient, insisted on his doing him that justice before; and accordingly (as I remember he told me) directed a friend of his at Cambridge, how to mention the matter to Mr. Coventry, and in what terms, as to the main, he would have the acknowledgment made: for, if I remember right, Warburton wrote no more to Coventry himself. So that it was his sending the letter unsealed, as it seems, and insisting upon such a recognition in a public manner, that displeased Coventry so much; for the letter itself, as Warburton tells me, which he sent to Coventry, had nothing in it which could justly offend him. He repeated to me the substance of it; and the harshest expression, as far as seemed to me, and as I can now recollect, was his telling him, "if he did not comply, he would take some proper opportunity to expose him to the world for a plagiary; and, his Book being not yet come out, he might perhaps do it in a little time." This then was no moot point; here was no room to debate any longer. Something must be done by way of satisfaction, and that soon. Coventry hereupon writes, and sends to Warburton, the letter which is now printed at the beginning of Warburton's second volume, [The Letter is here preserved; see p. 571.]

This, as nearly as I can possibly remember, is the account which I received from Mr. Warburton himself this day in conversation, upon my desiring to have the matter cleared up, since I had heard it somewhat variously represented, in some articles, by different hands. I do not pretend to judge; but this account, as given to me by Mr. Warburton himself, seems sufficiently fair and honest. All I can remember further is, that Mr. Warburton told me he has Mr. Coventry's letters still

by

man has foolishly ruined his character. But what then? The proving him a scoundrel is putting him

by him, which, if seen and perused by others, would, he believes, fully justify his conduct towards that gentleman.

Upon the whole, *the man spoke very modestly and civilly*; but I could not well forbear observing *a peculiar air of vanity* (however artfully shaded) that appears in the designs and writings of some men, whereby they cannot fail of exposing themselves to discerning persons, who can fathom their depth, and take the height of their views. Happy would it be, if men could discern their proper talents, be content with them, and, devoid of affectation, would study to improve them to the most *useful* purposes.

"Quin tu igitur summâ nequicquam pelle decorus
Ante diem blando caudam jactare popello—
Desinis.
Scilicet ingenium, et rerum prudentia velox,
Ante pilos venit. [Seris venit usus ab annis.]
Nequicquam populo bibulas donaveris aures:
Respue quod non es:
Tecum habita, et noris quàm sit tibi curta supellex."

Persius, Sat. IV.

[Sed vereor ne cui de te plus quam tibi credas.]

Mr. Jones then closes the Anecdotes by extracting the following passages (being those which were borrowed from Warburton) in Mr. Coventry's "Philemon to Hydaspes, Part IV."

P. 21. "System apart, neither *priests*, I believe, nor *philosophers*, were properly the authors of the Pagan Superstitions. They were the genuine offspring of popular rudeness and ignorance. And if Philosophy did not do all it might have done towards giving men juster apprehensions of things, it was, because it either wanted *courage* to oppose the cheat, or was often administered by hands too deeply interested in it, &c."

P. 22. "If accommodations to popular prejudices are any proofs of being one's self in the common delusion, even the light of Revelation has been no very eminent advantage in point of religious instruction to a great part of the more knowing Christian world. For are not Christians at this day, in a certain Communion I could name, tolerated in superstitions, which might have almost contested the pre-eminence of absurdity with the grossest Pagan ones? To say here that many things are not suffered to pass with the multitude, of which the learned evidently perceive the ridicule, is making a compliment to their sincerity, at a much greater disgrace to their penetration, than they themselves would generally, I believe, be thankful for. And thus, without doubt, stood the fact in philosophic antiquity.—The antient Theistic Philosophers *knew* much better than they sometimes found it prudent to *teach*; and were every way qualified to have given the world a competently *rational* Theory of *Religion*, if they had not found them already in possession of a traditionary

one

in the way to thrive. It is a Gentleman too, and of condition, one *Coventry**, author of "Philemon to Hydaspes," to whom I shewed some sheets; and he has stolen my general plan of the *Hieroglyphics*,

one of a very different genius; and, from the danger of unsettling Establishments, and letting in light upon weak eyes, been led to turn their thoughts rather to the palliating, than the reforming side in this affair. And indeed, were not the most undoubted patrons of Revelation so fond of this hypothesis, one would wonder what possible advantage to their cause they could propose from it. To me it seems to be not more undermining the principles and foundation of Natural Religion, than it is thereby taking away the *only sure* test and criterion of the merit of Revelation. For if men have *no* previous natural notices of a Supreme Being, by which to judge of what *may* or *may not* be supposed to *come* from him in a way of more extraordinary communication, the credit of all pretended Revelations is manifestly *put* upon the same footing. Every thing is to be received as a Revelation, which a confident enthusiast or impostor may call such; or rather, the very supposition itself of *any such thing* is rendered absurd and ridiculous."

P. 24. "The aim doubtless of this hypothesis is, to advance the *value* of Revelation, by evincing the *absolute necessity* of it. But the term *necessity* here is, I think, too strong an one. Expediency is all that is wanted in the case, and all that either reason, or indeed fact, seems to justify the assertion of. For, look into the subject-matter of the Revelation contended for, and you will find, that the greatest part of what are properly new discoveries in it are rather enforcements *of* Natural Religion than additions *to* it. For the rest, it teaches little more than what had been taught before. But then, it has the advantage of teaching it with an authority peculiar to itself; and in a manner so much more suitable to the ends of popular improvement, as to give it an undisputed superiority to every *human* method of instruction."

* Mr. Henry Coventry proceeded, in 1744, with a Fifth Part of "Philemon to Hydaspes;" and was busy about a Sixth Dialogue, when ill health interrupted, and untimely death totally defeated his designs.—This gentleman (whose name occurs in the list of writers of the famous "Athenian Letters") was son of Henry Coventry, esq. who had a good estate in Cambridgeshire; and his mother was Anne, daughter of Mr. Coles, of the City of Oxford. He was born about 1710; educated at Magdalen college, Cambridge; B. A. 1729; M. A. 1733. The Five Dialogues were re-published, in one volume, 1753, by his cousin, the Rev. Francis Coventry; who, in a dedication to William Henry sixth earl of Coventry, speaks highly of the talents of their Relation; and censures "a petulant, ill-natured, and ungentlemanlike reproach," thrown out by Dr. Browne in his "Essays

on

&c. in a *fourth Conversation* just published. You will wonder I should let such a sort of writer see any thing of mine. But suspend your censure till I tell you the whole history when I see you *."

on the Characteristicks of Lord Shaftesbury" [namely, "that one of the *followers* of Lord Shaftesbury (and referring to the Author of *Philemon to Hydaspes)* had affirmed, in still more emphatical expressions, if possible, than his *Master*, that *the height of Virtuosoship is Virtue*"], as "not less impolitic than unprovoked; there being so fair a topic of recrimination upon the Author of it; for, if ever any Writer more remarkably *put himself to service* than another, it is this very Essay-writer, whose *Master* every body knows."—The following note is transcribed from the MSS. of the Rev. W. Cole: "Henry Coventry was fellow of Magdalen college. When he came first to the University, he was of a religious enthusiastic turn of mind, *as was Mr. H. Walpole*, even so much as to go with *Ashton*, his then great friend, to pray with the Prisoners in the Castle. Afterwards both Mr. Coventry and Mr. Walpole took to the *Infidel* side of the question."

Mr. Francis Coventry was the eldest son of Thomas Coventry, esq. by Anna-Maria Brown. He was also of Magdalen college, Cambridge; B. A. 1748; M. A. 1752. He published "Penshurst, a Poem, inscribed to William Perry, Esq. and the Hon. Mrs. Elizabeth Perry, 1750," 4to; re-printed in the Fourth Volume of Dodsley's Miscellanies; with a Poetical Epistle of his "to the Hon. Wilmot Vaughan in Wales." He was also author of a pleasing *jeu d'esprit*, the well-known Romance called "Pompey the Little, or the Adventures of a Lapdog, 1751."—Mr. Gray tells Mr. Walpole, March 3, 1751, "*Pompey* is the hasty production of Mr. Coventry (cousin to him you know), a young Clergyman. I found it out by three characters, which were made part of a Comedy that he shewed me of his own writing." *Lord Orford's Works, vol. V. p.* 388.—He was the author of the XVth Number of "The World," April 12, 1753, containing "Strictures on the absurd Novèlties introduced in Gardening, and a humorous Description of Squire Mushroom's Villa." And to him probably the publick would have been more indebted, had he not been cut off by the smallpox, at Whitchurch, about the year 1759, soon after he had been presented, by his relation the Earl of Coventry, to the donative, or perpetual curacy, of Edgware.

* In the same Letter he says, "The Author of *Theophanes Cantabrigiensis* is a young man whose name is *Squire*, fellow of St. John's, of that University. All I have seen of *Morgan* is in that Pamphlet; and, for my part, I am amazed that any one should think it worth while to answer the most senseless and abandoned scribbler that ever came from Bedlam or the Mint. It seems Mr. Chandler either has or will answer him, being pro-

At the latter end of May 1741, the second Volume of "The Divine Legation" being completed at the press, Mr. Warburton returned to London; and, in his way thither, paid a visit to Dr. Doddridge at Northampton *.

To the new volume (which was divided into two Parts, containing books IV. V. VI.) were prefixed, a Dedication to *the Jews*; a Preface, in which he alludes to *forged Letters* †, and to the *Country Clergyman* ‡; observing, "that he had to do with men in authority, appointed, if you will believe

provoked and challenged to it by Morgan; who gets his bread by this infamous practice." [See vol. II. p. 146.] — "There is a book," he says to Dr. Birch, called "The Moral Philosopher," lately published, &c. Is it looked into? I should hope not, merely for the sake of the taste, the sense, and learning of the present age; for nothing can give one a worse idea of them than that book's being in any degree of esteem, as a composition of a man of letters. I have some knowledge of the Author. An evening's conversation when I was last in town gave me the top and bottom of him. And, though I parted from him with the most contemptible opinion both of his candour and of his sense, he has had the art, in this book, of writing even below himself. It is composed principally of scraps ill put together from "Christianity as old as the Creation;" larded with some of the most stupid fancies of his own that ever entered into the head of man, such as Moses's scheme of an Universal Monarchy. This, I take it, was a simple genuine blunder from Toland, who had said, with something more pretence, that Moses aimed at a Perpetual Monarchy; and, by a true Irish blunder, this blockhead took *perpetual* to signify *universal*. I hope nobody will be so indiscreet as to take notice publicly of this book, though it be only the fag end of an objection. It is that indiscreet conduct in our defenders of Religion, that conveys so many worthless books from hand to hand."

* "This day sevennight Mr. Gyles gave Mr. Fowler himself the remaining sheets, which I suppose you have received by this time. After an extremely fatiguing journey in the stage-coach, with very indifferent company, increased by worse taken up on the road, I reached Mr. Gyles's between eight and nine last night. I have abundance of thanks to return for the very friendly entertainment I met with at Northampton from you and your excellent Lady." *Letter to Dr. Doddridge, May* 28.

† "By one Romaine, and one Julius Bate, in conjunction." *W.*

‡ "In reality a Town Writer of a Weekly News-paper, Dr. Webster by name; who soon after, by a Circular Letter to the Bench of Bishops, obtained a reward for this exploit." *W.*

them,

them, Inspectors General over Clerical Faith *;" and an Advertisement from Mr. Fletcher Gyles was prefixed, which included an Apologetical Letter from Mr. *Henry Coventry* † (see p. 566).

* "Webster, Venn, Stebbing, Waterland, and others." *W.*

† "ADVERTISEMENT BY THE BOOKSELLER.

"N. B. This Volume has been much longer in the press than suited my convenience, on many accounts; the Discourse on the HIEROGLYPHICS having been printed above a year ago, and communicated by Mr. *Warburton* to several persons; and, particularly, to the Author of a late Book, published about three months since, intituled, '*Philemon* to *Hydaspes*, &c.;' from whom he has received the following Letter, in order to be published in this manner:

"*To the Author of the* Divine Legation, &c.

"SIR, *May* 14, 1741.

"I sent you lately a present of my fourth Piece of Conversation between *Philemon* and *Hortensius, upon the subject of false Religion;* in which, 'as far as it relates to the rise, nature, and progress of *Hieroglyphic* Writing amongst the *Egyptians*, and to the deduction of Animal Worship from the *Hieroglyphics* of their antient Heroes,' you will find I have formed my general way of thinking upon hints received from you, either in such of your Papers as you communicated to me upon this subject, or by personal conference. In what particular respects, over and above the pursuit of the same *general notion*, I may have undesignedly coincided with what you are about to communicate to the publick upon the article of *Hieroglyphics*, in the Second Volume of your *Divine Legation*, &c. it is impossible for me to say, as I never made a single minute of any thing you ever said to me, or shewed me, of this matter; and as it was at the distance of above five months from my having seen either you or any of your Papers, that I drew up the whole of what I have published concerning *Hieroglyphics* and *Symbol Worship*. But if it appears, upon comparison of your thoughts with mine, that, in any other respects than those already mentioned, I have followed you more closely than I am myself aware of, I think it but just the Publick should be made acquainted, that your whole Discourse on the *Hieroglyphics* (a *part* only of which I remember to have seen) was finished before I set pen to paper with relation to them. I am, Sir, your humble servant."

Mr. Gyles then proceeds, "I have only to add, that from the time of printing this Discourse on the Hieroglyphics I could get no more copy from the Author, till after last Christmas; so that the rest has been written and printed since in haste, and in the Author's absence, who has had time only to give it a cursory reading, in which he observed the following ERRATA;" [*of which a List is then given.*]

At

At the end of Part II. is "An Appendix *, containing some Remarks on a late Book, intituled, *Future Rewards and Punishments believed by the Antients, particularly the Philosophers, wherein some Objections of the Rev. Mr. Warburton, in the Divine Legation of Moses, are considered* †. With a Postscript, in answer to 'The Principles and Connexions of Natural' and Revealed Religion, by Arthur Ashley Sykes ‡, D. D.; and a Letter to

* See vol. II. p. 153.

† The Pamphlet which occasioned this Appendix contained also "An Address to Free-thinkers." It was published in 1740, and supposed to have been written by Mr. Henry Coventry.

‡ In a subsequent Letter, *May* 11, 1741, he says, "I hope you have received the sheets from Mr. Gyles, or the greater part of them. You will find by the conclusion, why I was so large in the beginning concerning *Hieroglyphics*, &c.—Dr. Sykes's late book I take to be in all respects the worst he ever wrote. Besides his attack on *double senses*, which I have examined, he had a little fling at my account of the Philosophers in the first volume; which I have animadverted on in a Postscript at the end of the Appendix against a *Lawyer* § who wrote a book about a Future State believed by the Antients. This is a man of fortune; and it is well he is so, for I have spoiled his trade as a Writer. And, as he was both very abusive, free-thinking, and anonymous, I have not spared to expose his ignorance and ill faith.—As for Dr. Sykes, I had in the first edition of my first volume hinted my disapprobation of that miserable Discourse on the Demoniacs. I did not then know he was the author. Being afterwards informed of it by some of his friends, who complained of it, I struck the passage out of the second edition. It appears this did not satisfy Dr. Sykes. He would have his revenge: and you see what it is come to. I was only amazed he could not say something more plausible and more learned against my opinion of the Philosophers. It is certainly that part of the first Volume against which most might be said."—In the same letter he says, "One of the most remarkable effects of the wise project of an union with the Gallican Church was Courayer's writings and banishment. However, he has got more by coming here than he could have got in peace at home; and much more by writing for our Ordination, than he would have got by writing for our Faith. But, to be sure, he deserves it all, by so much endeavouring, in all his writings, to give us a good opinion of *moderate French Popery;* a security, I suppose, against our falling in love with *the worst kind of Popery, the English.*"

§ John Tillard, esq.; of whom see vol. II. p. 153.

Bp.

Bp. Smalbroke, on his new-printed Charge to the Clergy;' 1741*."

A second edition of "The Alliance between Church and State," revised and corrected, was published about the same time.

Early in June 1741 he was at Twickenham; and in the middle of that month accompanied Mr. Pope in a country ramble, taking Oxford in their way, where they parted; Mr. Pope, after one day's stay, going Westward; and Mr. Warburton, who stayed a day after him, to visit Dr. Conybeare then dean of Christ Church, returning to London †. On *that day* the Vice-chancellor, Dr. Leigh, sent a message to his lodgings, to enquire whether a Doctor's degree in Divinity would be acceptable to him; to which unasked and unsought compliment such an answer was returned as so civil a message deserved. About the same time, Mr. Pope had the like offer made him

* In 1742 was published "A Reply to Mr. Warburton's Appendix in his Second Volume of the Divine Legation of Moses; together with a few Observations on his Writings, and occasional Reflections on sundry useful Subjects;" written, we are told, "with so much resentment as nothing can justify, but the ill-usage the Author pretends to have received from his Antagonist." *Works of the Learned, July* 1742.—An elaborate Review of it (evidently by *a Friend of Mr. Warburton*) appeared in "The Works of the Learned for October."

† "I received your letter of the 31st inst. on my coming from Twickenham with Mr. Pope, whither I am just now returning." *Letter to Dr. Doddridge, June* 6.—Again, *June* 25, "When your last kind Letters, with the Discourse, came to London, I was on a ramble with Mr. Pope up and down; and amongst other places at Oxford, from whence I am but just returned. I have read over your fine *Abstract* (see pp. 561, 562) with great pleasure. It is too good for the *Journal*. I shall reserve it for my use where I recapitulate my long general argument at the end of the *third volume*,—where it will be of use to me. And the rather, because, the *second volume* having had a quick sale, the book is so well dispersed and known, that an account of it in the *Journal* is the less necessary."—A very copious Analysis of the second volume was, however, given (probably by Dr. Doddridge, and certainly by no *unfriendly hand)* in the "Works of the Learned" for the months of August, September, October, and December 1741, and March 1742.

of

of a Doctor's degree in Law; which he seemed disposed to accept, until he learned that some impediment had been thrown in the way of his friend's receiving the compliment intended for him by the Vice-chancellor. He then absolutely refused that proposed to himself*.

* In a letter to Mr. Warburton, dated Aug. 12, 1741, Mr. Pope says, "I have received some chagrin at the delay of your Degree at Oxon. As for mine, I will die before I receive one, in an art I am ignorant of, at a place where there remains any scruple of bestowing one on you, in a science of which you are so great a master. In short, I will be *doctored* with you, or not at all. I am sure, wherever honour is not conferred on the deserving, there can be none given to the undeserving; no more from the hands of Priests, than of Princes. Adieu. God give you all *true Blessings*."—And in the same letter, "The use of writing letters resolves wholly into the gratification given and received in the knowledge of each other's welfare: unless I ever should be so fortunate (and a rare fortune it would be) to be able to procure, and acquaint you of, some real benefit done you by my means. But Fortune seldom suffers one disinterested man to serve another. 'Tis too much an insult upon her to let two of those who most despise her favours be happy in them at the same time, and in the same instance. I wish for nothing so much at her hands, as that she would permit some great person or other to remove you nearer the banks of the Thames; though very lately a Nobleman, whom you esteem much more than you know, had destined, &c."—This seems to be explained by a conversation said by Ruffhead to have taken place between Pope and Warburton: 'It was,' says he, 'but the other day, that a Noble Lord in my neighbourhood, whom till then I had much mistaken, told me in conversation, that he had a large benefice to bestow, which he did not know what to do with.' "Give it to me," said I, "and I will promise to bestow it on one who will do honour to your patronage." He said I should have it. I believed him; and, after waiting some time without hearing farther of it, I reminded him of what had passed; when he said with some confusion, that his steward had disposed of it, unknown to him or his Lady."—Again, *Sept.* 20, "If I can prevail on myself to complete the *Dunciad*, it will be published at the same time with a general edition of all my Verses (for Poems I will not call them); and, I hope, your Friendship to me will be then as well known, as my being an Author; and go down together to Posterity: I mean to as much of Posterity as poor Moderns can reach to; where the Commentator (as usual) will lend a crutch to the weak Poet, to help him to limp a little further than he could on his own feet. We shall take our degree together in Fame, whatever we do at the University: and I tell you once more, I will

Both the degrees were therefore laid aside; and the University of Oxford lost some reputation by the conduct of this business, being thus deprived of the honour of two names, which certainly would have reflected credit on the Society in which they were to have been enrolled.

Mr. Pope's affection for Mr. Warburton was of service to him in more respects than merely increasing his fame. He introduced and warmly recommended him to most of his friends; and particularly to Ralph Allen, esq. which laid the foundation of his fortune *.

will not have it there without you."—On which Mr. Warburton observes: "This was occasioned by the Editor's requesting him not to slight the honour ready to be done him by the University; and especially, not to decline it on the Editor's account, who had no reason to think the affront done him of complimenting him with an offer, and then contriving to evade it, the act of that illustrious Body, but the exploit of two or three Particulars, the creatures of *a man in power*, and the slaves of their own passions and prejudices. However, Mr. Pope could not be prevailed on to accept of any honours from them; and his resentment of this low trick gave birth to the celebrated lines, of Apollo's Mayor and Aldermen, in the Fourth Dunciad."

* In a letter from Bath, Nov. 12, 1741, Mr. Pope says, "I have more calls than one for this letter. First, to express a satisfaction at your resolution not to keep up the ball of dispute with Dr. M[iddleton], though, I am satisfied, you could have done it; and to tell you that Mr. L. is pleased at it too, who writes me word upon this occasion, that he must infinitely esteem a Divine, and an Author, who loves peace better than Victory. Secondly, I am to recommend to you as an author, a bookseller in the room of the honest one you have lost, Mr. Gyles; and I know none who is so worthy, and has so good a title in that character to succeed him, as Mr. Knapton. But my third motive of now troubling you is my own proper interest and pleasure. I am here in more leisure than I can possibly enjoy ever in my own house, *vacare literis*. It is at this place, that your exhortations may be most effectual, to make me resume the studies I have almost laid aside, by perpetual avocations and dissipations. If it were practicable for you to pass a month or six weeks from home, it is here I could wish to be with you: and if you would attend to the continuation of your own noble work, or unbend to the idle amusement of commenting upon a Poet, who has no other merit than that of aiming by his moral strokes to merit some regard from such men as advance Truth and Virtue in a more effectual way; in either case, this

In consequence of this introduction, we find Mr. Warburton domesticated at Mr. Allen's seat, at Widcombe, near Bath, in November 1741, where he continued for more than six weeks; and returned to London, with Mr. Pope, through Oxford *.

this place and this house would be an inviolable asylum to you, from all you would desire to avoid, in so public a scene as Bath. The worthy man who is the master of it, invites you in the strongest terms; and is one who would treat you with love and veneration, rather than what the world calls civility and regard. He is sincerer and plainer than almost any man now in this world, *antiquis moribus*. If the waters of the Bath may be serviceable to your complaints (as I believe from what you have told me of them), no opportunity can ever be better. It is just the best season. We are told the Bishop of Salisbury [Dr. Sherlock] is expected here daily, who I know is your friend: at least, though a Bishop, is too much a man of learning to be your enemy. You see I omit nothing to add to the weight in the balance, in which, however, I will not think myself light, since I have known your partiality. You will want no servant here. Your room will be next to mine, and one man will serve us. Here is a Library, and a Gallery ninety feet long to walk in, and a coach whenever you would take the air with me. Mr. Allen tells me, you might on horseback be here in three days. It is less than 100 miles from Newark; the road through Leicester, Stowe in the Wolde in Gloucestershire, and Cirencester by Lord Bathurst's. I could engage to carry you to London from hence, and I would accommodate my time and journey to your conveniency." — Again, Nov. 22, "Yours is very full and very kind; it is a friendly and satisfactory answer, and all I can desire. Do but instantly fulfil it.—Only I hope this will find you before you set out. For I think (on all considerations) your best way will be to take London in your way. It will secure you from accidents of weather, to travel in the coach both thither and from thence hither. But, in particular, I think you should take some care as to Mr. Gyles's executors. And I am of opinion no man will be more serviceable in settling any such accounts than Mr. Knapton, who so well knows the trade, and is of so acknowledged a credit in it..... You will owe me a real obligation by being made acquainted with the master of this house; and by sharing with me, what I think one of the chief satisfactions of my life, his Friendship."

* As an apology for not sooner acknowledging a present of Dr. Doddridge's Sermons, he says, March 3, 1741-2, "In November Mr. Pope sent me so pressing an invitation to come to him to Mr. Allen's, near Bath, seconded by so kind an invitation of that good man, that I could not decline a long tedious winter journey, by London. I stayed at Widcombe, in the most agreeable retired society with two excellent persons, so very dear to me, till after the

"The Divine Legation" had so rapid a sale that a *third edition* of the *first* volume was published early in 1742; as was also a *second* edition of the *second* volume; the whole corrected and enlarged; and the plan of the work announced, "to be con-

the Christmas holy-days. The principal occasion and fruits of my going, I hope, you will see *(inter nos)* in a little time. My health was then but very indifferent; principally owing to a bilious indigestion, which I had been long troubled with, and which the late writers against me will tell you I have given public proofs of. However, it is well for them that I can digest their usage of me. For this disorder the physicians at Bath advised me to drink the waters. I followed their advice; and the waters were brought hot from Bath every morning for me to drink in bed; which I received so much benefit from, that Mr. Allen would engage me to promise to take the first opportunity of returning to them.—From Widcombe I returned with Mr. Pope to London; where my unsettled affairs with my Bookseller's Executor detained me till almost now. My accounts with Mr. Gyles were altogether unsettled. And, as I had made no agreement with him, nor assigned any copy, they were altogether at my mercy for all the profits, farther than *the bookseller's allowance*, as it is called. But, with regard to my friendship for the deceased, I asked only *half* the clear profits of the editions sold, and *two thirds* of a third edition of the first volume of the Divine Legation, and a second edition of the second volume, just going to press when Gyles died †; for I saw no reason my favours should be entailed on a rich family that wanted nothing. This last demand of *two-thirds* stuck with them; and, after much ill-usage in delaying me from time to time, they pressed I should be contented with *half* the profits, both for the editions sold and unsold; which, against the advice of my friends, I rather chose to comply with than go to law; though it was a clear case, and I had Mr. Murray ‡ for my standing counsel without fees. But I have followed the old adage, *dimidium plus toto*. However, I have tied them from printing any more than these editions, and only a moderate number of them §; and have got a legal acknowledgment of the entire copy-right in myself."—He had previously taken Mr. Murray's opinion with a regular fee, as appears by two letters to Dr. Birch: "I take the liberty of sending the inclosed, which I beg you would carry to Mr. Murray of Lincoln's Inn, It is a case on which I want his opinion. I beg you would give him *two guineas* with it, which, on the favour of your answer, I will order to be thankfully repaid to you."—"I received the favour of yours of the 8th, with Mr. Murray's opinion inclosed, for which I return you many thanks. Mr. Robert Atkinson has orders to pay you the *two guineas* for me."

† Mr. Gyles died Nov. 8, 1741. See vol. II. p. 147.

‡ Afterwards Earl of Mansfield; to whom, in 1758, he dedicated a new edition of the second part of the Divine Legation.

§ 750 copies. Of the former Editions 1000 were printed.

cluded in Nine Books." In this edition he introduced some reflexions on the Leaders of the sect of Methodists, then rising into public notice *.

In June 1742 a new edition appeared of Mr. Pope's "Ethic Epistles †," with the Commentary of Mr.

* In a letter to M. Desmaizeaux, Mr. Warburton says, "I have seen Whitefield's Journal; and he appears to me to be as mad as ever George Fox the Quaker was. These are very fit Missionaries, you will say, to propagate the Christian faith amongst Infidels. There is another of them, one Wesley, who came over from the same mission. He told a friend of mine, that he had lived most deliciously the last summer in Georgia, sleeping under trees, and feeding on boiled maize, sauced with the ashes of oak leaves; that he will return thither, and then will cast off his English dress, and wear a dyed skin, like the savages, the better to ingratiate himself with them."—And, in another to Mr. Birch, "What a happy thing it would be if we could send over on a mission some of our hot zealots, to cool themselves in an Indian savanna! Don't you think V[enn] and W[hitefield] would make a proper as well as pleasant figure in a couple of bear-skins? Methinks I see them march in this terrour of equipage, like the Pagan priests of Hercules of old,

Jamque Sacerdotes, primusque Potitius ibant,
Pellibus in morem cincti, flammasque ferebant.

The fanaticism of some of these Missionaries gave birth to a very serious thought, which you will find in the *second edition* of the Divine Legation, now printing; therefore I shall not repeat it here."

"There, Webster! peal'd thy voice, and Whitefield! thine," says Mr. Pope; on which Mr. Warburton remarks, "The one the writer of a newspaper called *The Weekly Miscellany*; the other a Field-preacher. The Enthusiast thought the only means of advancing Religion was by the new-birth of spiritual madness: the Bigot, by the old death of fire and faggot: and therefore they agreed in this, though in no other earthly thing, to abuse all the sober Clergy. From the small success of these two extraordinary persons, we may learn how little hurtful Bigotry and Enthusiasm are, while the Civil Magistrate prudently forbears to lend his power to the one, to be employed against the other."

† This edition of Mr. Pope's "Epistles" called forth, 1. "A Letter from Mr. Cibber to Mr. Pope; enquiring into the Motives that might induce him, in his Satyrical Works, to be so frequently fond of Mr. Cibber's Name, July 7, 1742."—2. "A Blast upon Bays; or, a new Lick at the Laureat; containing, Remarks upon a late tatling Performance, entitled, *A Letter from Mr. Cibber to Mr. Pope*, &c. 1742."—3. "A Letter to Mr. Cibber, on his Letter to Mr. Pope, 1742."—4. "The Egotist; or Colley upon Cibber; being his own Picture retouched, or so *plain* a Likeness, that no one, *now*, would have the Face to own it. By Himself. 1743."—The first cause of Mr. Pope's anger against Cibber arose from the

Warburton; who at this period had the entire confidence of Mr. Pope, and had concerted with him the plan of the Fourth Book of the *Dunciad* *.

In 1742 Mr. Warburton new-modeled the Letters which he had written in vindication of Mr. Pope; and published them under the title of "A Critical and Philosophical Commentary †" on Mr. Pope's Essay

the Laureat's having ridiculed him on the Stage in acting "The Rehearsal." Hence Cibber was introduced in the "Prologue to the Satires." But the great offence was the publication of this Letter; on account of which he afterwards dethroned Theobald from his eminence as King of the Dunces, and placed Cibber, who cared very little about the matter, in his place.

* The three first Books were published in 1729; the fourth in 1742. The variations between the *first* and the *complete* Edition are pointed out in the great Body of English Poetry printed under the immediate superintendance of Dr. Johnson.

In November 1741, when inviting him to Mr. Allen's, Mr. Pope tells him, it was there that he should find most leisure to profit by the advice he had given him "to resume the studies, which he had almost laid aside, by perpetual avocations and dissipations. They accordingly met; and a great part of the new Poem was read and highly approved. The rest was finished in the course of the year 1742.

† This publication again called forth the nervous pen of Johnson; who, in a letter to Mr. Urban, in March 1743, observes, "It would not be found useless in the learned world, if in written controversies, as in oral disputations, a Moderator could be selected, who might in some degree superintend the debate, restrain all needless excursions, repress all personal reflections, and at last recapitulate the arguments on each side; and who, though he should not assume the province of deciding the question, might at least exhibit it in its true state.—This reflection arose in my mind upon the consideration of Mr. Crousaz's Commentary on the Essay on Man, and Mr. Warburton's Answer to it. The importance of the subject, the reputation and abilities of the Controvertists, and perhaps the ardour with which each has endeavoured to support his cause, have made an attempt of this kind necessary for the information of the greatest number of Mr. Pope's readers.—Among the duties of a Moderator, I have mentioned that of recalling the Disputants to the subject, and cutting off the excrescences of a debate, which Mr. Crousaz will not suffer to be long unemployed; and the repression of personal invectives, which have not been very carefully avoided on either part, and are less excusable because it has not been proved that either the Poet or his Commentator wrote with any other design than that of promoting happiness, by cultivating Reason and Piety.—Mr. Warburton has indeed so much depressed the character of his Adversary, that, before I consider the contro-

on Man *; in which is contained a Vindication of the said Essay † from the Misrepresentations of

versy between them, I think it necessary to exhibit some specimens of Mr. Crousaz's sentiments, by which it will probably be shewn that he is far from deserving either indignation or contempt; that his notions are just, though they are sometimes introduced without necessity, and defended when they are not opposed; and that his abilities and piety are such as may entitle him to reverence from those who think his criticisms superfluous. —P. 35, of the English Translation, he exhibits an observation which every writer ought to impress upon his mind, and which may afford a sufficient apology for his Commentary: "The more reputation an author is arrived at, the more cautious ought he to be, that nothing drops from his pen, from which men of corrupt inclinations may take advantages in opposing Religion." — After citing some specimens of the work, Mr. Johnson thus concludes: "I am afraid of wearying you or your readers with more quotations; but, if you shall inform me that a continuation of my correspondence will be well received, I shall descend to particular passages, shew how Mr. Pope gave sometimes occasion to mistakes, and how Mr. Crousaz was misled by his suspicion of the system of Fatality."

* In the "Works of the Learned, for December 1742," are printed some extracts from a Letter from the North of England, containing Observations on the Dedication and Preface to the "Critical and Philosophical Commentary;" the Editor declining to publish the whole Letter, "as reflecting on a most excellent Writer, merely as he is a declared Enemy to the Doctrine of Necessity, in opposition to the Freedom of Intelligent Beings; thinking that on the latter all Religion, Virtue, Rewards, and Punishments, alone can be founded."

† Mr. Hurd, in a letter to Dr. Warburton, Dec. 30, 1756, says, "For the first years of my residence in the University, when I was labouring through the usual courses of Logick, Mathematicks, and Philosophy, I heard little of your name and writings: and the little I did hear was not likely to encourage a young man, that was under direction, to enquire further after either. In the mean time, I grew up into the use of a little common sense; my commerce with the people of the place was enlarged. Still the clamours increased against you, and the appearance of your *second volume* opened many mouths. I was then Batchelor of Arts; and, having no immediate business on my hands, I was led, by a spirit of perverseness, to see what there was in these decried volumes, that had given such offence. —To say the truth, there had been so much apparent bigotry and insolence in the invectives I had heard, though echoed, as was said, from men of note amongst us, that I wished, perhaps out of pure spite, to find them ill-founded. And I doubt I was half determined in your favour before I knew any thing of the

merit

Mr. de Resnel, the French Translator, and of Mr. de Crousaz, Professor of Philosophy and Mathematics, in the Academy of Lausanne, the Commentator."

In the autumn of 1742 Mr. Warburton renewed his visit to Mr. Allen at Widcombe; and printed a Sermon which had been preached at the Abbey Church of Bath on the 24th of October, for the benefit of the General Infirmary. To this Sermon, which was published at the request of the Governors, was added, "A Short Account of the Nature, Rise, and Progress, of the General Infirmary at Bath *."

merits of the case.—The effect of all this was, that I took "The Divine Legation" down with me into the country, where I was going to spend the summer of, I think, 1741, with my friends. I there read the *three volumes* ‡ at my leisure, and with the impression I shall never forget. I returned to College the winter following, not so properly your convert, as all over spleen and prejudice against your defamers. From that time, I think, I am to date my friendship with you. There was something in your mind, still more than in the matter of your book, that struck me. In a word, I grew a constant reader of you. I enquired after your other works. I got "The Alliance" into my hands; and met with the Essay on *Portents and Prodigies*, which last I liked the better, and still like it, because I understood it was most abused by those who owed you no good-will [see p. 535]. Things were in this train when the "Comment on Pope" appeared. That Comment, and the connexion I chanced then to have with Sir Edward Littleton, made me a poor Critic: and in that condition you found me. I became, on the sudden, your acquaintance; and am now happy in being your friend.—You have here a slight sketch of my history; at least, of the only part of it which will ever deserve notice."

* The two following letters to Dr. Oliver of Bath (to whom, whilst on a visit to Mr. Allen, Mr. Warburton had been materially indebted for medical advice) are transcribed from the Originals (presented to the late Mr. Isaac Reed by Sir John Elliot, and now in the possession of James Bindley, esq.)

"Good Sir, *Newark, July* 24, 1742.

"I waited for some occasion, and was resolved to take the first that offered, however trifling, to make my best acknowledgments for all your favours when I was at Mr. Allen's, as you may see by the trouble of this, which is only to tell you that I have taken the liberty of ordering a little book to be sent to you, which I beg your kind acceptance of: it is my "Comment on the Essay on Man." The dish, I know, is to your taste,

‡ The *second volume* consisted of *Two Parts*.

what-

In the same year he communicated to Mr. Richardson his own and Mr. Pope's opinion of *Pamela**;

whatever the cookery may be, which, for the sake of the other, I know you will excuse. I am sure you have been well entertained with our excellent friend's last noble work, *the new Dunciad.* It may be considered, after his having so long attempted to stem the torrent of Vice and Folly, as a solemn protest left upon record against the overbearing barbarity and corruption of the age. In a letter I lately received from him, he tells me how much indebted I am to your good-nature and generosity in the account you give him of Mr. Tillard's book. I was well assured it was as impossible for you to approve such a book, as it would be for me to treat any one I knew to be your friend, how deserving soever of the treatment, in that manner which has so provoked his resentment; being, with all imaginable respect, Sir, Your obliged and very obedient humble servant, W. WARBURTON."

"DEAR SIR, [*no date.*]

"I heartily thank you for the favour of yours. Mr. Allen has had so little of his disorder complained of to you since Mrs. Allen was with you, that he has taken no more of Grist's stuff, which you approved of, since. On the whole, I think him as well as he has been for some time.—I say, *we must first know the essences of things before we can judge truly of their qualities.* You ask, Can we by any means come to the knowledge of the essences of things? I reply, if you mean *natural* things, no. And therefore it is, that we do not *truly*, that is perfectly, know their qualities. The consequence of which is, that there are no such things as *general* truths in physics. But I am here speaking of *moral* things; and the *essences* of these we may know: for moral truths are contained in *abstract ideas;* and these are the creatures of the human understanding, and so may be known: and this knowledge letting us into the nature of their qualities, we deduce general truths therefrom, in this science.

"I have sent with this some more of my *Ed.* which is all I have here; and am, Dear Sir, most affectionately, yours, W. W."

* "GOOD SIR, *Dec.* 28, 1742.

"This very day, on receiving my things from London, I had the pleasure to find in the box an obliging letter from you, of the 17th past, with a very kind and valuable present of a fine edition of your excellent work, which no one can set a higher rate upon. I find they have both lain all this time at Mr. Bowyer's. I have so true an esteem for you, that you may depend on any thing in my power, that you think may be of any service to you. Mr. Pope and I, talking over your work when the two last volumes came out, agreed, that one excellent subject of Pamela's Letters in high life would have been, to have passed her judgment, on first stepping into it, on every thing she saw there, just as simple nature (and no one ever touched nature to the quick, as it were, more certainly and surely than you) dictated.

The

and printed a "Dissertation on the Origin of the Books of Chivalry *" at the end of Jarvis's Preface to a Translation of Don Quixote; on which Mr. Pope, Dec. 28, 1742, observes, "I never read a thing with more pleasure than an additional sheet to Jervas's Preface to Don Quixote. Before I got over two paragraphs, I cried out, *Aut Erasmus, aut Diabolus!* I knew you as certainly as the Antients did the Gods, by the first pace and the very gait. I have not a moment to express myself in, but could not omit this which delighted me so greatly.—My Law-suit with Lintot is at an end.—Adieu! Believe no man can be more yours. Call me by any title you will, but a *Doctor of Oxford; Sit tibi cura mei, sit tibi cura tui.*"

Mr. Pope's attention to the interest of his friend did not rest in matters which were in his own power; he recommended him to some who were more able to assist him: in particular, he obtained a promise

The effect would have been this, that it would have produced, by good management, a most excellent and useful satire on all the follies and extravagancies of high life; which, to one of Pamela's low station and good sense, would have appeared as absurd and unaccountable as European polite vices and customs to an Indian. You easily conceive the effect this must have added to the entertainment of the book; and for the use, that is incontestable. And what could be more natural than this in Pamela, going into a new world, where every thing sensibly strikes a stranger? But, when I have the pleasure of seeing you in town, we will talk over this matter at large; and, I fancy, you will make something extremely good of our hints. I have a great deal to say upon this subject, that, when we are together, you will not only understand more perfectly, but I shall be able to conceive more clearly by the use of your true judgment. At least I shall be always zealous of shewing how much I am,

Good Sir, Your very obliged, and most affectionate humble servant, W. WARBURTON."

Mr. Richardson, writing to his friend Dr. Young on the subject of *Original Composition*, May 29, 1759, says, "One of Dr. Warburton's remarks was, that the character of an original writer is not confined to subject, but extends to manner; by this distinction, I presume, securing his friend Pope's originality. But he mentioned this with so much good humour that I should have been glad to have heard you both in conference upon the subject."

* "Taken to pieces, and completely demolished, by Mr. Tyrwhitt. See Mr. Malone's Supplement to Shakspeare." *T. F.*

from

from Lord Granville; which ended, however, in nothing effectual *.

Mr. Pope appears also to have been very solicitous to bring Lord Bolingbroke and Mr. Warburton † together; and the meeting accordingly took place; but, we are told by Dr. Warton, they soon parted in mutual disgust with each other.

A Letter which Mr. Warburton addressed to Dr. Doddridge, in the beginning of the year 1743, is so admirable a picture of the real goodness of his heart, that I cannot deny myself the pleasure of transcribing the greater part of it ‡.

* *Jan.* 18, 1742-3, Mr. Pope tells Mr. Warburton, "I have again heard from Lord * * and another hand, that the Lord I writ to you of, declares an intention to serve you. My answer (which they related to him) was, that he would be sure of your acquaintance for life, if once he served or obliged you; but that, I was certain, you would never trouble him with your expectation, though he would never get rid of your gratitude."

† In a letter to Mr. Allen, *Jan.* 20, 1742-3, Mr. Pope says, "Lord Bolingbroke stays a month yet, and I hope Mr. Warburton will come to town before he goes. They will both be pleased to meet each other: and nothing in all my life has been so great a pleasure to my nature, as to bring deserving and knowing men together. It is the greatest favour that can be done, either to great geniuses or useful men. I wish too he were a while in town, if it were only to lie a little in the way of some proud and powerful persons, to see if they have any of the best sort of pride left, namely, to serve learning and merit, and by that means distinguish themselves from their predecessors."—Again, *March* 6, "I write thus early, that you may let me know if your day continues, and I will make every room in my house as warm for you as the owner always would be. It may possibly be, that I shall be taking the secret flight I speak of to Battersea, before you come, with Mr. Warburton, whom I have promised to make known to the only great man in Europe, who knows as much as He. And from thence we may return the 16th, or any day, hither, and meet you, without fail, if you fix your day."

‡ "Dear Sir, *Feb.* 14, 1742-3.

"I should not have been so long in making my best acknowledgments for your last kind letter, had not your absence from home, and a late unhappy domestic affair, prevented me, and engrossed all my thoughts—the misfortunes of an excellent sister and her children, by her husband's ill success in trade, yet attended to with the utmost honesty and sobriety; so that, to his own ruin, he has been a considerable benefactor to the publick

while

About the same time, at Mr. Pope's request, Mr. Warburton corrected the "Essay on Homer," as it now stands in the last edition*; and published

while in trade, and his creditors at last no losers, but himself undone. I do not know whether this be an alleviation or aggravation of the misfortune. But I can tell you, with the utmost truth, that I share with this distressed sister and her children (who all live with me) the small revenue it has pleased God to bless me with, with much greater satisfaction than others spend theirs on their pleasures. I do not know how it is, but though I am far from being an hero, yet I find Brutus expresses my exact sentiments, when he says to Cicero, *Aliter alii cum suis vivunt. Nihil ego possum in Sororis meæ Liberis facere, quo possit expleri voluntas mea, aut officium.* But you will reprove me, I know for this false modesty in apologizing for this comparison; and say, Where is the wonder, that a man who pretends to be a Christian should not come behind a Pagan, how great soever, in the performance of moral duties? However this may be, I can assure you, my only concern on this occasion was for an incomparable Mother, whom I feared the misfortunes of a favourite Daughter would have too much affected‡. But, I thank God, Religion, that Religion which you make such amiable drawings of in all your writings, was more than a support to her. But I ask pardon for talking so long of myself. This is a subject I never choose to talk of, yet I could not forbear mentioning it to a man I so much esteem, and whose heart I know to be so right.—I got home a little before Christmas, after a charming philosophical retirement in a palace with Mr. Pope and Mr. Allen for two or three months. The gentleman I mentioned last is, I verily believe, the greatest private character that ever appeared in any age of the world. You see his munificence to the Bath Hospital. This is but a small part of his charities, and charity but a small part of his virtues. I have studied his character even maliciously, to find where his weakness lies; but have studied it in vain. When I know it, the world shall know it too, for the consolation of the envious, especially as I suspect it will prove to be only a partiality he has entertained for me. In a word, I firmly believe him to have been sent by Providence into the world, to teach men what blessings they might expect from Heaven, would they study to deserve them."

* "It is very unreasonable after this, to give you a second trouble in revising the *Essay on Homer*. But I look upon you as one sworn to suffer no errors in me: and though the common way with a Commentator be to erect them into beauties, the best office of a Critic is to correct and amend them. There being a new edition coming out of *Homer*, I would willingly render it a little less defective, and the bookseller will not allow me time to do so myself." *Mr. Pope to Mr. Warburton, June* 5, 1743.

‡ See pp. 534, 546.—His mother died in 1748.

the

the first *complete edition** of "The Dunciad," in which *Theobald* gave way to *Cibber;* and also complete editions of "The Essay on Man," and "The Essay on Criticism;" with his own Commentary and Notes†, which was the last service he rendered Mr. Pope in his life-time; who, from the specimens which he had now had of his friend's abilities, it may be presumed, determined to commit to his care the future publication and property of his works.

After a lingering and tedious illness, the event of which had been long foreseen, this great Poet

* *Nov. 27*, 1742, Mr. Pope says, "A project has arisen in my head, to make you, in some measure, the Editor of this *new edition* of the Dunciad, if you have no scruple of owning some of the graver notes, which are now added to those of Dr. Arbuthnot. I mean it as a kind of prelude, or advertisement to the publick, of your Commentaries on the *Essay on Man*, and on *Criticism*, which I propose to print next in another volume proportioned to this. I only doubt whether an avowal of these notes to so ludicrous a poem be suitable to a character so established as yours for more serious studies."—"The Dunciad I have ordered to be advertised in quarto. Pray order as many of them as you will; and know that whatever is mine is yours." *Oct. 7*, 1743.—This Edition was followed by the vengeance of Cibber, which Mr. Pope, *Jan.* 12, 1743-4, thus anticipates: "I am told the Laureat is going to publish a very abusive pamphlet. That is all I can desire; it is enough if it be abusive and if it be his. He threatens *you;* but, I think, you will not fear or love him so much as to answer him, though you have answered one or two as dull. He will be more to me than a dose of hartshorn; and as a stink revives one who has been oppressed with perfumes, his railing will cure me of a course of flatteries."—The threatened pamphlet was called, "Another Occasional Letter from Mr. Cibber to Mr. Pope (dated Dec. 26, 1743); wherein the New Hero's Preferment to his Throne, in the Dunciad, seems not to be accepted; and the Author of that Poem his more rightful Claim to it is asserted; with an Expostulatory Address to the Rev. Mr. W. Warburton, Author of the new Preface, and Adviser in the curious Improvements of that Satire (dated Jan. 9, 1743-4). By Mr. Colley Cibber."

† "I don't wonder that the goodness of your heart, and your love of letters, should make you speak with so much tenderness of poor Mr. Pope's death; for it was a great loss both to the literary and moral world. In answer to your obliging question, what Works of Mr. Pope have been published with my Commentaries and Notes? I am to inform you, they are, the *Dunciad*, in quarto; and the *Essay on Man* and on *Criticism*, in the same size." *Letter to Mrs. Cockburn, from Newark, Jan. 26*, 1744-5.

died

died on the 30th of May, 1744*; and, by his will, dated the 12th of the preceding December, bequeathed to Mr. Warburton one half of his library, and the property of all such of his Works already printed as he had not otherwise disposed of or alienated, and all the profits which should arise from any edition to be printed after his death; but at the same time directed that they should be published without any future alterations.

The first thing which he published after Mr. Pope's death was a small but very neat edition of "The Dunciad †."

* On the publication of Dr. Brown's "Essay on Satire," Mr. Warburton addressed the following Letter to Mr. Robert Dodsley:

"I saw by accident on the road a Poem called "An Essay on Satire, occasioned by the Death of Mr. Pope;" and was surprized to see so excellent a piece of poetry, and, what was still more uncommon, so much good reasoning. I find it has been published some time. If it be not a secret, I should be glad to know the Author. If I have leisure, I shall give some account of it for the literary news of your *Museum*. It will be a better ornament to it than the dull book of Travels in the Second Number. I am,

Your very humble servant, W. WARBURTON."

† This *new* Edition contained the curious note on Dr. Burton of Eton, mentioned in a letter to Mr. Hurd, *Feb.* 24, 1749-50; but omitted, at the request of Bishop Hayter, in all the subsequent editions.—"Upton's offence," he says, "was well known; but it is not always so. For one does not care to trouble the publick with particularities, nor perpetuate the memory of impertinent and forgotten abuse; hence you gain the character, amongst those who neither know you, nor your provocations, of being unjustly censorious and satirical. I will give you an instance of what I said first, in the case of *Burton*, whom you will find in the Dunciad. This man, two or three years ago, came with his wife and family to Bath. They brought with them a letter of recommendation to Mr. Allen's notice, who received them here several times with distinguished civilities. And the first thing the puppy did afterwards was, to abuse the man, who received him so hospitably, with a saucy stupid joke. *Hayter* (you know whom I mean, I owe him the ceremony of no other title) got a friend to excuse him to me, as meaning no ill, but the mere effect of dullness, which mistook it for a compliment. I thought this did not excuse him being laughed at. And I did no more. His intercessor had been a witness of the civilities he had received."

In

In 1744 his assistance to Dr. Zachary Grey was handsomely acknowledged in that learned Editor's

In this new edition of the Dunciad the four following lines (not in the quarto edition of 1743) were first inserted:

"But (happy for him as the times went then)
Appear'd Apollo's Mayor and Aldermen,
On whom three hundred gold-capt youths await,
To lug the pond'rous volume off in state."

These lines were added on occasion of Sir Thomas Hanmer's splendid edition of Shakspeare, printed at Oxford in six large and handsome quarto volumes, 1744; which occasioned a violent quarrel betwixt Sir Thomas and Dr. Warburton, as the Reader may judge by perusing the curious letters here annexed.

"To the Rev. Dr. SMITH, President of All Souls College.

Milden-hall near Newmarket,

"DEAR SIR, *Suffolk, Oct.* 28, 1742.

"I have much doubted with myself whether it were proper for me to return an answer to the favour of your Letter, till after hearing again from you or Dr. Shippen. There seem to arise some difficulties with respect to the design of printing a new edition of Shakspeare, and I beg it may be laid aside, if you are not fully satisfied that some advantage may arise from it to the University; for I have no end in view to myself to make me desire it. I am satisfied there is no edition coming, or likely to come, from Warburton; but it is a report raised to serve some little purpose or other, of which I see there are many on foot. I have reason to know that gentleman is very angry with me, for a cause of which I think I have no reason to be ashamed, or he to be proud. My acquaintance with him began upon an application from himself; and at his request the present Bishop of Salisbury introduced him to me for this purpose only, as was then declared, that as he had many observations upon Shakspeare then lying by him, over and above those printed in Theobald's book, he much desired to communicate them to me, that I might judge whether any of them were worthy to be added to those emendations which he understood I had long been making upon that author. I received his offer with all the civility I could: upon which a long correspondence began by letters, in which he explained his sense upon many passages, which sometimes I thought just, but mostly wild and out of the way. Afterwards he made a journey hither on purpose to see my books; he staid about a week with me, and had the inspection of them; and all this while I had no suspicion of any other design, in all the pains he took, but to perfect a correct text in Shakspeare, of which he seemed very fond. But not long after, the views of interest began to shew themselves, several hints were dropt of the advantage he might receive from publishing the work thus corrected; but, as I had no thoughts at all of making it public, so I was more averse to yield to it in such a manner as was likely to produce a paltry edition, by making it the means only

Preface to Hudibras. But a literary warfare commenced soon after between the two learned Cri-

only of making a greater sum of money by it. Upon this he flew into a great rage, and there is an end of the story; with which I have thought it best to make you acquainted, that, as you mention the working of his friends, you may judge the better of what you see and hear from them, and may make what use you please of the truth of facts, which I have now laid before you.—As to my own particular, I have no aim to pursue in this affair: I propose neither honour, reward, or thanks, and should be very well pleased to have the books continue upon their shelf, in my own private closet. If it is thought they may be of use or pleasure to the publick, I am willing to part with them out of my hands, and to add, for the honour of Shakspeare, some decorations and embellishments at my own expence. It will be an unexpected pleasure to me, if they can be made in any degree profitable to the University, to which I shall always retain a gratitude, a regard, and reverence; but, that I may end as I began, I beg the favour of you, if, upon more mature consideration among yourselves, you see reason to discourage you from proceeding in this affair, that you will give it over, and not look upon yourselves to be the more obliged to prosecute it from any steps already taken with, Sir,

"Your most humble and obedient servant, THO. HANMER."

[The following letter, on the same subject, now first printed from the original, is addressed to Dr. Zachary Grey.

"SIR, *Grosvenor-street, London, Dec.* 30, 1742.

"Having written a letter to you before I left Milden-hall, I wish to know if that came safe to your hand, and whether it satisfied you upon the passage in King Lear where you suspected Edmund the Bastard of speaking nonsense. I must now acquaint you that the books are gone out of my hands, and lodged with the University of Oxford, which hath been willing to accept of them as a present from me. They intend to print them forthwith, in a fair impression adorned with sculptures; but it will be so ordered that it will be the cheapest book that ever was exposed to sale. I shall desire you to accept one from me when it comes out; but if you have any friends or neighbours who are desirous to secure a copy to themselves, perhaps it would not be amiss you should let me know who they are; for none are to go into the hands of booksellers, and I believe it is not intended to print a great many of them. I wish you a happy new year; and am, Sir, Your very humble servant, THO. HANMER."]

Dr. Warburton's indignant strictures (which were written in 1761, after he was Bishop of Gloucester, and were designed to be printed in the Biographia Britannica, if the sheet had not been cancelled) were as follows: "Sir Thomas Hanmer's letter from Milden-hall to Oxford, Oct. 28, 1742, is one continued falsehood from beginning to end. It is false that my acquaintance with him began upon an application from me to him. It began on an application of the present Bishop of London to me,

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ticks; of which a full account has been already given in a former volume *.

in behalf of Sir T. Hanmer; and, as I understood, at Sir T. Hanmer's desire. The thing speaks itself. It was publicly known that I had written Notes on Shakspeare, because part of them were printed. Few people knew that Sir T. Hanmer had: I certainly did not know; nor, indeed, whether he was living or dead. —The falsehood is still viler (because it sculks only under an insinuation) that I made a journey to him to Milden-hall, without invitation; whereas it was at his earnest and repeated request, as appears by his Letters, which I have still by me. It is false that the views of interest began to shew themselves in me to this *disinterested gentleman*. My resentment at Sir Thomas H.'s behaviour began on the following occasion: A bookseller in London, of the best reputation, had wrote me word, that Sir Thomas Hanmer had been with him, to propose his printing an edition of Shakspeare on the following conditions; of its being pompously printed with cuts (as it afterwards was at Oxford) at the expence of the said bookseller; who, besides, should pay one hundred guineas, or some such sum, to a friend of his (Sir T. Hanmer's), who had transcribed the *glossary* for him. But the bookseller, understanding that he made use of many of my notes, and that I knew nothing of the project, thought fit to send me this account. On which I wrote to Sir Th. Hanmer, upbraiding him with his behaviour, and demanding out of his hands all the Letters I had written to him on the subject; which he unwillingly complied with, after cavilling about the right of property in those Letters, for which he had (he said) paid the postage.— When the bookseller would not deal with him on these terms, he applied to the University of Oxford, and was at the expence of his purse, in procuring cuts for his edition; and at the expence of his reputation, in employing a number of my emendations on the text, without my knowledge or consent; and this behaviour was what occasioned Mr. Pope's perpetuating the memory of the Oxford edition of Shakspeare in the *Dunciad*.—This is a true and exact account of the whole affair, which I never thought worth while afterwards to complain of, but to the Bishop of London, at whose desire I lent Sir Thomas Hanmer my assistance; nor should ever have revived it, but for the publication of this scandalous Letter, *sent from Oxford to this Philip Nichols*, to be inserted in the Biographia Britannica. W. GLOUCESTER."

The whole history of this curious transaction is contained in a folio pamphlet, intituled, "The Castrated Letter of Sir Thomas Hanmer, in the sixth Volume of Biographia Britannica; wherein is discovered the first Rise of the present Bishop of Gloucester's Quarrel with that Baronet, about his Edition of Shakspeare's Plays. To which is prefixed an impartial Account of the extraordinary means used to suppress this remarkable Letter. By a Proprietor of that Work. [Philip Nichols.] The second Edition, corrected and augmented. London, 1763."

*. See vol. II. p. 169.

"The

"The Divine Legation of Moses" had now been published some time; and various answers and objections to it having started up from different quarters, Mr. Warburton, in 1744, turned his attention to these attacks on his favourite work; and defended himself in a manner which, if it did not prove him to be possessed of much humility or diffidence, at least demonstrated that he knew how to wield the weapons of controversy with the hand of a master *.

His first defence appeared, under the title of "Remarks on several Occasional Reflections †;

* The following lines were addressed to him in 1744:

"Bold Genius! born in these dull Gothic days,
Thy worth is such, it far transcends our praise.
In thee each science, and each art conspire,
And all the tuneful Nine thy breast inspire.
In vulgar paths, you scorn to gain a name;
And nobly dare to deviate into fame;
Trusting our guides, in vain for truth we sought,
And blindly follow'd what our fathers taught;
Till you arose with kind, auspicious light;
And purg'd those errors, which obscur'd our sight.
While you Antiquity's great depths explore,
Raptur'd we seem to live past ages o'er.
Columbus like, in Learning's world you shine,
And shew at once the Classick and Divine.
What Servius ne'er could reach with all his pains,
Thy page the mighty *Maro's* works explains.
Thy comment on the text new grace bestows,
And much the Poet to the Critick owes.
By thee, great Job his native habit wears,
Nor more his blund'ring commentators fears:
Justly the piece our fixt attention draws,
And the great drama merits our applause.
Proceed, our nation's glory, still to write,
In spite of dulness, and in Envy's spite:
Tho' hostile pens are drawn, yet boldly dare,
Singly to stand against the paper war.
Posterity thy works with praise will crown,
And each age use thee better than thy own."

† See vol. II. p. 165. The Preface to these "Remarks" produced "An Epistle to the Rev. Mr. Warburton, occasioned by his Treatment of the Author of *The Pleasures of Imagination*, 1744;" an anonymous pamphlet, the production of Jeremiah Dyson, esq. Clerk of the House of Commons, and the confidential friend of Dr. Akenside; who says, "Notwithstanding the pains you have taken to discourage men from entering into any controversy with you; and dis-

in answer to the Rev. Dr. Middleton, Dr. Pococke*, the Master of the Charter-House†, Dr. Richard Grey, and others; serving to explain and justify divers Passages in the Divine Legation objected to by those learned Writers. To which is added, A general Review of the Argument of the Divine Legation, as far as it is yet advanced: wherein is considered the Relation the several Parts bear to each other, and the whole. Together with an Appendix, in Answer to a late Pamphlet, intituled, *An Examination of Mr. Warburton's Second Proposition*," 8vo.

notwithstanding the severe example you have just been making of one, who, as you fancied, had presumed *to call you to account*; you must still be content to be accountable for your writings, and must once more bear the mortification of being actually called to account for them. It is the Preface to your late Remarks, that you are now called upon to justify: in which you have thought fit to treat upon a mighty *free footing* (as you style it, but in the apprehension of most people, upon a very injurious one) the ingenious and worthy Author of the Poem intituled 'The Pleasures of Imagination.' The favourable reception and applause that performance has met with, render it unnecessary, and indeed impertinent, for me to enlarge in its praise; especially as you, Sir, have not condescended to enter into a particular censure of the Poem. However, by some general hints scattered up and down, as well as by the affectation of perpetually stiling the Author *our Poet*, you may have let us see how you stand affected towards it. Whether it be indeed that dull, trivial, useless thing you seem to represent it, I shall not dispute with you; but am content to leave, as to this point, Mr. Warburton's judgment staked against the general reputation of the Poem. The point I am immediately concerned with, is your unbecoming treatment of the Author; which, as it is so interwoven through the whole course of your Preface as to be sufficiently evident without the allegation of repeated passages, so we shall find there are not wanting repeated instances of direct and notorious ill-usage; such usage as, though the provocation had been ever so just, and the imagined attack upon you ever so real, would yet have been unwarrantable; and which, therefore, cannot admit of the least shadow of an excuse, when it shall appear, that you had really no provocation at all."

* The learned Bishop of Meath, of whom see vol. II. p. 157; and whose account of Hieroglyphics, and the relation they had to language, given in his Observations on Egypt, differed from what is advanced on that subject in "The Divine Legation."

† Nicholas Mann, esq.; of whom see some memoirs, vol. II. p. 165.

Part

This was followed, next year, by "Remarks on several Occasional Reflections; in Answer to the Rev. Doctors Stebbing and Sykes *; serving to explain and justify the two Dissertations in The Divine Legation, concerning the Command to Abraham to offer up his Son, and the Nature of the Jewish Theocracy, objected to by those learned Writers. Part II. and last;" 8vo. Both these answers are couched in those high terms of confident superiority which marked almost every performance that fell from his pen during the remainder of his life.

Sept. 5, 1745, Mr. Warburton more closely cemented his friendship with Mr. Allen, by a marriage † with his favourite niece Miss Gertrude Tucker; and Prior Park ‡, the splendid seat of

* See vol. II. p. 176.

† See what he says on this subject in vol. II. p. 190.

‡ "This magnificent building stands on a terrace about one hundred feet below the summit of Combe-down, and four hundred feet above the city of Bath, from which it is a mile and a half distant to the South-east. It consists of, a house in the centre, two pavilions, and two wings of offices, all united by arcades, and making one continued line of building, between twelve and thirteen hundred feet in front, of which the house occupies one hundred and fifty. It is built in the Corinthian style, upon a rustic basement, and crowned with a ballustrade. The centre part, projecting from the plane, forms one of the most correct and noble porticoes in the kingdom, supported by six large, lofty, and superb columns. The apartments are very spacious, elegant, and warm, free from damp, and healthy. At the bottom of the lawn before the house is a piece of water, and over it a Palladian bridge, built with stone conveyed hither from the large quarries on Combe-down (which likewise furnished stone for the whole house), by curious carts or sledges, invented by Mr. Padmore, a very ingenious artist and mechanick. The house is acknowledged to command perhaps the finest view in the kingdom; and, from its lofty situation, the magnificence of its portico, and its general appearance, affords a splendid object to the city of Bath and its environs. It was begun about fifty years ago, and finished about the year 1743, by that public character Ralph Allen, esq. of whom it will be no ostentatious encomium to observe, that he was one of the best and most benevolent of men. His memory will ever be revered by the city and neighbourhood of Bath, to both which he dispensed a variety of acts of liberality; and his name is eternized in the memorials of that noble charitable foundation the Hospital, to which he was a most munificent benefactor. The following inscrip-

Mr. Allen, became from that time his principal residence, and ultimately his own property.

At this juncture the Kingdom was under a great alarm, occasioned by the Rebellion breaking out in Scotland. Those who wished well to the then established Government found it necessary to exert every effort which could be used against the invading enemy. The Clergy were not wanting on their part; and no one did more service than Mr. Warburton, who printed three very excellent and seasonable Sermons at this important crisis.

1. "A faithful Portrait of Popery *, by which it is seen to be the Reverse of Christianity, as it is the Destruction of Morality, Piety, and Civil Liberty. A Sermon preached at St. James's Church, Westminster, October 1745," 8vo.

2. "A Sermon occasioned by the present unnatural Rebellion, &c. preached in Mr. Allen's chapel, at Prior Park, near Bath, November 1745, and published at his Request," 8vo.

3. "The Nature of National Offences truly stated. A Sermon preached on the General Fast-Day, December 18, 1745," 8vo.

On account of the last of these Sermons, he was again involved in a controversy with his former antagonist, Dr. Stebbing †; which occasioned "An Apologetical Dedication to the Rev. Dr. Henry Stebbing, in Answer to his Censure and Misrepresentations of the Sermon preached on the General Fast-day to be observed Dec. 18, 1745."

Notwithstanding his great connexions, his acknowledged abilities, and his established reputation,

inscription on the tablet of a tower near the Park is emphatically expressive of his character:

"Memoriæ optimi viri, Radulphi Allen, positum.
Qui virtutem veram simplicemque colis, venerare hoc saxum."
Collinson's History of Somersetshire, vol. I. p. 168.

* "The Romish Saints, a Poem," from the learned Mr. Warburton's *Faithful Portrait*, was printed in Gent. Mag. 1746, p. 101.

† See in Gent. Mag. 1746, p. 433, some verses addressed to the Rev. Mr. Edwards, on his officious interference in the "State of the Case between Stebbing and Warburton."—Q. Was this Joseph Edwards (vol. II. p. 198); or *Timothy* (ibid. p. 237)?

a re-

a reputation founded on the durable basis of Learning, and upheld by the decent and attentive performance of every duty incident to his station; yet we do not find that he received any addition to the rectory of Brand Broughton, given him in 1728 by Sir Robert Sutton (except the chaplainship to the Prince of Wales), till April 1746, when, by the particular recommendation of Mr. Murray, then Solicitor-general, he was unanimously called by the Society of Lincoln's-Inn to be their Preacher.

His next publication was, "A Sermon preached on the Thanksgiving appointed to be observed the 9th of October, for the Suppression of the late unnatural Rebellion, 1746," 8vo.

In 1747 his famous edition of Shakspeare was issued from the press*; a work for which Mr. Tonson

* This edition has met with a very singular fate; it has been extravagantly praised (see Bishop Newton's Preface to his edition of Milton), and as much censured (see the Canons of Criticism, Upton on Shakspeare, Heath's Revisal of Shakspeare's Text, Grey's Notes on Shakspeare, &c.). The true estimate of its merit, however, lies between his panegyrists and his foes; and few will refuse their assent to Dr. Johnson's opinion, that "his notes exhibit sometimes perverse interpretations, and sometimes improbable conjectures; he at one time gives the author more profundity of meaning than the sentence admits; and at another discovers absurdities where the sense is plain to every reader. But his emendations are likewise often happy and just; and his interpretation of obscure passages learned and sagacious."

When Johnson published his "Remarks on Macbeth," he bestowed some just commendations on the critical talents of Warburton; who returned the compliment in the Preface to his Edition of Shakspeare. But, when Johnson's edition of the great Dramatic Bard appeared, the Bishop's opinion was altered. "Of this Johnson," he says to Dr. Hurd, "you and I, I believe, think alike."—In a letter to another friend, speaking of Johnson's edition, Dr. Warburton says, "The remarks he makes in every page on my Commentaries are full of insolence and malignant reflections, which, had they not in them as much folly as malignity, I should have reason to be offended with. As it is, I think myself obliged to him, in thus setting before the publick so many of my notes, with his remarks upon them; for though I have no great opinion of that trifling part of the publick, which pretends to judge of this part of Literature, in which boys and girls decide, yet I think nobody can be mistaken in this comparison; though I think their thoughts have never yet ex-

paid him 500*l.*; but which, he says, "the publick at this time of day had never been troubled with, but for the conduct of the two last editors [Theobald and Hanmer, see p. 588], and the persuasion of dear Mr. Pope; whose memory and name

"——— *semper acerbum,*
Semper honoratum (sic Dî voluistis) habebo.

He was desirous I should give a new edition of this Poet, as he thought it might contribute to put a stop to a prevailing folly of altering the text of celebrated Authors, without talents or judgment *.

tended thus far as to reflect, that to discover the corruption in an author's text, and by a happy sagacity to restore it to sense, is no easy task: but when the discovery is made, then to cavil at the conjecture, to propose an equivalent, and defend nonsense, by producing out of the thick darkness it occasions, a weak and faint glimmering of sense (which has been the business of this Editor throughout) is the easiest, as well as dullest of all literary efforts."

* Mr. Benjamin Victor, in a letter to Mr. Garrick in March 1771, enumerates the then principal Commentators on Shakspeare; beginning with Mr. *Rowe*, "whose attempts as an editor were so trifling, as not to require the least notice."—Then followed Mr. *Pope*, when in the zenith of his reputation; to whom the late Mr. Tonson (the proprietor of Shakspeare's Works) gave five hundred pounds‡ for his name, as the Editor of a new edition, then much wanted. Any one, by looking over the impression, may see how little was done by that gentleman, besides a Preface. Soon after him appeared Mr. *Theobald* (called by Pope the *Word-catcher*), who triumphed so much about his conquest of Pope as an Editor, that he got himself crowned, in the first edition of the Dunciad, sovereign of the Dunces, by the name of *King Log*. He was, however, from his learning, and laborious application, better qualified for the office of an editor than any of his predecessors. The next was Sir Thomas Hanmer, baronet, who published a very pompous edition, with his name as the Editor, and without a *fee!* But it was the general opinion, that, if his corrections and emendations were to be carefully examined, the majority of readers would find more wrong than right.—The fifth and last adventurer, was the Rev. Mr. *Warburton*, to whom Theobald acknowledged so many obligations for his useful discoveries; but the reverend Critic, not content with such paltry praise, gave us an Edition, which was to be an improvement upon all: but that gentleman's vanity led him to take such liberties with his author, that he provoked *Upton's* Critical Remarks; *Edwards's* Canons of Criticism; and I remember but

‡ This sum is erroneous. See p. 597.

one

And he was willing that *his* edition should be melted down into *mine*, as it would, he said, afford him (so great is the modesty of an ingenuous temper) a fit opportunity of confessing his mistakes." "This edition," says his Biographer, "awakened a spirit of criticism, which haunted him in every shape of dull ridicule and solemn confutation *,"

one passage in any of the capital plays, where the emendation seems to be bold and useful, and that is in the fine soliloquy that opens the fifth act of Othello.—The five editions of Shakspeare (as they are all in the possession of some curious men of fortune) make, of themselves, a tolerable library; and yet we have been long promised another, from an abler hand [Dr. Johnson]: but it is expected (from the known abilities of that author) his corrections and emendations will be so various and so useful, that this *sixth* edition will be the last, not only for this, but the ensuing century."

"At the sale of the effects of Mr. Jacob Tonson, bookseller, in 1767, one hundred and forty copies of Mr. Pope's edition of Shakspeare, in six volumes 4to (for which the original subscribers paid six guineas) were disposed of at sixteen shillings (only) per sett. Seven hundred and fifty of that edition had then been printed.—On the contrary, Sir Thomas Hanmer's Edition, printed in 1744, which was first sold for three guineas, had arisen to ten before it was re-printed!

"The prices, which the London Booksellers have paid to the different Editors of Shakspeare, are not generally known, but prove that the Poet has *enriched those* who have *impoverished him*.

	£.	s.	d.
Mr. Rowe was paid	36	10	0
Mr. Hughes	28	7	0
Mr. Pope	217	12	0
Mr. Fenton	30	14	0
Mr. Gay	35	17	6
Mr. Whalley	12	0	0
Mr. Theobald	652	10	0
Mr. Warburton	500	0	0
Mr. Capel	300	0	0
Dr. Johnson, for first edition	375	0	0
for second edition	100	0	0
Total,	2,288	10	6

Besides very considerable sums to Critics without criticism, and Commentators without a name." *Gent. Mag. vol. LVII. p. 76.*

* Amongst other attacks on this edition was, 1. "A Supplement to Mr. Warburton's Edition of Shakspeare," of which two editions were rapidly called for in 1747; and a third, in 1748, under the new title of "Canons of Criticism (see vol. II. pp. 198. 203).—The origin of that publication is thus given by a Correspondent

In the same year Mr. Warburton published,

1. "A Letter from an Author to a Member of Parliament, concerning Literary Property;" assert-

spondent of Mr. Urban, who states that he received it from the Author himself: "Mr. Edwards (who was educated at Eton, and became a fellow of King's college Cambridge), was an excellent Greek scholar; but, being rather straitened in his circumstances, declined the study of law, physick, or divinity, and went into the army, which was not inconsistent with the retaining of his fellowship, as hath been properly pointed out in the cases of Sir William Draper and Mr. Hare, in Gent. Mag. 1779, p. 641.—Having been some time in the army, it so happened that being at Bath, after Mr. Warburton's marriage to Mr. Allen's niece, he was introduced at Prior Park *en famille*. The conversation not unfrequently turning on literary subjects, Mr. Warburton generally took the opportunity of shewing his superiority in Greek, not having the least idea that an officer in the army understood any thing of that language, or that Mr. Edwards had been bred at Eton; till one day, being accidentally in the library, Mr. Edwards took down a Greek author, and explained a passage in it in a manner that Mr. Warburton did not approve. This occasioned no small contest; and Mr. Edwards (who had now discovered to Mr. Warburton how he came by his knowledge) endeavoured to convince him that he did not understand the original language, but that his knowledge arose from French translations. Mr. Warburton was highly irritated; an incurable breach took place; and this trifling altercation (after Mr. Edwards had quitted the army, and was entered of Lincoln's Inn) produced "The Canons of Criticism." It may not be foreign to the purpose to observe, that Mr. Warburton was for some little time a wine-merchant in the Borough (as I have been informed by an old friend, Capt. Allen, who had been a customer); and rose into notice, whilst at the Temple, by frequenting a disputing club." *Gent. Mag. vol. LII. p.* 238.

2. "An Answer to certain Passages in Mr. Warburton's Preface to his Edition of Shakspeare; together with some Remarks on the many Errors and false Criticisms in the Work itself, 1748."

3. "A Word of Advice to William Warburton; a Dealer in many Words. By *a Friend* [A. E.], with an Appendix, containing a Taste of William's Spirit of Reviling."

4. "A free and familiar Letter to that great Preserver of Pope and Shakspeare, the Rev. Mr. William Warburton, Preacher of Lincoln's Inn; with Remarks upon the Epistle of *Friend A. E.* in which his unhandsome Treatment of that celebrated Writer is expressed in the Manner it deserves. By a Country Curate. 1750." This Tract was by Dr. Z. Grey; who had taken offence at a passage in Mr. Warburton's Preface to Shakspeare, p. 27," which he designed to sneer at *Dr. Zachary Grey*, and *Coadjutors*, for Notes upon *Hudibras*; little considering what share he had in those Notes. And I may venture to say, that whoever was the

Fool

ing the Right of Property of *Authors* to their own Works; 8vo.

2. "Preface to Mrs. Cockburn's Remarks upon the Principles and Reasonings of Dr. Rutherforth's Essay on the Nature and Obligations of Virtue," &c. 8vo.

3. "A Preface to Mr. Richardson's "Clarissa *."

4. The Preface † to "A Critical Enquiry into the Opinions and Practice of the Antient Philosophers, concerning the Nature of a Future State, and their Method of teaching by double Doctrine, [by Mr. Towne] 1747, 8vo," 2d edition ‡.

In 1748 he published a third edition of "The Alliance between Church and State: corrected and enlarged;" with a Dedication to Lord Chesterfield.

In 1749, a very extraordinary attack was made on the moral character of Mr. Pope, from a quarter whence it could be the least expected §. His "Guide, Philosopher, and Friend," Lord Bolingbroke, published a book which he had formerly lent Mr. Pope in MS. The Preface to this work, written by Mr. Mallett ||, contained an accusation of Mr. Pope's having clandestinely printed an edition of his Lordship's performance without his leave or knowledge.

Fool of the Company before he entered (or the *Fool of the Piece*, in his own diction) he was certainly so after he engaged in that Work; for, as Ben Jonson observes (Silent Woman, act. iii. scene 6), "he that thinks himself the *Master-Wit*, is commonly the *Master Fool*." *Dr. Grey's Pamphlet*, p. 6.

* See his opinion of Richardson's "Pamela," p. 582.

† Amongst the writers who entered the lists against "The Divine Legation," was the Rev. John Jackson; who published, in 1745, "The Belief of a future State proved to be a fundamental Article of the Religion of the Hebrews;" which Mr. Warburton answered in the Preface here noticed.

‡ This was followed by several other pamphlets, which are duly noticed under the Memoirs of Mr. Jackson, in the Essays at the end of vol. II. No. IV.

§ On this subject, see several remarks, in Gent. Mag. 1749, p. 195; 1751, p. 537.

|| "When Mallet undertook to write the Life of Marlborough, Warburton remarked, that he might perhaps forget that Marlborough was a General, as he had forgotten that Bacon was a Philosopher." Dr. JOHNSON.

A De-

A Defence of the Poet soon after made its appearance, which was universally ascribed to Mr. Warburton, and was afterwards owned by him. It was called, "A Letter to the Editor of the Letters on the Spirit of Patriotism, the Idea of a Patriot King, and the State of Parties, &c. occasioned by the Editor's Advertisement*," &c. which soon after produced an abusive pamphlet, under the title of "A Familiar Epistle to the most impudent Man living;" a performance, as hath been truly observed, couched in language bad enough to disgrace even gaols and garrets.

Feb. 12, 1749-50, he thus pleasantly describes a robbery from which he had suffered some loss †. "My house-maid has just wrote me news of a considerable damage done me at my house in town. Some rogues have stolen a ton of lead off my coach-house and stables. Pray let me put a case of conscience to you. Can I, in classical justice, charge this theft upon *the Dunces?* If they have done it, it is infinitely a greater damage than they ever did me before, or are likely to do again."

About this time the publication of Dr. Middleton's "Enquiry concerning the Miraculous Powers" gave rise to a controversy, which was managed with great warmth and asperity on both sides, and not much to the credit of either party. On this occasion Mr. Warburton published an excellent performance‡, written with a degree of candour and

* Re-printed in the Appendix to Ruffhead's Life of Pope.

† "In one of the unpublished letters to Dr. Birch deposited in the British Museum, Dr. Warburton says, "I wrote to Fielding, to ferret out my *Lead-merchants*, and he seems to have the same opinion of them with you. He says, that, in the rotation of roguery, my Lead may possibly come up: but he can give me no expectation; for the science of roguery bears down every thing before it, and is grown almost too big for the civil magistrate. W. W. *Feb.*..., 1749-50."

‡ *June* 10, 1749, he tells Dr. Doddridge, "The *Divine Legation* I am proceeding with in good earnest. I have been a little diverted upon an important subject; viz. in writing a Discourse to prove the miraculous Interposition of Providence in defeating Julian's attempt to rebuild the Temple at Jerusalem. It is in three

temper, which, it is to be lamented, he did not always exercise. The title of it was, "Julian, or, A Discourse concerning the Earthquake and Fiery Eruption which defeated that Emperor's Attempt to re-build the Temple at Jerusalem *," 8vo, 1750.

A second edition of this learned and excellent Discourse, "with Additions," appeared in 1751.

three parts. The first to establish the truth by human testimony, and the nature of the fact. 2. An Answer to Objections. 3. An Enquiry into the *nature* of that evidence which is sufficient to claim a rational assent to the miraculous fact. It is in the press, but will not be published till Winter."—In the same Letter, "I imagined I had communicated my grief to you for the greatest loss I ever had, in that of the best parent and woman that ever was. It yet hangs heavy upon me, and will do so while I live. God preserve you in the possession and enjoyment of all those blessings most dear to you!"—"My Discourse on Julian, that is, as much as I have done of it, is gone to the press, which, when I can get enough worth sending, you shall have. It is in three parts. In the first I endeavour to establish the fact: in the second I answer to objections, of various kinds: and in the third I discuss this question, 'What evidence is required, and what is its peculiar nature, that will justify a reasonable man in giving credit to a miraculous fact?' A question much easier asked, than answered." *Letter to Mr. Hurd, June* 13, 1749.—See before, vol. II. p. 218.

* "I am greatly flattered by your thoughts of *Julian;* because I know the sincerity of your professions.—Some persons of consideration would persuade me to take to task at the end of the second volume of Julian a chapter of *one Hume* on Miracles in a rank atheistical Book called *Philosophical Essays:* and as the subject of the second part may be a little ticklish, perhaps it may be prudent to conciliate warm tempers by such a conclusion." *Letter to Dr. Doddridge, June* 15, 1750.—This was nearly the last letter which he wrote to that worthy Divine. In the next, dated *Sept.* 2, 1751, he says, "Your kind letter gave me, and will give Mr. Allen, great concern; but for ourselves, not you. Death, whenever it happens, in a life spent like yours, is to be envied, not pitied; and you will have the prayers of your friends, as conquerors have the shouts of the crowd. God preserve you; if he continues you here, to go on in his service; if he takes you to himself, to be crowned with glory. Be assured the memory of our Friendship will be as durable as my life."—Dr. Doddridge died Oct. 26, 1751.

In a Letter to Dr. Balguy, *Jan.* 17, 1752-3, he says, "They tell me there are some remarks published against my Julian. I don't know the nature of them, nor ever shall. That matter interests every Clergyman, that is to say, every Christian in Eng-

In the same year Mr. Warburton published the first complete edition of Mr. Pope's Works*, with his own notes, in nine octavo volumes, handsomely printed by Mr. Bowyer †.

England, as much as myself;" and, *May* 12, 1752, "I think you judge rightly of the effect of Lord Bolingbroke's writings, as well as of their character."—Speaking of this work some years afterwards, in a letter to Dr. Hurd, Mr. Warburton says, "My Julian has had a great effect in France, where Free-thinking holds its head as high as in England. This is a consolation to me, as my sole aim is to repress that infernal spirit."—And again, "It has procured me the good-will of the best and greatest man in France [Duc de Noailles], while there is hardly a nobleman in England knows I have written such a book."

* See some occasional Remarks on this edition in Gent. Mag. vol. XV. p. 538; vol. XXI. p. 314.

Lord Orford, in his "Detached Thoughts," (Works, vol. IV. p. 371), says, "Warburton, in his ridiculous edition of Pope's Works, quotes a passage from Grotius with great contempt; who, being sent to England by the States, fatigued even that pedant King James with his pedantry and babbling dissertations on Arminianism and other foolish theological questions. He was warned that he would tire the scholastic Monarch; but to no purpose. Warburton laughs at the Bishop of Ely, *who wondered what a man he had there*, and seems astonished that they were not charmed with such profusion of misplaced literature. Oxenstiern was so unlucky as to think like the Bishop of Ely; but Mr. Warburton thought it very sensible in an Ambassador to shock a Prince and Minister with whom he was to treat, and of course with whom he ought to have ingratiated himself, by venting all he knew or imagined about *grace, free-will*, and *predestination*."—Lord Orford then proceeds to *suppose* "that Warburton was Archbishop of Canterbury, and commissioned to treat with the Ambassador of the States on entering into a league for the restitution of the Palatinate;" and on that supposition presents to his readers a curious letter, which Grotius might in such a case have written to his masters.

† Amongst other publications occasioned by this Edition were, "Cursory Remarks on Mr. Warburton's new Edition of Mr. Pope's Works, occasioned by the modern Commentator's injurious Treatment, in one of his Notes upon the *Essay on Criticism*, of the Author of the Life of Socrates. In a Letter to a Friend. By John Gilbert Cooper, Esq. Author of the Life of Socrates. 1751 (see vol. II. p. 294)." Mr. Cooper thus begins his Letter: "I should not have troubled you with the following Remarks on that indigested mass of learned and unlearned lumber, which Mr. Warburton has huddled together from the motley dregs of desultory reading, strained through the muddy head and bitter heart of an inveterate Controversialist, in his Notes and Commentaries on the Works of that great poetical ornament to our Nation,

Mr.

In the same year also appeared "An Answer to a Letter to Dr. Middleton, inserted in a Pamphlet intituled, The Argument of the Divine Legation fairly stated, &c." 8vo; and "An Account of the Prophecies of Arise Evans, the Welch Prophet, in the last [17th] Century*;" the latter of which afterwards subjected him to much ridicule.

In 1753, Mr. Warburton published the first volume of a Course of Sermons preached at Lincoln's-Inn, intituled, "The Principles of Natural and Revealed Religion occasionally opened and explained."

Mr. Pope, as Dullness will naturally gravitate to oblivion as its proper centre; had not his ungentlemanlike abuse of me, and not his reflections on a late performance of mine, strongly called upon me to vindicate my character from the charge of the iniquity of impudent abuse and slander.—I have undergone, young as I am, too many disappointments in life, to wonder much at many things which the mob of mankind call extraordinary; otherwise I might be surprized that almost a total retirement from the world would not shelter me from the injuries of it, especially too at an age when few have had any concerns with it. I thought I might have enjoyed an unenvied obscurity in the most undisturbed peace and tranquillity, and that Calumny was too busy about the names of those who were candidates for fame, to find time to visit the recess of one whose contempt of every advantage of life, but what conduced to quiet, should, it was hoped, protect him from the poisonous breath of that daughter of Envy. But I was greatly mistaken, it seems, in my humble expectations; for I had scarcely begun to feel the calm comforts which the absence of contention yields to a thinking creature, before I was informed, by letters from some friends in town, that Mr. Warburton had, with his usual humanity and good manners, very compendiously answered the *Life of Socrates*, in the tail of one note, by the free use of those appellations he has indiscriminately thrown out upon, not only all those who have ever had any controversy with him, but upon all others too, whom he ever suspected to have the rashness to contradict any of his opinions. Witness his unprovoked treatment of Dr. Akenside, the worthy author of one of the finest and most genuine poems that adorns ours or any other language, "The Pleasures of Imagination."

* This account is annexed to the first volume of Jortin's "Remarks on Ecclesiastical History."—In 1772, the Rev. Henry Taylor published "Confusion worse confounded; Rout on Rout; or the Bishop of Gloucester's Commentary upon Rise or Arise Evans' Echo from Heaven Examined and Exposed by *Indignatio*."

At

At this advanced period of Mr. Warburton's life that preferment which his abilities might have claimed, and which had hitherto been withheld, seemed to be approaching towards him.

Very early in April 1753 he was promoted * to a prebendal stall in the cathedral of Gloucester †; and had reason to expect that he should be farther

* "I should be sorry that a newspaper should tell you, before I can do it, of Lord Chancellor's favour to me; which receives its value from the very polite manner of doing it. Last Sunday he sent me a message, with the offer of a prebend of Gloucester, as a mark of his regard, and wishes that it had been better. I desired Mr. Charles Yorke to tell him, that no favours from such a hand could be unacceptable. He said, he always had it in his intention; though he said no more of his design, than I did of any expectation or desire.—I said, I should be sorry that a friend who interests himself so much as you do in what concerns me, should hear of the Chancellor's kindness to me first from a newspaper. But enough of this: which is only considerable to me from the very obliging manner of conferring the favour, though I believe it is the best prebend he has to give." *Letter to Mr. Hurd, April* 5, 1753.—Again, soon after: "In two or three days I shall set out either for Prior Park or Gloucester. Don't you laugh when I mention Gloucester? Birch introduced the directions he gave me about taking possession, &c. not amiss. He said, 'it was so long since I had any preferment, that I must have forgot all the formalities of the Law.' There was another thing he did not dream of—that it is so long since I had occasion to enquire about the formalities, that I am become very indifferent to the things themselves."

† A few days before this promotion he had paid a handsome compliment to the talents of Mr. Hogarth, by the present of a ten-pound note, as noticed in the following letter:

"DEAR SIR, *March* 28, 1753.

"I was pleased to find by the public papers that you have determined to give us your original and masterly thoughts on the great principles of your profession. You owe this to your Country, for you are both an honour to your profession, and a shame to that worthless crew professing *virtù* and connoisseurship, to whom all that grovel in the splendid poverty of wealth and taste are the miserable bubbles. I beg you would give me leave to contribute my mite towards this work, and permit the inclosed to entitle me to a subscription for two copies,

"I am, dear Sir (with a true sense of your superior talents),

Your very affectionate humble servant, W. WARBURTON."

pro-

promoted to the Deanry of Bristol, then shortly expected to be vacant *.

After the publick had been some time promised (it may, from the alarm which was taken, be almost said threatened with) the appearance of Lord Bolingbroke's Works, they were about this time printed. The known abilities and infidelity of this Nobleman had created apprehensions, in the minds of many people, of the pernicious effects of his doctrines; and nothing but the appearance of his whole force could have convinced his friends how little there was to be dreaded from arguments against Religion so weakly supported. The personal enmity which had been excited many years before between the Peer and our Author, had occasioned the former to direct much of his reasoning against two works † of the latter. Many answers were soon published, but none with more acuteness, solidity, and sprightliness, than "A View of Lord Bolingbroke's Philosophy ‡, in two Letters to a Friend,

* "The report you speak of is partly false, with a mixture of truth; and is a thing that touches me so little, that I never mentioned it to any of my friends, who did not chance to ask about it. I have no secrets that I would have such to you. I would have it so to others, merely because it is an impertinent thing, that concerns nobody; and its being in common report, which nobody gives credit to, covers the secret the better, instead of divulging it. The *simple* fact is only this: that not long since, the Duke of Newcastle sent word, by a noble personage, to Mr. Allen, that he had a purpose of asking the King for the Deanry of Bristol for me, if it should become vacant while he is in credit, as a thing which, he supposed, would not be unacceptable to us, on account of its neighbourhood to this place. And now, my dearest friend, you have the whole secret: and a very foolish one it is. *If it comes*, as Falstaff says of honour, *it comes unlooked for, and there's an end.* But he had a good chance, because he did *not deserve* what he was so indifferent about. What my chance is by this scale, I leave to be adjusted between my friends and enemies." *Letter to Mr. Hurd*, 1753.—"We passed by the Deanery-house, in our way to the Hot Wells. I know you smile. But if you and the Duke of Newcastle knew with what indifference, I should be much despised, at least by one of you." *July* 14, 1754.

† "The Divine Legation," and "The Alliance."

‡ See vol. II. p. 269.

1754;

1754;" the Third and Fourth Letters were published in 1755, with another edition of the two former; and in the same year a smaller edition of the whole; which, though it came into the world without a name, was universally ascribed to Mr. Warburton, and afterwards publicly owned by him. To some copies of this is prefixed an excellent complimentary epistle from the President Montesquieu, dated "Paris, May 26, 1754."

In September 1754 Mr. Warburton was appointed one of his Majesty's Chaplains in ordinary *; and in that year he published a second volume of "Sermons †† at Lincoln's Inn."

* "You see in the papers an article that relates to me. It may be so, or it may not, for I have no account of it. When I know the truth of it, you shall. They know I can hold nothing in any of the new-founded Churches along with the prebend of Gloucester (Bristol is one) without being King's chaplain. On this account I had a promise very lately; but whether the performance will follow so soon is a great question." *Sept.* 30, 1754.—"You expect perhaps I should tell you of the wonders I met with in this new Elysium. I found but two things to admire, as excellent in their kinds; the one is the Beef-eaters, whose broad-faces bespeak such repletion of body and inanition of mind as perfectly fright away those two enemies of man, *famine* and *thought*. The other curiosity is our Table-decker, of so placid a mien and so entire a taciturnity (both of them improved by the late elopement of his wife), that he is much fitter for the service of a Minister of State than of the Gospel. In short, I found him the only reasonable man *not* to converse with." *Oct.* 28, 1754.—"Last Friday I came to this place with a purpose to stay a week with them. The next day an express came to me from Bath, acquainting me with the death of the Dean of Bristol. You know, I had a kind of promise of it some time ago from the Duke of Newcastle. What alterations some late transactions, or rather what revolutions they have made in his Grace's promissory system, I can't tell. But I am very indifferent of obligations from that quarter; so I stay here with much tranquillity and unconcern, instead of posting to his levée. But this is not properly the subject of my letter, though I make it a part of it, as knowing the chance I have in the next turn of the Ecclesiastical Lottery; which, for a Deanery, will give you vastly more pleasure than it gives me."

†† See vol. II. p. 269. In 1755 appeared "Remarks on Dr. Warburton's Sermon, concerning the Nature and End of the Lord's Supper; wherein is shewn, in Opposition to that Writer, that the Lord's Supper neither is, nor can be, of the Nature of a Feast on the Sacrifice. In a Letter to ——. By a Country Clergyman."

In

In resigning his prebend at Gloucester, he was presented, in March 1755, to a stall at Durham*, on the death of Dr. Mangey†. This preferment was given him by Bp. Trevor, at the request of Mr. Murray, then Attorney General.

About the same time the degree of Doctor of Divinity was conferred on him by Dr. Herring, then archbishop of Canterbury; and, a new impression of "The Divine Legation" having been called for, he printed a fourth edition of the first part of it, corrected and enlarged, divided into two volumes, with a dedication to the Earl of Hardwicke.

In the same year appeared "A Sermon preached before his Grace Charles Duke of Marlborough, President, and the Governors of the Hospital for the Small-pox and for Inoculation, at the Parish Church of St. Andrew, Holborn, on Thursday,

* Soon after he had attained the last preferment, he wrote the "Remarks on Neal's History of the Puritans," since inserted in the Quarto Edition of his Works.

† "You will see in the papers an article that mentions me, which will give you pleasure, on which account I thought myself obliged to confirm it to you. The Bishop of Durham, concurring with the Attorney General in their good opinion of me, has given me the prebend which was lately Mangey's, near 500*l.* He had other friends, you may imagine, to oblige; so I have resigned the prebend of Gloucester, and I shall resign another piece of preferment in the country. But the free motion and friendly manner in which this thing was done, you will easily believe, enhances the value of it to me. My friends are solicitous in these matters for me; 'I myself, at this time of life, extremely little." *Letter to Mr. Hurd, March* 21, 1755.—Mr. Hurd in answer says, "It makes me truly happy that I can now, at length, honestly congratulate with you on a preferment, worth your acceptance. The Church has been so long and deeply in your debt, that it will seem but common justice if it now pays you with interest. Not that I look upon this prebend as such payment; which delights me principally, as it does you, from its being given at *this* time, and by *such* a person. I have no words to tell you how much I honour the Attorney General. The nobleness of mind, he has shewn on this occasion, is only to be matched by that which every body takes notice of in a late *Apologist*. If the world were made acquainted with particulars, it would, methinks, be taken for one of the most beautiful events in both your lives, that he should confer and you receive such a favour at this juncture."

April

April the 24th, 1755," 4to; and in 1756, "Natural and Civil Events the Instruments of God's Moral Government, a Sermon preached on the last Public Fast-day, at Lincoln's-Inn Chapel," 4to.

In 1757, a pamphlet was published, under the title of "Remarks on David Hume's Essay on the Natural History of Religion;" composed from marginal observations made by Dr. Warburton* on read-

* This tract is adopted in the Quarto Edition of Bishop Warburton's Works; and he shall give his own account of it: "There is an epidemic madness amongst us: to-day we burn with the feverish heat of Superstition; to-morrow we stand fixed and frozen in Atheism. Expect to hear that the churches are all crowded next Friday, and that on Saturday they buy up Hume's new Essays; the first of which (and please you) is *the natural History of Religion;* for which I will trim the rogue's jacket, at least sit upon his skirts, as you will see when you come hither, and find his margins scribbled over. In a word, the Essay is to establish an Atheistic naturalism, like Bolingbroke; and he goes upon one of Bolingbroke's capital arguments, that Idolatry and Polytheism were before the worship of the one God. It is full of absurdities: and here I come in with him; for they shew themselves knaves: but, as you well observe, to do their business, is to shew them fools. They say this man has several moral qualities. It may be so. But there are vices of the mind as well as body: and a wickeder heart, and more determined to do public mischief, I think I never knew. This Essay has so much provoked me, that I have a great deal to say to him occasionally on other accounts." *Letter to Mr. Hurd, Feb. 7,* 1757. —And, some time after: "As to Hume, I had laid it aside ever since you was here. I will now, however, finish my skeleton. It will be hardly that. If, then, you think any thing can be made of it, and will give yourself the trouble, we may perhaps between us do a little good, which I dare say we shall both think worth a little pains. If I have any force in the first rude beating out of the mass, you are best able to give it the elegance of form and splendor of polish. This will answer my purpose, to labour together in a joint work to do a little good. I will tell you fairly, it is no more the thing it should be, and will be, if you undertake it, than the Dantzick iron at the forge is the gilt and painted ware at Birmingham. It will make no more than a pamphlet; but you shall take your own time, and make it your summer's amusement, if you will. I propose it to bear something like this title, *Remarks on Mr. Hume's late Essay, called 'The Natural History of Religion,' by a Gentleman of Cambridge, in a Letter to the Rev. Dr. W.* I propose the address should be with the dryness and reserve of a stranger, who likes the method of the Letters on Bolingbroke's Philosophy, and follows

ing Mr. Hume's book; which gave so much offence to the author animadverted upon, that he thought it of importance enough to deserve particular mention in the short account of his own life.

On the 11th of October 1757, Dr. Warburton was promoted to the Deanry of Bristol *; and in 1758 he published a third Edition of the Second Part of "The Divine Legation, corrected and enlarged †," divided into Two Parts, with a dedication

follows it here against the same sort of writer, inculcating the same impiety, naturalism, and employing the same kind of arguments. The address will remove it from me: the author, A *Gentleman of Cambridge*, from you; and the secrecy in printing, from us both."

* The following note, literally transcribed from the MSS. of the Rev. John Jones of Welwyn, is given merely to shew how *absent* this great Genius was in matters of ceremony:

"Dr. Warburton being appointed Dean of Bristol, when he came to *read in* (as they call it), having fixed upon a Saint's-day for this purpose which happened to be a day (though I suppose unknown to him) on which the Rubric orders the Athanasian Creed to be read, omitted it. Some of the chief men in the congregation took offence, and insisted upon his reading it, and going through the whole ceremony, on the next Sunday following: which he did. [By the way, Q. whether he ever was, in this respect, a *precisely legal* Dean of Bristol? His *omission* makes this questionable; and so does his reading that Creed at a time when it was *not appointed* to be read. See the Effects of strictly Rubrical Impositions, &c.] *MS Note of Mr. Jones.*

† This edition produced, 1. "A Letter to the Dean of Bristol, by Henry Stebbing, D.D." (of which see Monthly Review, vol. XX. p. 93). 2. "Remarks on some Passages in a Dedication to the Jews;" (Ibid. vol. XXI. p. 221). 3. "A Letter to the Right Rev. Dr. Warburton, Bishop of Gloucester; (Ibid. vol. XXII. p. 350.) 4. "An Appendix to the Critical Dissertation on the Book of Job; giving a further Account of the Book of Ecclesiastes. To which is added a Reply to some Notes of the late Dean of Bristol in his new Edition of the Divine Legation, vol. II. Part II. By the Author of the Critical Disquisitions, &c." (Ibid. vol. XXIII. p. 174.) 5. "A Review of some Passages in the Divine Legation, &c. relative to the Sentiments of the early Jews concerning the Soul, &c." (Ibid. p. 256.)

In 1758, Dr. Warburton was thus complimented:

"On reading the Dissertation on the Sixth Book of Virgil:

"In Learning's maze how Criticks stray,
And blindly bold mistake their way;
Supplying want of taste and sense
With confidence and false pretence:
Still darker each dark passage make,
Then consecrate their own mistake,

to the Earl of Mansfield, which deserves to be read by every person who esteems the well-being of so-

Till, by their notes with learning fraught,
O'erlay'd expires their hapless thought.
Thus Medicine, Quacks presume to give,
And murder those they mean should live.
Such, Virgil, such, for many an age,
Have mangled thy celestial page:
Thy nobler meaning left unknown,
And, harder still! imposed their *own*.
Sure, in that § Hell which you design'd,
For miscreants vile of ev'ry kind,
Bad Criticks well deserve a place,
Nor mercy e'er should find, nor grace.
Translators too those realms should hold,
Who put off dross instead of gold.
Chief, those who thy bright Muse disgrace,
And hide with stains her beauteous face:
There creeping ‡ Lauderdale should lie,
Cold Trapp ‡, and murd'ring Ogilby ‡.
But see! again the heav'n-born Maid
With joy triumphant lifts her head!
For to confute, expose, chastise,
Behold! her great Avenger rise!
Behold! great Bard, thy fame to clear,
Behold! thy Warburton appear!
And worthy he in those § blest plains
To share the bliss which Virtue gains,
With those who toil'd to bless mankind,
And form to Wisdom's lore the mind.
Where Tully, Plato, range the glade,
With thine and Pitt's || attendant shade.
As the fam'd Chief ¶ could ne'er have seen
The regions sway'd by Pluto's Queen,
Without that wondrous branch §, whose rind
Radiant with gold immortal shin'd—
A bough of pow'r not less divine,
O much-learn'd Warburton! is thine;
Which thou from that fair tree ** didst pull,
Whose heav'nly fruit thou lov'st to cull.
Hence Hell's thick gloom thou couldst pervade,
Without the Sibyl's potent aid,
Each mystic scene there comprehend,
And trace their latent cause and end.
And hence, while, wanting this sure guide,
Others in darkness wander'd wide;

‡ Translators of Virgil. § See Divine Legation, Book VI.
|| A most excellent Translator of Virgil's Æneid. ¶ Æneas.
** Of knowledge, alluding above.

And

ciety as a concern of any importance. In this edition the Dedication to the Jews is also considerably

And truth from error could not see,
But all was doubt and mystery,
To thy enlighten'd mind alone
The Mysteries† themselves were none."

On the subject of this famous Dissertation Mr. Gibbon, in the Account of "his own Life and Writings," pp. 136—139, says, "My next publication was an accidental sally of love and resentment; of my reverence for modest genius, and my aversion for insolent pedantry. The sixth book of the Æneid is the most pleasing and perfect composition of Latin poetry. The descent of Æneas and the Sibyl to the Infernal Regions, to the world of spirits, expands an awful and boundless prospect from the nocturnal gloom of the Cimmeræan grot:

"Ibant obscuri solâ sub nocte per umbram,"

to the meridian brightness of the Elysian fields;

"Largior hic campos æther et lumine vestit
Purpureo"——

from the dreams of simple Nature, to the dreams, alas! of Egyptian theology, and the philosophy of the Greeks. But the final dismission of the hero through the ivory gate, whence

"—— Falsâ ad cœlum mittunt insomnia manes,"

seems to dissolve the whole enchantment, and leaves the reader in a state of cold and anxious scepticism. This most lame and impotent conclusion has been variously imputed to the taste or irreligion of Virgil; but, according to the more elaborate interpretation of Bishop Warburton, the descent to Hell is not a false but a mimic scene, which represents the initiation of Æneas, in the character of a lawgiver, to the Eleusinian mysteries. This hypothesis, a singular chapter in the Divine Legation of Moses, had been admitted by many as true; it was praised by all as ingenious; nor had it been exposed, in a space of thirty years, to a fair and critical discussion. The learning and the abilities of the author had raised him to a just eminence; but he reigned the dictator and tyrant of the world of Literature. The real merit of Warburton was degraded by the pride and presumption with which he pronounced his infallible decrees. In his polemic writings he lashed his antagonists without mercy or moderation; and his servile flatterers exalted the Master-critic far above Aristotle and Longinus, assaulted every modest dissenter who refused to consult the oracle, and to adore the idol. In a land of liberty, such despotism must provoke a general opposition, and the zeal of opposition is seldom candid or impartial. A late Professor of Oxford (Dr. Lowth) in a pointed and polished epistle (August 31, 1765), defended himself, and attacked the Bishop; and, whatsoever might be the merits of an insignificant controversy, his victory was clearly established by the silent confession of Warburton and his slaves. *I* too, without any pri-

† See the Dissertation.

enlarged; and the second part is introduced with a new preface, of 40 pages, wherein Dr. Taylor, chan-

vate offence, was ambitious of breaking a lance against the giant's shield; and, in the beginning of the year 1770, my Critical Observations on the Sixth Book of the Æneid were sent, without my name, to the press. In this short Essay, my first English publication, I aimed my strokes against the person and the hypothesis of Bishop Warburton. I proved, at least to my own satisfaction, *that* the antient Lawgivers did not invent the Mysteries, and *that* Æneas was never invested with the office of Lawgiver; *that* there is not any *argument*, any circumstance, which can melt a fable into allegory, or remove the scene from the Lake Avernus to the Temple of Ceres; *that* such a wild supposition is equally injurious to the poet and the man; *that* if Virgil was not initiated he could not, if he were he would not, reveal the secrets of initiation; *that* the anathema of Horace *(vetabo qui Cereris sacrum vulgarit, &c.)* at once attests his own ignorance and the innocence of his friend. As the Bishop of Gloucester and his party maintained a discreet silence, my critical Disquisition was soon lost among the pamphlets of the day; but the public coldness was overbalanced to my feelings by the weighty approbation of the last and best Editor of Virgil, Professor Heyne of Gottingen, who acquiesces in my confutation, and styles the unknown author, *doctus . . . et elegantissimus Britannus.* But I cannot resist the temptation of transcribing the favourable judgment *of* Mr. Hayley, himself a poet, and a scholar: "An intricate hypothesis, twisted into a long and laboured chain of quotation and argument, the Dissertation on the Sixth Book of Virgil, remained some time unrefuted. At length, a superior, but anonymous, Critic arose, who, in one of the most judicious and spirited Essays that our Nation has produced, on a point of classical literature, completely overturned this ill-founded edifice, and exposed the arrogance and futility of its assuming architect." He even condescends to justify an acrimony of style, which has been gently blamed by the more unbiassed German; '*Paullo acrius quam velis . . . . perstrinxit* ‡.'— But I cannot forgive myself the contemptuous treatment of a man who, with all his faults, was entitled to my esteem; and I can less forgive, in a personal attack, the cowardly concealment of my name and character.—The Divine Legation of Moses is a monument, already crumbling in the dust, of the vigour and weakness of the human mind. If Warburton's new argument proved any thing, it would be a demonstration against the Legislator, who left his people without the knowledge of a future state. But some episodes of the work, on the Greek philosophy, the hieroglyphics of Egypt, &c. are entitled to the praise of learning, imagination, and discernment."

‡ The Editor of the Warburtonian Tracts, Dr. Parr (p. 192), considers the allegorical interpretation "as completely refuted, in a most clear, elegant, and decisive work of criticism; which could not, indeed, derive authority from the greatest name; but to which the greatest name might with propriety have been affixed."

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cellor of Lincoln, the learned editor of Demosthenes (whom he characterizes as "a Doctor of Laws, a Minister of the Gospel, and a Judge Ecclesiastical") is treated with much severity *.

* This attack has been briefly hinted at in vol. II. p. 292.

Mr. Hurd, who had been consulted on the subject, says, "I cannot easily bring myself to give up the *old Preface*. Otherwise, this has the advantage greatly in many respects. *Taylor* is a more creditable Dunce than *Webster*; and the subject is not so personal as the other. As to the manner of introducing it, I can trust your judgment to choose the best. I cannot but think what you mention an extremely proper one. But of this I cannot determine so well, as I have not seen the Discourse itself. But, by the way, what do you think to do with the Appendix to this volume against *Tillard* and *Sykes*? I would not lose them on any account. And why might not *Taylor* rank with them? After all, keep me but the old Preface in some shape or other, and I will have no dispute with you about the *place*." *Dec.* 30, 1756.

"The real offence said to have been given was, an opinion which Taylor had thrown out in company derogatory to the character of Warburton as a scholar. This reached the ears of the other; who, with a frankness peculiar to himself, interrogated our Critick on the subject. Dr. Taylor is reported to have replied, that he did not recollect ever *saying* that Dr. Warburton was no scholar, but that indeed he had always *thought* so.

"The learned world at Cambridge was at that time divided into two parties; the polite scholars and the philologists. The former, at the head of which were Gray, Mason, &c. superciliously confined all merit to their own circle, and looked down with fastidious contempt on the rest of the world. It is needless to observe that Dr. Taylor belonged to the latter class. A member of the former, a writer of celebrity, and eminent for his attachment to Warburton, of whose 'school' he was a distinguished disciple, in a most unjustifiable pamphlet, published the same year, and directed against the amiable and modest Jortin [whose offence was similar to that of Taylor—he had dared to dissent from Warburton's strange, and now exploded hypothesis, on the descent of Æneas in the sixth Æneid], steps out of his way to express his contempt of Taylor. 'There are several ways,' says he, 'of a writer's expressing his devotion to his patron, without observing the ordinary forms of dedication: of which, to note it by the way, the latest and best instance I have met with is, 'A certain thing prefatory to a learned work entitled the Elements of Civil Law.' This was but the prelude to a more severe attack from the 'master' himself; who, with learning much inferior, but talents much greater than those of Taylor, exercised an insolent despotism over the republick of letters. Our Author, in his Elements, had expressed his opinion, that the persecutions which the first Christians experienced from

In 1759 Dr. Warburton obtained the Royal Licence for the sole printing and vending the Works of the late Alexander Pope, esq.

At the latter end of this year Dr. Warburton received the honour, so justly due to his merit, of being dignified with the mitre*. He was promoted,

from the Roman emperors proceeded not from any peculiar disapprobation of their tenets, but from a jealousy entertained of their nocturnal assemblies. In expressing this opinion, Taylor did not mention, and perhaps did not even think of Warburton; but, as the latter in his Divine Legation had derived these persecutions from another source, the absurdities of Pagan religion and the iniquities of Pagan politicks, the holding, and much more the publishing, of a contrary notion, by any contemporary, was too great an offence for that haughty dogmatist to pass by with impunity. His prefaces and notes were, as was wittily observed of him, the established places of execution for the punishment of all who did not implicitly adopt his sentiments;—and having occasion soon after (in 1758) to publish a new edition of that celebrated work, he seized that opportunity to chastise Taylor, with all the virulence, wit, and ingenuity of distortion, which he could command.—An attack so insolent and unprovoked could not injure the established character of Dr. Taylor, or ruffle his temper. He was sensible that it could be detrimental only to its author, and wisely abstained from taking any notice of it.—There appeared, however, in defence of our Author, in August 1758, a pamphlet entitled, 'Impartial Remarks upon the Preface of Dr. Warburton, in which he has taken uncommon Liberties with the Character of Dr. Taylor, Chancellor of Lincoln;" but it is a very poor performance, the only information which it contains being the anecdote above given as to the real origin of the dispute." *This Note is literally copied from a well-written Life of Dr. Taylor, in "Some Account of the antient and present State of Shrewsbury,* 1810," *pp.* 388—391.

* The first notice that occurs of this preferment in the printed Letters to Mr. Hurd is, Feb. 19, 1760. "My wife has been at Gloucester; but did not like the condition of one half of the goods, nor the price of the other; so that she chose to new furnish it, and only lay out with Mrs. Johnson about 50*l.* for what she calls *fixtures;* but what they are I know not. You will see what she says of your sagacity in the inclosed scrap. But you won't forgive her *silver shoulder-knot* for all that." Mr. Hurd answers, March 4, "Mrs. Warburton is always extremely kind; from a letter, she did me the favour to write to me after her interview with Mrs. Johnson, I find she is intent on dignifying all your Lordship's domesticks, as well as your footmen; for whereas the chaplains of other bishops, and even Lambeth chaplains, are usually thrust, with the other lumber of the family, into any blind corner, she invites me to repose in state,

Dec. 22, to the bishoprick of Gloucester *; consecrated on the 20th of January 1760; and on the 30th of the same month preached before the House of Lords † on the occasion of that Anniversary ‡.

state, in *the Abbot's apartment* at Gloucester. You will judge, after this, if I can have the heart to say one word against the *shoulder-knots*."—How little the new Bishop cared for the trappings of dignity is apparent through the whole of his correspondence: "I brought," he says, *Feb.* 20, 1767, "as usual, a bad cold with me to town; and, this being the first day I ventured out of doors, it was employed, as in duty bound, at Court, it being a levee-day. A Buffoon Lord in waiting (you may guess whom I mean) was very busy marshaling the circle; and he said to me, without ceremony—"Move forward; you clog up the door-way."—I replied, with as little, "*Did nobody clog up the King's door-stead more than I, there would be room for all honest men.*" This brought the man to himself. When the King came up to me, he asked, "why I did not come to town before?" I said, "I understood there was no business going forward in the House, in which I could be of service to His Majesty." He replied, "He supposed the severe storm of snow would have brought me up." I replied, "I was under cover of a very warm house."—You see, by all this, how unfit I am for Courts."

* "When Divines, eminent for literature, industrious in their profession, conspicuous as preachers, illustrious as authors, are advanced to the first stations in the Church, it is not only a security to religion, but an encouragement to learning, and a strong incitement to others to prosecute the same studies, and to excel in the same useful arts." *Dr. Newton's Sermon at the Consecration of William Warburton, D.D. Lord Bishop of Gloucester, Jan.* 20, 1760, *p.* 25.

† "I shall be obliged to print my 30th of January Sermon. But don't fancy I shall think it worth while to send you one; buy it, and welcome; you may have it for a groat; and the London Chronicle, which I esteem rather my inferior in politicks, will cost you three pence." *Letter to Mr. Hurd, Feb.* 19.

‡ The character of the Monarch is thus admirably delineated by the Bishop in this excellent Sermon: "The King had many virtues, but all of so unsociable a turn as to do him neither service nor credit. His religion, in which he was sincerely zealous, was over-run with scruples, and the simplicity if not the purity of his morals was debased by casuistry. His natural affections (a rare virtue in that high situation) were so excessive, as to render him a slave to all his kin; and his social so moderate, as only to enable him to lament, not to preserve, his friends and servants. His knowledge was extensive, though not exact; and his courage clear, though not keen; yet his modesty far surpassed his magnanimity: his knowledge only made him obnoxious to the doubts of his more ignorant ministers, and his courage to the irresolutions of his less adventurous generals. In a word, his princely qualities were neither great enough nor bad enough

A suspicion having arisen that Mr. Sterne had an intention, in the continuation of Tristram Shandy, of making Bp. Warburton the Tutor of his Hero, occasioned some compliments to the learned Prelate in a letter to Mr. Garrick, in April 1760, transscribed below*, in which such a design is disclaimed.

enough to succeed in that most difficult of all attempts, the enslaving a free and jealous people."

* "DEAR SIR, *Thursday*, 10 *o'clock—Night.*

"'Twas for all the world like a cut across my finger with a sharp pen-knife. I saw the blood—gave it a suck—wrapt it up—and thought no more about it.—But there is more goes to the healing of a wound than this comes to—a wound (unless it is a wound not worth talking of, but by the bye mine is) must give you some pain after. Nature will take her own way with it—it must ferment—it must digest.—The story you told me of Tristram's pretended Tutor, this morning. My letter by right should have set out with this sentence, and then the simile would not have kept you a moment in suspense. This vile story, I say—though I then saw both how, and where it wounded—I felt little from it at first—or, to speak more honestly (though it ruins my simile), I felt a great deal of pain from it, but affected an air usual on such accidents, of less feeling than I had. I have now got home to my lodgings, since the play (you astonish me in it), and have been unwrapping this self-same wound of mine, and shaking my head over it, this half-hour.—What the Devil! is there no one learned blockhead throughout the many schools of misapplied science in the Christian world, to make a *tutor* of for my Tristram? *Ex quovis ligno non fit.* Are we so run out of stock, that there is no one lumber-headed, muddle-headed, monster-headed, pudding-headed chap amongst our doctors? Is there no one single wight of much reading and no learning, amongst the many children in my *mother's* nursery, who bid high for this charge—but I must disable my judgment by choosing a Warburton? Vengeance! have I so little concern for the honour of my hero! am I wretch so void of sense, so bereft of feeling for the figure he is to make in story, that I should choose a preceptor to rob him of all the immortality I intended him? O! dear Mr. Garrick, malice is ingenious—unless where the excess of it outwits itself. I have two comforts in this stroke of it: the first is, that this one is partly of this kind; and secondly, that it is one of the number of those which so unfairly brought poor Yorick to his grave. The report might draw blood of the Author of Tristram Shandy—but could not harm such a man as the Author of the Divine Legation. God bless him! though (by the bye, and according to the natural course of descents) the blessing should come from him to me. Pray have you no interest, lateral or collateral, to get me introduced to his Lordship? Why do you ask? My dear Sir, I have

no

Mr. Sterne soon after addressed a letter to the Bishop*, accompanied by a present of his Sermons.

no claim to such an honour, but what arises from the honour and respect which, in the progress of my work, will be shewn the world I owe to so great a man. Whilst I am talking of owing—I wish, my dear Sir, that any body would tell you how much I am indebted to you. I am determined never to do it myself, or say more upon the subject than this, that I am,

Yours, L. STERNE."

* "MY LORD, *York, June 9*, 1760.

"Not knowing where to send two sets of my Sermons, I could think of no better expedient than to order them into Mr. Berrenger's hands, who has promised me that he will wait upon your Lordship with them, the first moment he hears you are in town. The truest and humblest thanks I return to your Lordship, for the generosity of your protection, and advice to me; by making a good use of the one, I will hope to deserve the other. I wish your Lordship all the health and happiness in this world; for I am, your Lordship's most obliged, and most grateful servant, L. STERNE.

"P. S. I am just sitting down to go on with Tristram, &c. The scribblers use me ill, but they have used my betters much worse; for which may God forgive them."

The present was thus acknowledged:

"REV. SIR, *Prior Park, June* 15, 1760.

"I have your favour of the 9th instant, and am glad to understand you are got safe home, and employed again in your *proper studies* and amusements. You have it in your power to make that, which is an amusement to yourself and others, useful to both: at least, you should above all things beware of its becoming hurtful to either, by any violations of decency and good manners: but I have already taken such repeated liberties of advising you on that head, that to say more would be needless, or perhaps unacceptable. Whoever is, in any way, well received by the publick, is sure to be annoyed by that pest of the publick, *profligate scribblers*. This is the common lot of successful adventurers; but such have often a worse evil to struggle with, I mean the over-officiousness of their indiscreet friends. There are two Odes, as they are called, printed by Dodsley; whoever was the author, he appears to be a monster of impiety and lewdness—yet such is the malignity of the scribblers, some have given them to your friend *Hall;* and others, which is more impossible, to *yourself;* though the first Ode has the insolence to place you both in a mean and a ridiculous light. But this might arise from a tale equally groundless and malignant, that you had shewn them to your acquaintances in MS. before they were given to the publick. Nor was their being printed by Dodsley the likeliest means of discrediting the calumny.—About this time another, under the mask of friendship, pretended to draw your character, which was since published in

In 1761 Bp. Warburton printed "A Rational Account of the Nature and End of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper *," 12mo.

in a *Female Magazine* (for Dulness, who often has as great a hand as the Devil in deforming God's works of the creation, has *made them*, it seems, *male* and *female*), and from thence it was transformed into a *Chronicle* ‡. Pray have you read it, or do you know the author?'—But of all these things, I dare say, Mr. Garrick, whose prudence is equal to his honesty or his talents, has remonstrated to you with the freedom of a friend. He knows the inconstancy of what is called the Publick towards all, even the best intentioned, of those who contribute to its pleasure or amusement. He (as every man of honour and discretion would) has availed himself of the public favour to regulate the taste, and, in his proper station, to reform the manners of the fashionable world; while, by a well-judged œconomy, he has provided against the temptations of a mean and servile dependency on the follies and vices of the great.

"In a word, be assured, there is no one more sincerely wishes your welfare and happiness than, Rev. Sir, &c. W. G."

"Sterne has published his fifth and sixth volumes of Tristram. They are wrote pretty much like the first and second; but whether they will restore his reputation as a writer with the publick, is another question.—The fellow himself is an irrecoverable scoundrel." *Letter to Mr. Hurd, Dec. 27*, 1761.

* In transcribing the following note from the MSS. of the Rev. John Jones, I think it proper to disclaim the most distant idea of detracting from the transcendant merits of Bp. Warburton. It is merely given as an instance, among many others that might be produced, of his *singularity*. The note, it may be observed, was written by a well-meaning, learned, and conscientious Divine:

"It deserves some notice, and also regret, that this learned person, who wrote a treatise upon the Lord's Supper (in mere opposition, as is said, to a much better treatise) should himself pay so little regard to that sacred institution. A gentleman of eminence in the Church assured me, that a daughter of his, being in the same pew with Warburton, then a Bishop, in a certain great church in London, both on a Good-Friday and on the Easter-day next following, on both which days the Holy Communion was there administered, observed with concern, the Prelate's leaving the church, both times, when that solemn act of worship was coming on, and not joining in it. This was his then parish-church. [But perhaps he received, or administered, the Communion, in some other church, at that solemn season:—of this I know nothing, nor have heard more.] A worthy Dignitary of the Church observed, with equal concern, the *same* omission, or neglect, in the Abbey Church at Bath. The Right Reverend went out, to the surprize of the congrega-

‡ See "The London Chronicle" May 6, 1760.

tion,

In the same year he circulated a Letter throughout his Diocese, on the subject of Confirmation, which reflects on him the highest honour *.

tion, when the act of administering the Communion came on. The same Dignitary told me this also from his own certain knowledge. And, probably, many similar observations might be added.—This great Author upon the Sacrament, when he himself administers it, is said to be very precise and particular, drawing on a clean pair of white kid-skin gloves, &c. I almost wonder why his Reverend Lordship should not rather have his gloves for this office made of lawn. J. JONES."

* "To the Rev. the Clergy of the Diocese of Gloucester.'

"MY REV. BRETHREN,

"As I purpose this summer, by the divine assistance, to confirm at the several places where I shall visit, as well as at others; and am desirous of administering this sacred and very important rite, in the best manner I am able; I call upon you all, with great earnestness, to lend me your assistance in the execution of so charitable a design; and conjure you, in the name of our common Master, to employ your utmost care and pains (each in his own parish or district) to fit the Candidates for the due reception of so solemn a rite; and that in so effectual a manner, as not only to have them instructed in the essential and fundamental principles of that religion into which they were received by Baptism in their infancy; but likewise zealously disposed to make a free and public profession of the faith, which, in that lustral sacrament, had, in their name, been made by their Sponsors; and to declare, under the Bishop's hand in confirmation, their determined purpose of continuing sincere members of Christ's mystical body, the Church, unto their lives end.—To facilitate this desirable end, and to follow, to the best of my understanding, the general direction of the Rubrick, which bids, that the aspirant to Confirmation be of a *competent* age, I shall expect that the female candidate hath completed her fourteenth year, and the male candidate his sixteenth. And that this my purpose may not be defeated, nor you, my Brethren, exposed to improper importunities, I must require that you give to each aspirant so qualified as above, by age, knowledge, and disposition, a certificate of the same, dated and signed by each of you, the Pastor or Minister (the form whereof is hereto annexed), without which certificate, so executed, and by the candidate, on his or her approach to the rails, delivered to my Chaplain, no one will be admitted to Confirmation. By the observance of these directions, I trust in God that this holy rite will be administered, not only with that order, decency, and solemnity, which its awful nature requires, but that the serious participants will find it productive of all those spiritual blessings which the Church is encouraged to promise, and which its *confirmed* members are authorized to expect from it.—I have only to add my hopes and expectations, that you, my Reverend Brethren, will not consider what is here recom-

In 1762, he published "The Doctrine of Grace: or, the Office and Operation of the Holy Spirit vindicated from the Insults of Infidelity and the Abuses of Fanaticism*," 2 vols. 12mo; a work containing many shrewd and pertinent observations, and original and lucky turns of thought, and a considerable portion of critical sagacity.

recommended to your care and attention, as matter of form only, or words of course, but an affair in which your duty as well as mine is intimately concerned, and for the effectual performance of which our best endeavours should be jointly exerted.—From my success in this application to you I shall augurate happily of your dispositions to pay that regard to my friendly counsels, which my constant attention to your interests and service shall entitle me to expect from you. I remain,

Your loving brother and faithful servant,

April 23, 1761. W. GLOUCESTER.

"The Form of the Certificate mentioned above:

"I do hereby certify to my Diocesan, William Lord Bishop of Gloucester, that of the age of years, having been examined and instructed by me, appears to me to be well fitted for, and worthy to receive Confirmation.

Witness my hand, this day of in the year 1761."

* Which produced, 1. "A Letter to the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Gloucester, occasioned by his Tract on the Office and Operation of the Holy Spirit. By John Wesley, M.A. 1762." 2. "Dr. Chandler's Answer to J. Wesley's Letter to the Bishop, 1762." 3. "Observations on some fatal Mistakes in a Book lately published, and entitled, *The Doctrine of Grace, &c.* in a Letter to a Friend. By George Whitefield, A.M. 1762." 4. "A Letter occasioned by the Lord Bishop of Gloucester's Doctrine of Grace. By John Payne [Accomptant-general to the Bank]. 1763." 5. "The Scripture Doctrine of Grace, in Answer to a Treatise on the Doctrine of Grace by William Lord Bishop of Gloucester, so far only as that important Doctrine is considered. By John Andrews, LL.B. of St. Mary Hall, Oxford, and Minister of Stinchcombe in Gloucestershire, 1763;" (see Monthly Review, vol. XXIX. pp. 426, 428.) 6. Mr. Hurd's "Letter to Dr. Leland;" (Ibid. vol. XXXI. p. 305.) 7. Dr. Leland's Answer (Ibid. vol. XXXII. p. 191.)

Mr. Andrews had, not long before, received the following Letter:

"MR. ANDREWS, *March* 25, 1763.

"I have received several complaints of you: those which concern your own curacy are, on account of your frequent absence, and for not giving your parish service both morning and afternoon on a Sunday. Unless I have satisfaction in these two particulars, more especially the former, I shall revoke your licence, by process in my Court. I shall insist upon your constant residence

In January 1763 the Bishop had the misfortune to break his left arm, by a fall in the garden of Prior Park, the ill effects of which he felt for several months *.

In the same year he drew upon himself much illiberal abuse from some Writers † of the popular

dence in your parish, not so much from the good you are likely to do there, as to prevent the mischief you may do by rambling about in other places.

Your Bishop, and (though your fanatic conduct has almost made me ashamed to own it) your Patron, W. GLOUCESTER."

Mr. Andrews acquainted the Bishop by letter, in answer to the first charge, "that he had resided at least two years and nine months, out of three years that he had been in possession of the living;" and, in answer to the second, "that the Bishop had at Bath, in consideration of the smallness of the income, and Mr. Andrews' want of health, recommended it to him to officiate at Stinchcombe only once on a Sunday; but that, notwithstanding, he had several times done double duty; that many other members in the Bishop's diocese, on much better livings, do not reside at all; and that he had refused a living of 80*l.* a year, and taken this of 36*l.* merely on account of its requiring less duty."

To which the Bishop replied:

"If I indulged you in giving your parish only one service on a Sunday, I hereby revoke that indulgence, and insist on your giving them full service. W. GLOUCESTER.

April 9, 1763."

"Mr. Andrews had formerly lived in America; which he was obliged to leave on account of his bad state of health. The Archbishop of Canterbury offered him, on his coming over, a living of 80*l.* a year; but, frightened at the great duty thereof, he requested the Archbishop to get him this of Stinchcombe, of 36*l.* a year, in Gloucester diocese, and in the Bishop's patronage; but, the see being then vacant, his Grace asked it of the Lord Chancellor, and got it, for Mr. Andrews.—Being a strict and serious man, and carrying his notions of *Grace* pretty high in the above-noticed publication, he was called a *Methodist*. Abp. Secker had ever a good opinion of him, and afterwards preferred him in Kent. Though Bishop Warburton did not give him the living in Gloucestershire, yet he calls himself *his Patron*."

Dr. LORT, *MS.*

* *May* 25, 1763, he says, "I have used the plump this fortnight or three weeks, and think I have received some benefit, though it comes slowly. The complaint is, a great debility in the wrist, after the most successful cure of the fracture of the arm;" and pleasantly adds, "Be not under too much concern for my hand. I, whose life is a warfare upon earth (that is to say with bigots and libertines, against whom I have denounced eternal war, like Hannibal against Rome at the Altar), have reason to be thankful that the debility is not in my *sword-hand*."

† See Churchill's Duellist, the Dedication of his Sermons, and other pieces. In making his complaint, the Bishop, after solemnly

party, on occasion of his complaint in the House of Lords, on the 15th of November 1763, against Mr. Wilkes, for affixing his name to certain notes on a silly and indecent production called "An Essay on Woman."

In the summer of 1764, Bishop Warburton obtained a considerable addition to his property, by the bequest of his steady friend Mr. Allen *; and soon after was much gratified by the publication of "A Letter to the Rev. Dr. Thomas Leland," the production of his friend Mr. Hurd; which has been elsewhere duly noticed †. His satisfaction, however, began to be allayed by the warnings attendant on advancing years; and he notices, *Oct.* 15, being "troubled with his *usual dizziness.*"

In 1765, a fourth edition of the Second Part of "The Divine Legation ‡," with considerable addi-

solemnly disavowing both the Poem and the Notes, averred, "that the former was worthy of the Devil;" then, after a short pause, added, "No, I beg the Devil's pardon, for he is incapable of writing it."

* Mr. Allen died June 29, 1764; and, by his last will, bequeathed Prior Park with the lands adjoining, and Claverton estate, about 3000*l.* a year, to his widow for life; at her decease to Mrs. Warburton and her issue; which failing, to Capt. Tucker, brother to Mrs. Warburton, and his issue; which failing, to his niece, Miss Mary Allen, and her issue; which failing, to go to the heir-at-law. The estates at Hampton and Tiverton, about 600*l.* a year, with 2000*l.* in money, to his brother Philip, Post-Master of Bath (who died in October 1765). To the Bishop of Gloucester 5000*l.* To Mrs. Warburton 5000*l.* (besides 10,000*l.* she had on her marriage). To Captain Tucker 10,000*l.* and 5000*l.* more on the decease of Mrs. Allen. To his niece, Miss Mary Allen, 10,000*l.* and 5000*l.* more on the decease of Mrs. Allen. To his nephew, Mr. Philip Allen, 1000*l.* besides 6000*l.* he had on his marriage. To his nephew Mr. Ralph Allen 5000*l.* To the Right Hon. Mr. Pitt 1000*l.* To the Bath Hospital 1000*l.* To Mr. Hurd 100*l.* To be distributed in charity, at the direction of Mrs. Allen, 1000*l.* To each of the Trustees 200*l.* and to one of their sons 300*l.* Besides other small legacies to most of his servants and clerks.—Mrs. Allen died in 1766; see p. 637.

† See vol. II. p. 432.

‡ "I am preparing the Second Volume of the Divine Legation, that is, the third and fourth parts, for a new edition. I had not read over the Preface against *Taylor* since the publication, and it pleased me to find I could make it no better: which is rarely my case. I have oft told you how amusing this work of cor-

tions *, was published, as volumes III. IV. and V.; the two parts which had been re-printed in 1755 being reckoned as volumes I. and II. The Dedication to Lord Mansfield † was revised, and very considerably enlarged ‡.

It was this edition which produced from Dr. Lowth the publication of which a brief character shall be transcribed below §; and which was answered by

correction is to me in comparison of composition, where I stretch my weak faculties too violently to give me pleasure."

Letter to Mr. Hurd, May 30, 1763.

And soon after, "Dr. Balguy once told me there was one thing in the argument of the Divine Legation, that stuck more with candid men than all the rest—*How a Religion without a future state could be worthy of God.* I promised him to consider it fully. I have done so in an Appendix to the Second Volume now in the press—no improper place, just on the entrance on the Jewish dispensation. And a long passage of Voltaire in his *Dictionaire Portative* is my text."

* See these satisfactorily pointed out in the Monthly Review, vol. XXXIII. pp. 127—143; 169—179.

† "I did mention to you, I think, the insult committed on the head of the supreme Court of Justice. The abuse was extreme, and much felt; generally resented, but I believe by nobody more than by me, as you will see by the inclosed. I have made what I had to say on that head, the conclusion of my Dedication. It will please neither party. I was born to please no party. But what of that? In matters of moral conduct it is every honest man's chief concern to please himself."

Letter to Mr. Hurd, March 1765.

‡ This was followed by "A Dissertation on the antient Pagan Mysteries, wherein the Opinions of Bp. Warburton and Leland on the Subject are particularly considered." (Monthly Review, vol. XXXVI. p. 246.)

§ "When a person of gentle and amiable manners, of unblemished character, and eminent abilities, is calumniated, and treated in the most injurious manner by a haughty and overbearing Colossus, it must give pleasure to every generous mind, to see such a person vindicating himself with manly freedom, resenting the insult with proper spirit, attacking the imperious aggressor in his turn, and taking ample vengeance for the injury done him. Such is the pleasure which every impartial reader, every true republican in literature, will receive from the perusal of the Letter now before us.—It can be no secret to any of our readers, that the Author of 'The Divine Legation of Moses' has, for many years, treated men of the most respectable character, in the most illiberal and contemptuous manner; nay, often, with the most wanton insolence; that he has (to borrow the language of the elegant and spirited Author of this Letter) assumed the high office of Inquisitor General and Supreme Judge

Bp. Warburton* in "The Second Part of an Epistolary Correspondence between the Bishop of Glou-

Judge of the opinions of the Learned, and exercised it with a ferocity and a despotism without example in the republic of letters, and hardly to be paralleled among the disciples of Dominic; exacting their opinions to the standard of his infallibility, and prosecuting with implacable hatred every one who presumes to differ from him.—In the Appendix to the fifth volume of 'The Divine Legation' the Bishop of Gloucester severely attacked the learned and ingenious Dr. Lowth; who now steps forth to do himself justice, to defend his opinions and his character, and to expose the 'sophistry, buffoonery, and scurrility' of his antagonist. How far he has succeeded in this attempt, under *all* these heads, it is not for us to determine; but, on the whole, he hath acquitted himself in so masterly and satisfactory a manner, that we do not remember ever to have received equal entertainment from the perusal of any work of this kind."

Monthly Review, vol. XXXIII. pp. 388, 389.

* I shall not enter farther into this unpleasant controversy than to give the titles of the publications; the first of which was, 1. "A Letter to the Right Reverend Author of *The Divine Legation of Moses demonstrated;* in Answer to the Appendix in the Fifth Volume of that Work: with an Appendix, containing a former Literary Correspondence. By a late Professor in the University of Oxford, 1765," 8vo.—This pamphlet (of which a *fourth Edition* appeared in 1766) had a very considerable sale, several *thousands* having been called for within a few months; and was followed by 2. "A Letter to the Rev. Dr. Lowth, occasioned by his late Letter to the Right Reverend Author of the Divine Legation of Moses. By the Author of Essays on the Characteristicks, &c." 3. "A Letter to the Rev. Dr. Brown, from Dr. Lowth;" in which the Author politely rallies Dr. Brown for his groundless apprehensions with regard to the *supposed* attack on his moral character in certain passages of Dr. Lowth's Letter to Bp. Warburton." 4. "Remarks on Dr. Lowth's Letter to the Bishop of Gloucester. With the Bishop's Appendix, and the Second Epistolary Correspondence between his Lordship and the Doctor, annexed. 1766." [By Mr. Towne, see vol. II. p. 284.]

A part of the Appendix to Mr. Towne's Pamphlet Dr. Lowth almost immediately *re-printed* (75 copies only) for distribution among his friends, under the title of "The Second Part of a Literary Correspondence between the Bishop of Gloucester and a late Professor of Oxford; accurately printed from an authentic Copy. To which are added the Notes of the first Editor; with Notes upon Notes, and Remarks on the Letters."

Another pamphlet on this subject was published by Mr. Cumberland (see vol. II. p. 456); of which, at the distance of more than forty years, the Author thus speaks: "I now for the first time entered the lists of controversy, and took up the gauntlet of a renowned champion, to vindicate the insulted character of my grandfather Dr. Bentley. The offensive passage

met

cester and the late Professor of Oxford, without an *Imprimatur*; i. e. without a Cover to the violated

met me in a pamphlet written by Bishop Lowth professedly against Warburton, acrimonious enough of all conscience, and unepiscopally intemperate in the highest degree, even if his Lordship had not gone out of his course to hurl this dirt upon the coffin of my ancestor. The Bishop is now dead, and I will not use his name irreverently; my grandfather was dead, yet he stept aside to hook him in as *a mere verbal critic*, who in matters of taste and elegant literature, he asserts, was contemptibly deficient; and then he resorts to his Catullus for the most disgraceful names he can give him as a scholar or a gentleman, and says he was *aut caprimulgus aut fossor*; terms, that in English would have been downright blackguardism. All the world knows that Warburton and Lowth had mouthed and mumbled each other till their very hands blushed, and their lawn-sleeves were bloody. I should have thought that the Prelate who had Warburton for his antagonist, would hardly have found leisure from his own self-defence to have turned aside and fixed his teeth in a by-stander. Yet so it was; and it struck me that the unmanly unprovoked attack not only warranted, but demanded, a remonstrance from the descendants of Dr. Bentley. I stood only in the second degree from my uncle Richard, and as much below him in controversial ability as I was in lineal descent. I appealed, therefore, in the first place to him, as nearest in blood, and strongest in capacity. His blood, however, was not in the temper to ferment as mine did, and, with a philosophical contempt for this sparring of pens, he positively declined having any thing to do with the affair. I well remember, but I won't describe the scene: he was very pleasant with me, and reminded me with great kindness how utterly unequal I ought to think myself for undertaking to hold an argument against Bishop Lowth. He was perfectly right: it was exactly so that a sensible Roman would have talked to Curtius before he took his foolish leap, or a charitable European to a Bramin widow before she devoted herself to the flames; but my obstinacy was incorrigible. At length, having warned me that I was about to draw a complete discomfiture on my cause, he prudently conditioned with me so to mark myself out, either by name or description, in the title of my pamphlet, as that he should stand excused, and out of chance of being mistaken for its author. Nothing could be more reasonable; and I promised to comply with his injunctions, and be duly careful of his safety. This I fulfilled, by describing myself under such a signature, as all but told my name, and could not possibly, as I conceived, be fathered upon him. With this he was content, and with great politeness, in which no man exceeded him, gave me his hand at parting, and wished me a good deliverance. I lost no time in addressing myself to this task. It soon grew into the size of a pamphlet: my heart was warm in the subject; and as soon as my appeal appeared, I was publicly known to be the author of it. I may venture to say, that, weak as my bow was presumed to be, the arrow did

Laws of Hönour and Society;" a controversy which terminated in a drawn battle *.

not miss its aim, and justice universally decided for me. Warburton had candidly apologized to Lowth for having unknowingly hurt his feelings, by some glances he had made at the person of a deceased relation of the Bishop of Oxford; and I now claimed from Lowth the same candour which he had experienced in the apology of Warburton. This was unanswerable; and though Bishop Lowth would not condescend to offer the atonement to me, which he had exacted and received from another, still he had the grace to keep silence, and not attempt a justification of himself; and that which he did not do *per se*, he would not permit to be done *per alium;* for I have reason to know he refused the voluntary reply, tendered to him by a certain Clergyman of his Diocese, acknowledging that I had just reason for a retaliation, and he thought it better that the affair should pass over in silence on his part.—In the mean time my pamphlet went through two full editions, and I had every reason to believe the judgment of the publick was in my favour. I entitled it, "A Letter to the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of O——d, containing some Animadversions upon a Character given of the late Doctor Bentley, in a Letter from a late Professor in the University of Oxford to the Right Reverend Author of the Divine Legation of Moses demonstrated."—To this I subjoined, by way of motto, "*Jam parce sepulto.*"

The following paragraph occurs in the 9th page of this pamphlet, and is fairly pressed upon the party complained of:

"Recollect, my Lord, the warmth, the piety, with which you remonstrated against Bishop Warburton's treatment of your Father in a passage of his Julian: *It is not* (you there say) *in behalf of myself that I expostulate; but of one, for whom I am much more concerned, that is—my father.* These are your Lordship's words—amiable, affecting expressions! instructive lesson of filial devotion! Alas! my Lord, that you, who were thus sensible to the least speck which fell upon the reputation of your father, should be so inveterate against the fame of one, at least as eminent, and perhaps not less dear to his family."

* Bishop Warburton himself thus speaks of it: "All you say about Lowth's Pamphlet breathes the purest spirit of friendship. His *wit* and his *reasoning, God knows, and I also* (as a certain Critic said once in a matter of the like great importance), are much below the qualities that deserve those names. But the strangest thing of all, is this man's boldness in publishing my Letters without my leave or knowledge. I remember, several long Letters passed between us; and I remember you saw the Letters. But I have so totally forgot the contents, that I am at a loss for the meaning of these words of yours—*since they produced the defence of pages* 117 *and* 118. They seem to relate to *you;* but that would increase the wonder; for what relates to you is, I believe, the last thing I should forget.—In a word, you are right.—If he expected an answer, he will certainly find him-

In 1765 he published a fourth edition, corrected and enlarged, of "The Alliance between Church and State*;" and in 1766 a fifth edition of the Divine Legation, volumes I. and II. corrected and enlarged†; in which a Postscript was added to the original Dedication to the Freethinkers, occasioned by Dr. Akenside's "Pleasures of Imagination‡" and Lord Kaimes's "Elements of Criticism;" and a "Sermon§ preached before the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts§, at the Anniversary

himself disappointed: though I believe I could make as good sport with this *Devil of a Vice* for the public diversion, as ever was made with him in the old *Moralities*." *Letter to Mr. Hurd*, 1765.

I shall conclude this subject with the words of Bp. Warburton's very excellent Biographer: "On the subject of his [Dr. Lowth's] quarrel with the Bishop of Gloucester I could say a great deal; for I was well acquainted with the grounds and the progress of it. But, besides that I purposely avoid entering into details of this sort, I know of no good end that is likely to be answered, by exposing to public censure the weaknesses of such men."

* The principal variations between the *third* and fourth editions (amongst which are "some masterly strokes of genuine *Warburtonianism*") are ably pointed out in the Monthly Review, vol. XXXIV. pp. 89—99.

† In the Monthly Review, vol. XXXV. pp. 226—233, the variations between the editions of 1765 and 1766 are carefully noticed.—A translation of the "Divine Legation" was published at Amsterdam, in 1771, by Abr. Ar. Vander Meersch, whose dedication to Bishop Warburton is printed in Gent. Mag. 1771, p. 266.

‡ The original offence was, a note in the third book of "The Pleasures of Imagination;" in which Dr. Akenside revived and maintained the Notion of Shaftesbury, that Religion is the test of Truth. Warburton attacked him with severity in a Preface; and Akenside was defended by his friend Mr. Dyson (see pp. 591, 603). But the breach was farther widened by "An Ode to the late Thomas Edwards, Esq. written in 1751," though not published till 1766; and containing the story of Concannen; see pp. 534, 535.

‡ "Whatever comes from the pen of the Bishop of Gloucester has so original an air, something so peculiarly his own, that a reader of taste and genius, though he cannot always approve, can seldom fail of reading with pleasure. In the Sermon before us there are some things *merely* ingenious, some things whimsical, and others that appear to be sensible, striking, and useful."

Monthly Review, vol XXXV. p. 279.

§ "I preached my Propagation Sermon; and ten or a dozen Bishops dined with my Lord Mayor; a plain and (for this year at least) a magnificent man. Whether I made them wiser than ordinary at Bow, I can't tell. I certainly made them merrier than ordinary at the Mansion-house; where we were magnificently

Meeting in the Parish Church of St. Mary-le-Bow, on Friday, Feb. 21, 1766."

Amongst Dr. Ducarel's Epistolary Correspondence in 1766, I find the letter printed below *, in answer to an enquiry respecting the Endowments of Vicarages.

In 1767 he published a third volume of Sermons, dedicated to Lady Mansfield; and with this, and a single "Sermon preached at St. Lawrence Jewry, on Thursday, April 30, 1767, before his Royal Highness Edward Duke of York, President, and the Governors of the London Hospital, &c. 4to, the good Bishop may be said to have nearly closed his literary labours.

In the same year, however, he complimented Mr. Cumberland on his poem called "The Banishment of Cicero †;" and had made some progress in methodizing for public view some observations on Voltaire's ‡ ignorant and malicious censures of the

cently treated. The Lord Mayor told me, 'the *Common Council* were much obliged to me, for that this was the first time he ever heard them prayed for.' I said, 'I considered them as a body who much needed the prayers of the Church.'—But, if he told me in what I abounded, I told him in what I thought he was defective—'that I was greatly disappointed to see no Custard at table.' He said, 'that they had been so ridiculed for their *Custard*, that none had ventured to make its appearance for many years.' I told him, 'I supposed that Religion and Custard went out of fashion together'." *Letter to Mr. Hurd.*

* "SIR, *Grosvenor-square, April* 10, 1766.

"I have the honour of your obliging letter of the 8th, with the Mem. about Parsons's papers.—When I get to Gloucester I will look over the few old papers concerning the see of Gloucester in my custody; and if I find any, the sight of which may gratify you, I will take the liberty of sending them to you. I am, Sir, Your very faithful humble servant, W. GLOUCESTER."

† "DEAR SIR, *Grosvenor-square, May* 15, 1767.

"Let me thank you for the sight of a very fine Dramatic Poem. It is (like Mr. Mason's) much too good for a prostitute Stage. Yesterday I received a letter from the Primate. He was on the point of leaving Bath for Ireland; so that my letter got to him just in time. 'It gives me great satisfaction,' says he, 'that my opinion of Bishop Cumberland's grandson agrees with yours,' &c. &c. I have the honour to be, dear Sir,

Your very faithful and assured humble servant, W. GLOUCESTER."

‡ "Voltaire's pen was fertile, and very elegant; his observations are occasionally acute, yet he often betrays great ignorance when he treats on subjects of antient learning. Dr. Johnson told

Jewish Law and History; but relinquished the design, by the advice of a judicious Friend *.

In 1768 he transferred 500*l.* to Lord Chief Justice Mansfield, Mr. Justice Wilmot, and Mr. Charles Yorke, upon trust, "for the purpose of reading a Lecture at Lincoln's Inn, in the Form of a Course of Sermons, to prove the Truth of Revealed Religion in general, and of the Christian in parti-

told his antagonist, Freron, 'that *Vir erat acerrimi ingenii ac paucarum literarum;*' and Bp. Warburton says of him, with no less pleasantry than truth, 'that he writes indifferently well upon every thing.'—Bp. Warburton had intended to have written against Voltaire; and it is a pity that he was dissuaded from doing that which he would have done eminently well, as he had wit and talents equal to those of Voltaire, and was considerably his superior in Learning. The loss, however, of the antidote of the Bishop to the poison of this lively though dangerous Writer, is in some degree supplied by *Les Lettres de quelques Juifs à M. de Voltaire.*" Seward's Anecdotes of distinguished Persons, vol. IV. pp. 356. 358.

* "Your *conviction* always convinces me. I had a preface to the collection, which may serve for some other occasion: in which I take notice how our Philosophers had of late shifted their ground, and removed into more fashionable quarters. They had long intrenched themselves in, and attacked us from, the fastnesses of Philosophy and Theology; in which their dullness had so far got the upper hand of their impiety, that they had tired out even their Allies, the Great; to whom, besides, Philosophy was too crabbed, and Theology too unconcerning. Their learning lay in History, extracts of which, under the names of Summaries and *General Histories,* are the most entertaining, as well as most efficacious vehicle of Impiety: for the miseries and disorders of human life, seen in their utmost malignity in civil transactions, aid these Philosophers in supplying those prejudices against Revelation, which their malice long sought, and their reasonings much wanted. Their readers had heard that the Founder of Christianity promised *peace on earth, and good-will to mankind;* and they saw the same train of miseries triumphant after, as before the publication of the faith. And Divines of all denominations preaching this reform of morals as the great end of Christianity, and they seeing this end not obtained, they became an easy prey to these *philosophical historians.* Had Divines taught them the true and proper and peculiar end of this Revelation, they would then have seen that *universal history* afforded the most legitimate prejudice in favour of Christianity; and this new cookery had been the very worst vehicle for these public poisoners, &c. But they received many other advantages in thus changing their method of attack, &c. &c." *Letter to Dr. Hurd, Dec.* 10, 1767.

cular,

cular, from the Completion of the Prophecies in the Old and New Testament, which relate to the Christian Church, especially to the Apostacy of Papal Rome*;" and would afterwards have doubled the endowment, but was dissuaded from so doing by his friends. To this foundation we owe the admirable Introductory Lectures of Bp. Hurd†; the well-adapted continuation of Bp. Hallifax‡, Bp. Bagot§, Dr. Apthorpe, and a rich succession of eminent Divines.

* This was an object very near his heart: "I have been just writing my Will; and *Antichrist*, who has been long at the head of all mischief, being at the tail of this, it came into my head to give him the first stroke, and to forestall my *Preachers*. I am preparing a Sermon, at his and Millar's expence, for the press: and then I shall have but one more to stand before my *Charge*, and that will be *on the Resurrection*." *Letter to Mr. Hurd, Nov. 6, 1766.*

† Of this admirable Prelate, see the Essays in vol. VI. No. VII.

‡ See an account of Bishop Halifax in vol. VI. p. 368.

§ I have great pleasure in transcribing in this place a communication with which I was favoured, in 1802, for another purpose, by a friend whose accuracy of research is only excelled by the goodness of his heart, and his truly primitive conduct as a Parish Priest, and Dignitary of the Established Church: "Bp. Bagot was educated at Westminster school, and chosen thence student of Christ Church; M.A. May 23, 1764; and D.C.L. Feb. 29, 1772. In 1771 he was made canon of Christ Church, in the room of Dr. Moore Archbishop of Canterbury; and the same year, Oct. 7, he married Miss M. Hay, niece to the Earl of Kinnoul. He was installed Dean of Christ Church, Jan. 25, 1777, on the translation of Dr. Markham to the see of York; and about that time, it is believed, he resigned his livings in Sussex, in favour of his nephew, the Rev. Ralph Sneyd. In 1782 he was promoted to the see of Bristol; translated to Norwich the year following; and thence to St. Asaph in 1790; where he re-built the palace, on a plan which is uncommon, as it was necessary, he observed, to consult the nature of the situation; where, among the mountains, and in the vicinity of the sea, storms are often violent. The palace, therefore, is low; and, being on the ascent of a hill, the vestibule, dining-room, and drawing-room, which occupy the whole front of the building, are on a level with the first floor in the other apartments; two of which, on the ground floor, are a neat domestic chapel and library. His arms in front, impaling those of the see, have, I think, the date 1794. Similitude of character is sometimes the result of original impressions, and sometimes the effect of studious imitation. It was perhaps owing to both these causes that Bp. Bagot, in the mild-

In 1768 Bp. Warburton addressed a letter to that intelligent and intrepid Defender of the Rights of

mildness of his manners, and placid benevolence, was reckoned strongly to resemble his most esteemed friend the late Dr. Townson, rector of Malpas and archdeacon of Richmond. When the latter was rector of Blithfield, the other, then a mere boy, would often steal down to the parsonage, and read there with his friend for hours together, with avidity and attention worthy of riper years. The friendship between them, which commenced thus early, terminated only in the grave, which closes all mortal relations. In the great and good every thing is interesting. The deceased Prelate (one proof of a correct and elegant mind) wrote a most beautiful hand, which seems to be a family excellence; as the late Lord Bagot wrote a very fair hand, like the Bishop's, and like his brother's, the present rector of Blithfield, and all of them reminding one of the strokes of His hand, now motionless in death, who was once their venerable pastor, and always their intimate and dear friend. As a patron, the late Bishop of St. Asaph is commended for bestowing the ample patronage of his see with great disinterestedness and impartiality, not upon aliens, whether relatives or others, but among the learned and meritorious Clergy of the diocese, acquainted with the language and manners of the district."—He died June 4, 1802; after having been two years in a decline, which had wasted him nearly to a skeleton; but he was confined to his bed only one day before his death. His remains were interred at St. Asaph, with those of Mrs. Bagot, whom he survived not quite three years. There is a portrait of him in his episcopal robes at Christ Church, a striking likeness; but the fine expressive eye, which beamed in the living countenance, was not within the reach of the painter's art.—The following list will shew, that "Multum et veræ gloriæ, quamvis *non* uno libro, meruit." In the "Pietas et Gratulatio Univ. Oxon. 1761," on the accession of his present Majesty, is a copy of English blank verses, subscribed "Lewis Bagot, B.A. student of Christ Church, son of Sir Walter Bagot, bart." In the "Epithalamia Oxon." the same year, on the King's marriage, there is an English Ode; and in the "Gratulatio Univ. Oxon. 1762," on the birth of the Prince of Wales, blank verse again; both under the same signature as the former. In 1772, when the matter of subscription to the XXXIX Articles was warmly agitated, he published "A Defence of the Subscription to the XXXIX Articles, as it is required in the University of Oxford," 26 pages octavo, anonymous; in answer to "Reflections," also anonymous, on the other side. In 1779, the Radcliffe Infirmary Sermon was preached by "Lewis Bagot, LL.D. Dean of Christ Church," and published in quarto; the text Matth. ix. 4, 5. His Warburton Lectures came out the next year. In 1781 he addressed a letter, in 20 octavo pages, to the Rev. Dr. Bell, prebendary of Westminster, on the subject of his Dissertation on "the Authority,

Nature,

the Mother Country* against the encroachments of the Colonies, Sir Francis Bernard, bart. governor of

Nature, and Design of the Lord's Supper;" which Dissertation having been published while the Warburton Lectures were in the press, the most material parts of the specious argument were immediately obviated by the learned Dean, in an excellent note, p. 210—213, of that Work. On the same occasion also he reprinted, with a short Preface, Dr. Isaac Barrow's admirable Discourse on "The Doctrines of the Sacraments;" which, with the preface, is now one of the Tracts published by the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge. In 1783 was published a Sermon preached before the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, Jan. 30, by Lewis Lord Bishop of Bristol, on Psalm lxxvi. 10; and, the same year, a Sermon before the Governors of the Norfolk and Norwich Hospital, on Matth. xxv. 30, by the same, then Bishop of Norwich. Lastly, the Sermon before the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, in 1788, on Matth. xxi. 15, and that before the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, in 1790, on Dan. xiii. 3, were by the same Right Reverend Author.—These are his published works; two others, printed, but I believe not published, remain to be mentioned. In 1776 was printed, at Reading, an octavo pamphlet of 19 pages, intituled, "A serious Caution against the dangerous Errors of the Anabaptists. Earnestly addressed to the Inhabitants of the Parishes in Reading, by their lawful Ministers." This was originally drawn up by Bp. Bagot for the use of his own parish (Jevington, or East Bourn, in Sussex, of both which he was rector); and he permitted the Reading clergy to re-print it for the use of their parishioners: anonymous. In the Gentleman's Magazine for 1784, p. 929, is a short account of "A Charge delivered to the Clergy at the primary Visitation of Lewis Lord Bishop of Norwich;" which was distributed through the diocese, but not published: and in the year following, "Fidus. X." has a long letter, p. 366—368, containing remarks on the said charge, which he had "perused with the highest pleasure;" and though he differs, as he thinks others possibly may, "from this truly learned and venerable prelate in one or two points," he concludes with saying, "all who read his manners and his life will, I am confident, agree, that he is learned without pedantry, pious without ostentation, a faithful Christian, and, in every department of life, an amiable man."

* "DEAR SIR, *Prior Park, July* 10, 1768.

"I was exceeding glad to hear of your health, and of your welfare, by your favour of last May the 13th. I have done all in my power to serve Mr. Mather Byles, by recommending him warmly to the Bishop of London and the Society; and I think a man of whom *you* gave so good a character ought to meet with all the encouragement we are able to give him.—You have got immortal honour in our House [the House of Peers] by your manly, prudent, and steady conduct, amidst all the confusions both in the Old and in the New World. Whenever Government

recovers

Massachusets Bay, of whom I have had occasion to speak in a former volume *.

In 1769 he gave considerable assistance to Mr. Ruffhead, in his Life of Pope; and, about the same time, Mr. Thomas Davies, the well-known literary bookseller, gives a singular proof of Bp. Warburton's being pleased with a book then newly published †.

It is a melancholy reflection, that a life spent in the constant pursuit of knowledge frequently terminates in the loss of those powers, the cultivation and improvement of which are attended to with too strict and unabated a degree of ardour. This was in some degree the misfortune of Dr. Warburton. Like Swift and the great Duke of Marlborough, he gradually sunk into a situation in which it was a fatigue to him to enter into general conversation ‡. This melancholy habit was aggravated by the loss of his son and only child §, a very promising young

recovers its vigour, we think you cannot miss the reward of your important services. I have the honour to be, dear Sir,

Your very affectionate and faithful humble servant,

W. GLOUCESTER."

* See vol. II. p. 235.

† He tells Mr. Granger, May 16, 1769, "This day the Biographical History of England is published! — The Bishop of Gloucester has bought the book, which he calls *an odd one.* This is praise from him; for, if he had not an intention to peruse it, he would have called it a *sad* book. I was honoured with a visit from him this day." *Granger's Letters*, p. 25.

‡ The Rev. Job Orton, in a letter to Mr. Stedman, Sept. 23, 1775, says, "I received your letter from Gloucester, and was much affected by what you say in it of Bp. Warburton's state of superannuation. He was a man of great learning and abilities." —"The Bishop's memory and faculties, however," it is observed by Bp. Hurd, "was never wholly disabled."

§ The loss of this son, who was born April 6, 1756, and on whom the Bishop's fondest hopes were centered (see p. 604), was a most severe affliction. He obtained, 1765, the Royal licence for Ralph Warburton, a minor (son of the Lord Bishop of Gloucester), and his posterity, to take upon them the surname of Warburton-Allen.—"Ralph," the Bishop writes to Dr. Hurd, "is as good, though not so learned, perhaps, as you could wish. He is now going upon *Erasmus's Dialogues;* a book long out of fashion, which yet I have recommended to Mr. Graves, as a guard against too much poetry within doors, and superstition without.—But *à propos* of Mr. Graves. My wife has let him the great

gentleman, who died of a consumption, July 18, 1775, in his 19th year.

great house at Claverton, for which he gives 60*l.* a year: and the great gallery-library is turned into a dormitory: so that, where Literature generally ends, it here begins.—Pray thank Dr. Ross for his hospitality to me when I was at Frome about six weeks ago." *Nov.* 6, 1766.—"Ralph is now at home, and taller, better, and wiser; if not by some inches, yet by some lines. As to his learning, I leave that to his Master, with the same implicit faith that a good Catholic does his salvation to the Church." *Dec.* 26, 1768.—"A villainous music-meeting, the fruits of the reigning madness, *dissipation*, forces me soon from home; and, were it not that it forces me to you, I should execrate every fiddle upon earth. The worst of it is, that my Son will needs accompany me, though I questioned his accommodation. However, not to alarm you too much, I shall only have Emery, and one footman; and my Son and Emery will only have one room, with two beds. I can only stay a very short time; and my Son has never yet seen his Aunt, at Brant-Broughton. And we all think decency requires that he should pay her a visit: and this will be a fit opportunity. He goes thither on horseback, with William; and proposes to stay there only two or three days, and then return to us at Thurcaston; from thence we must go back to Gloucester. I understand, by a letter I have just had from Dr. Hallifax, who is now at Scarborough, that Mr. Mason, who is likewise there, proposes to come to us at Thurcaston, as he promised.—You will be so good to let me know whether you can accommodate us both. If not, I shall come with equal pleasure alone, without Ralph; and, on account of that pleasure, I never can break an appointment with you; all of which, I hold to be sacred: though I am in so ill a repute in my engagements with every body else, that nobody believes I ever perform any of them." *Aug.* 12, 1772.—"I got home this day to dinner, and cannot defer a moment to thank you for your kind hospitality to me and Ralph; not forgetting the corner of an incomparable cheese; which was almost the only thing I could eat at very bad inns on the road. We got home well, and in good weather, and found all here in good health, and much yours. My wife depends on seeing you at Christmas, as we despair of seeing you before. My Ralph is charmed with the house, and the master of it, at Thurcaston." *Sept.* 21, 1772.—"I shall be much obliged to you to secure the chambers immediately for Ralph. If you think Trinity Hall the best place for a Student intended for the Law, you will write to Dr. Hallifax, who, I dare say, will give you all the assistance in his power. Whatever you do in this affair, or in every thing else that relates to Ralph's settlement at Cambridge, will be kindly acknowledged and confirmed by me; and received as the greatest obligation." *May* 2, 1773.—"I have not yet heard from Dr. Hallifax. His pupil will be ready for him in the

He continued, however, both to correspond and to converse occasionally with a few old and valuable friends, in whose company, even to the last, his mental faculties were exerted in their wonted force; and at such times he would appear cheerful for several hours, and on the departure of his friends retreat as it were within himself.

After thus languishing for some time in a melancholy state of inertness of mind, he died at Gloucester; where a neat marble monument in the Cathedral is thus inscribed:

"To the memory of
WILLIAM WARBURTON, D.D.
for more than XIX years Bishop of this See.
A Prelate
of the most sublime Genius, and exquisite
Learning.

the beginning of November. I have great obligations to you for your kind intentions. He will come to you as soon as he gets to town." *Sept.* 25.—"I am perfectly satisfied in what you tell me of my son's conduct: nor had I the least anxiety about his being a strict œconomist: he must live as other sober youths, in his station, do." *Nov.* 26.—"You make me happy in giving so good account of my son. May I live to see him likely to become an honest man; this is all I wish. I do not know of any thing which will so much contribute to this great end, as your good advice and directions, for which I am infinitely obliged to you." *May* 30, 1774.—"I hope this will find you well settled, and in health, at Thurcaston; with my best thanks for all your kindness and civilities to Ralph in London, who is full of his acknowledgments for them." *July* 19, 1774.—"I left in your hands a will made in the life-time of my poor Son, which I have now altered in my Wife's favour; so that I must beg the favour of you to throw that into the fire which is in your possession." *Nov.* 3, 1776.—In one of the last solemn acts of his life, addressed, "To my dear Friend, Dr. Richard Hurd, Lord Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry," and indorsed thus, "To the Lord Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, to be opened and delivered to him at my Decease; W. G." he says, "I do hereby press and conjure him, to take under his particular care and protection my dear Wife; and to afford her all his assistance and aid, against all persons that may be disposed to injure or bear hard upon her. And this I press him to do, and likewise assist her with his best advice, in memory of, and in return for, the warm and sincere affection I have always borne towards him. This earnest request I enforce under my hand, this 8th day of April 1776."

Both

Both which Talents *
he employed through a long life,
in the support,
of what he firmly believed,
the Christian Religion;
and
of what he esteemed the best establishment of it,
the Church of England.
He was born at Newark-upon-Trent,
Dec. 24, 1698;
was consecrated Bishop of Gloucester, Jan. 20, 1760;
died at his Palace, in this City, June 7, 1779,
and was buried near this place."

Beneath the entablature is his head in a medallion.

Few men of real eminence have passed to the grave so little noticed at the time of his death. The Newspapers and Monthly Journals of the time were almost wholly silent, with the exception of the short article transcribed below †.

* Dr. Warton notices this as an improper expression. His Genius and Learning are called two *talents;* but Learning is an *acquirement.*

† "His Lordship's literary features are very striking, though he is not a regular beauty. If I may be allowed to carry on the figure, I would say, that his profile is handsome, but his full face has many defects. The strength, spirit, and high-colouring of his style, is as remarkable as his want of that purity and accuracy of language which less-heated minds may boast, but which are over-looked and unattended to in the ardour of controversy, and in the sallies of the imagination. The chief defect of Dr. Warburton, in his literary character, is *taste* and *judgment;* his greatest merit lies in a certain warmth of diction and argument in his writings, which seldom fail to entertain the reader, when they do not convince him.—One of his works, the title of which I cannot recollect at this moment, may be called *A Prose Dunciad,* in which he has introduced all his antagonists. He there attacks them with the vigour of a Hercules, and with the same weapon too, when perhaps the more polished one of a gentleman would better have become his cause and his profession. Many instances of a deficiency of taste and judgment may be seen in his notes upon Shakspeare and Pope—when he is most wrong, he can be ingenious; the reader is prejudiced in his favour by a certain spirit of language, which, when evaporated, discovers the fallacy of his Lordship's notions, and it leaves us to lament, that so much learning and knowledge should quit the plain direct path of truth

Bp. Warburton's widow was re-married, at Wyke in Dorsetshire, in August 1781, to the Rev. John Stafford Smith, B. D. his Lordship's Chaplain; who (in her right) became owner of Prior Park *.

In 1788 a handsome Edition of the Works of Bishop Warburton was carefully printed, from his last corrections and improvements, in seven quarto

truth and simplicity, to wander into the regions of fiction and surmise. I will venture to affirm, that there are scarce two pages in his editions of the above poets, which will not furnish examples both of his error and ingenuity. What shall we say of the *summum opus?* by which his literary character in future times must be established, and which his friends point to as the *monumentum ære perennius!* The *Divine Legation of Moses* is a prodigious work indeed! It shews us how far great parts and learning may proceed, without gaining the least advantage for our happiness, though it may for our instruction. The Author's friends, indeed, lift up their eyes and hands to it, as the consummation of wit, knowledge, and genius! Some sceptics, with Voltaire at their head, impudently asserted it to be a work of Infidelity; and some believers think they have drawn additional proof and comfort from it; while the wise and impartial read with much wonder and some delight, confessing the extraordinary powers of the author; but rise from the perusal of it, as they would from the Persian Tales, or Arabian Nights Entertainment. Notwithstanding this, Dr. Warburton stands foremost among the Criticks of this age. Had his judgment kept pace with his genius, he could have had no rival. As it is, who among our literary worthies can boast such a variety of knowledge, more extensive learning, or more extraordinary talents? An accuracy of style, as was hinted at before, is not certainly his best literary feature: but it must be remembered, that the banks of a smooth, gentle, flowing stream may be preserved in all the elegance and neatness of art, while those of a torrent will be perpetually broken, rude, and unequal." *Gent. Mag. vol. XLIX. p.* 340.—In the same volume of the Magazine, p. 351, is "A Conversation in the Shades between Warburton and Pope."

* "Last Saturday, poor Mrs. Allen died. As all the promise you made was to come if you should be at Gloucester, or at London; and as it was almost impracticable to get you; but principally not to give you the tedious and ungrateful trouble of so long a journey; we agreed it was best to confine ourselves to the terms of your promise, especially as we thought it would be very disagreeable to you to leave Thurcaston after so long an absence. So that by the time you receive this, the poor woman will be interred. *Letter to Mr. Hurd, Sept.* 23, 1766.—The promise alluded to was to perform the funeral service at her interment, as he had done at Mr. Allen's, by her desire.

volumes,

volumes, at the expence of Mrs. Smith*, under the immediate superintendance of Bp. Hurd, and at the same time the original pieces were published separately, in a single octavo; amongst which, the most prominent articles were, the Ninth Book of "The Divine Legation;" printed, so far as it goes, by the Author; but never before published, and left unfinished; "Directions for the Study of Theology †;" and the "Short Notes on Neal's History of the Puritans," transcribed from an edition of that Work, in three volumes, in the Library at Durham ‡; "which," to use his own words, "at one of my residences, I took home to my house, and, at breakfast-time, filled the margins quite through; which I think to be a full confutation of all his false facts and partial representations §."

* This lady died Sept. 1, 1796.

† "He had projected," says Bp. Hurd, "but never executed, a work 'On Theological Studies, for the Use of Young People;' a plan of which he had digested in his own mind, and communicated to me, by letter, so early as the year 1750." *Discourse, p.* 128.

‡ At the end of Book V. of the Divine Legation, in the collected Editions, is an Appendix in answer to Lord Bolingbroke. And another at the end of Book VI. "concerning the Book of Job, in answer to Lowth's Prælectiones."

§ In 1789 was published a volume, intituled, "Tracts by *Warburton*, and a *Warburtonian*, not admitted in their Works;" which has been severely censured; but whatever impropriety there might have been in thus bringing forward the Tracts of Bp. Hurd (of which hereafter) those of Bp. Warburton were an acceptable present to the publick.—"Among Readers of candour and discernment, the character of Bp. Warburton cannot suffer any diminution of its lustre from the re-publication of these juvenile performances. They who are curious in collecting Books, must certainly be anxious to possess *all* the writings of this eminent Prelate. They who mark with philosophic precision the progress of the human understanding, will look up to Warburton with greater reverence, and greater astonishment, when they compare the better productions of his pen with the worse. The faults of the one are excused by the imperfections of his earlier education; but the excellencies of the other must be ascribed only to the unwearied activity, the unshackled boldness, the uncommon and almost unparalleled vigour of his native genius. The Writer of the Divine Legation might, indeed, with propriety, have bidden defiance to those puny and churlish Criticks, who would measure his powers and his attainments by the incorrectness of his translations and the uncouthness of his verses. He that explored the "wide and trackless wastes of antient times" with so much sagacity and so much success, ought to have laughed at every imputation

An Appendix contains Letters between Dr. Middleton and Mr. Warburton in 1736; and Letters between Dr. Lowth and Dr. Warburton in 1756.

This edition was followed, in 1794, by a masterly "Discourse, by Way of General Preface* to the

tation of weakness, to which he was exposed from his credulity and singularity in the explanation of Prodigies." *Preface.*

* It would be impertinent in me to enter into the merits of this very interesting publication; "a work which," as an able Critick well observed, "at once excites and justifies attention; the Life of Bp. Warburton, written by Bp. Hurd, under a promise of the latter, and, from the distinguished merit of both parties, had long been eagerly expected." Among the more material episodic parts of this Biographical Preface are the characters of Lord Mansfield and Mr. Allen; and the satisfactory justification of Mr. Addison, which the good Bishop has there introduced after the mention of the defence of Pope against Bolingbroke.

"And here let me have leave to pause a little, while, in emulation of this generous conduct of my Friend towards one great man, I endeavour to perform the same office towards another; the most amiable of his time; who has suffered in the public opinion, by a charge of immoral meanness brought against him by Mr. Pope himself, and, as I am persuaded, without the least foundation The person I mean is Mr. Addison, in whose good name, as in that of Mr. Pope, Virtue herself has an interest. He and Mr. Pope were likewise friends; and this relation between them brings the two cases into a still near relation with each other.

"The charge I allude to is briefly this—Mr. Addison had uniformly advised and encouraged Mr. Pope's Translation of the Iliad, from the year 1713, when the design of that work was first communicated to him. He had even been zealous to promote the subscription to it; and in May 1716, when a considerable progress had been made in the translation, and some parts of it published, he speaks of it, in the Freeholder, No 40, in the following manner."—The passage is then cited, which is highly commendatory; and his Lordship thus proceeds—"Notwithstanding this, Mr. Pope believed, and his friends, as was natural, believed with him, that in 1715 Mr. Addison either translated himself, or employed Mr. Tickell to translate, the first book of the Iliad, in opposition to him. If we ask on what grounds this extraordinary charge is brought against such a man as Mr. Addison, we are only told of some slight and vague suspicions, without any thing that looks like a proof, either external ot internal. What there is of the *latter* tends to confute the charge. For whoever is acquainted with Mr. Addison's style and manner, must be certain that the translation was not *his own*, though Steele, in a peevish letter written against Tickell, has, it seems, insinuated some such thing. And for *external* proof we have absolutely nothing but a report from hearsay evidence, that Mr. Addison had expressed himself civilly of Tickell's per-

Quarto Edition of Bishop Warburton's Works; containing some Account of the Life, Writings,

performance, whence it is concluded that this translation was, at least, undertaken by Mr. Addison's advice and authority, if not made by himself. 'Still it will be owned that so generous a man as Mr. Pope must believe he had some proof of this charge against his friend: and I think I have at length discovered what it was. I have seen a re-printed copy of Tickell's translation, in which are entered many criticisms and remarks in Mr. Pope's own hand. And from two of these compared together, I seem to collect the true ground of the suspicion. But the reader shall judge for himself.—It was then in Mr. Warburton's hands. It was afterwards sold, by mistake, among the other books which he had at his house in town, to Mr. T. Payne; and came at length into the possession of Isaac Reed, esq. of Staple-Inn; who was so obliging as to make me a present of it, to be kept in the Library at Hartlebury (in which that of Mr. Pope is included) where it now remains."

Referring the Reader to the Bishop's "Discourse," pp. 52 & seqq. for the satisfactory arguments there adduced; I shall only add, that the pamphlet alluded to was fortunately picked up by Mr. Reed on a stall in Moorfields, whither it had found its way among some *rums* from Mr. Payne's shop; and that I was very happy in being the instrument, by making the communication to Bp. Hurd, of its being liberally restored.—My application to Mr. Reed was in these terms: "*Jan.* 9, 1784, I am going to make you a request, which you will refuse without the least scruple if it does not coincide with your own inclination. The Bishop of Worcester desires me to present his compliments to you; and to say that he has had occasion (in a Life of *Bp. Warburton*) to refer to the *First Book of Homer by Tickell;* which he *has* done, as a Curiosity in *your* possession. But what he wishes is (unless it is entirely disagreeable to you) to refer to it as being in some *lasting Repository*—in other words, in the Library he has founded at *Hartlebury* for the use of the *See of Worcester*, where he has already placed the Books of Bp. *Warburton* and *Pope*. If you are disposed to oblige the Bishop, he will purchase it at your own price. If you would rather keep it yourself, be so kind as to tell me so; who am, very truly, yours, J. NICHOLS."

Honest Isaac, with his usual liberality and accustomed bluntness, immediately returned this laconic answer:

"DEAR SIR, *Staple-Inn, Jan.* 9, 1784.

"A literary curiosity, I think, should neither be bought nor sold. I shall therefore certainly never think of parting with Mr. Pope's copy of Homer on those terms. If, however, the Bishop of Worcester wishes to possess it, I will very readily desire his acceptance of it, and for that purpose will send it to you as soon as I can get it returned by a friend to whom I have lent it.

Yours, very truly, ISAAC REED."

The good Bishop took the earliest opportunity of visiting Staple-Inn, to return his personal thanks; and the *First Book*

of

and Character of the Author *;" not printed for general sale, no more than 250 copies having been

of the Iliad was in consequence deposited at Hartlebury; Mr. Reed, however, first transcribing the notes of Pope into another copy, which is now in the library of Mr. Alexander Chalmers.

* It may hardly be worth mentioning that the learned Blackwell, in his Mythology, speaks of Dr. Warburton as a mere Antiquary; but Dr. Johnson's character of this literary Colossus is too remarkable to be omitted: "About this time [1738] Warburton began to make his appearance in the first ranks of Learning. He was a man of vigorous faculties, a mind fervid and vehement, supplied by incessant and unlimited enquiry, with wonderful extent and variety of knowledge, which yet had not oppressed his imagination, nor clouded his perspicacity. To every work he brought a memory full fraught, together with a fancy fertile of original combinations; and at once exerted the powers of the Scholar, the Reasoner, and the Wit. But his knowledge was too multifarious to be always exact, and his pursuits too eager to be always cautious. His abilities gave him an haughty confidence, which he disdained to conceal or mollify; and his impatience of opposition disposed him to treat his adversaries with such contemptuous superiority, as made his readers commonly his enemies, and excited against the advocate the wishes of some who favoured the cause. He seems to have adopted the Roman Emperor's determination, *Oderint dum metuant;* he used no allurements of gentle language, but wished to compel rather than persuade. His style is copious without selection, and forcible without neatness; he took the words that presented themselves: his diction is coarse and impure, and his sentences are unmeasured. He had, in the early part of his life, pleased himself with the notice of inferior Wits, and corresponded with the enemies of Pope. A Letter was produced, when he had perhaps himself forgotten it, in which he tells Concanen, "Dryden, I observe, borrows for want of leisure, and Pope for want of genius; Milton out of pride, and Addison out of modesty." And when Theobald published "Shakspeare" in opposition to Pope, the best notes were supplied by Warburton. But the time was now come when Warburton was to change his opinion; and Pope was to find a defender in him who had contributed so much to the exaltation of his rival. The arrogance of Warburton excited against him every artifice of offence; and therefore it may be supposed that his union with Pope was censured as hypocritical inconstancy; but surely to think differently, at different times, of poetical merit, may be easily allowed. Such opinions are often admitted, and dismissed, without nice examination. Who is there that has not found reason for changing his mind about questions of greater importance? Warburton, whatever was his motive, undertook, without solicitation, to rescue Pope from the talons of Crousaz, by freeing him from the imputation of favouring Fatality, or rejecting Revelation; and from month to month con-

taken off, to supply that number which had been printed of the Bishop's Works.

tinued a Vindication of the "Essay on Man," in the literary journal of that time called "The Republick of Letters." Pope, who probably began to doubt the tendency of his own work, was glad that the positions, of which he perceived himself not to know the full meaning, could by any mode of interpretation be made to mean well. How much he was pleased with his gratuitous defender his letter (of April 11, 1739, see p. 552) sufficiently shews."—By this fond and eager acceptance of an exculpatory comment, Pope testified that, whatever might be the seeming or real import of the principles which he had received from Bolingbroke, he had not intentionally attacked Religion; and Bolingbroke, if he meant to make him without his own consent an instrument of mischief, found him now engaged, with his eyes open, on the side of Truth. It is known that Bolingbroke concealed from Pope his real opinions. He once discovered them to Mr. Hooke, who related them again to Pope, and was told by him that he must have mistaken the meaning of what he heard; and Bolingbroke, when Pope's uneasiness incited him to desire an explanation, declared that Hooke had misunderstood him. Bolingbroke hated Warburton, who had drawn his pupil from him; and a little before Pope's death they had a dispute, from which they parted with mutual aversion."—["His Philosopher and Guide," says a late learned and amiable Prelate, "stuck close to him, till another and higher star had got the ascendant."]—"From this time," adds Johnson, "Pope lived in the closest intimacy with his Commentator, and amply rewarded his kindness and his zeal; for he introduced him to Mr. Murray, by whose interest he became preacher at Lincoln's-Inn; and to Mr. Allen"—[to whom, under the designation of his "worthy Friend Ralph Allen, esq." he dedicated his "Commentary on the Essay on Man," an improved edition of the former "Vindication," divided into Four Letters; and dated May 18, 1742 (see p. 579)]; "who gave him his niece and his estate, and by consequence a Bishoprick. When he died, he left him the property of his Works; a legacy which may be reasonably estimated at *four thousand pounds*."

Johnson's Works, vol. XI. p. 127.

Bishop Newton's delineation of this learned Prelate will be no bad companion to that of Dr. Johnson: "Bishop Warburton was in a great measure lost to the world and to his friends some years before his death, by the decay of his intellectual faculties, the body pressing down the mind that mused upon many things; which hath been the case of many a great Genius as well as himself. For he was indeed a great Genius, of the most extensive reading, of the most retentive memory, of the most copious invention, of the liveliest imagination, of the sharpest discernment, of the quickest wit, and of the readiest and happiest application of his immense knowledge to the present subject and occasion. He was such an universal reader, that he took delight

even

In 1809 the publick were gratified with a volume of uncommon curiosity, under the title of "Letters

even in Romances; and there is scarce one of any note, antient or modern, that he had not read. He said himself, that he had learned Spanish to have the pleasure of reading 'Don Quixote' in the original. He was excellent and admirable both as a companion and a friend. As a companion, he did not dwell upon little trivial matters, but disclosed a nicer vein of conversation; was lively and entertaining; was instructive and improving, abounded with pleasant stories and curious anecdotes; but sometimes took the discourse too much to himself, if any thing can be said to be too much of such an inexhaustible fund of wit and learning. As a friend, he was ingenuous and communicative, would answer any question, would resolve any doubts, deliver his sentiments freely upon all subjects without reserve, laid open his very heart; and the character which he was pleased to give Mr. Pope, of being *the soul of friendship*, was more justly applicable to him, and more properly his own. The same warmth of temper which animated his friendship, sharpened likewise his resentment: but even to his enemies, if he was easily provoked, he was as easily reconciled, especially after the least acknowledgment and submission, so that his friends truly applied to him the saying,

Irasci facilis, tamen ut placabilis esset.

He was rather a tall, robust, large-boned man, of a frame that seemed to require a good supply of provisions to support it; but he was sensible, if he had lived as other people do, he must have used a good deal of exercise; and if he had used a good deal of exercise, it must have interrupted the course of his studies, to which he was so devoted as to deny himself any other indulgence; and so became a singular example, not only of temperance, but even of abstinence in eating and drinking; and yet his spirits were not lowered nor exhausted, but were rather raised and increased by such low living.—The best and most valuable memorials of Bishop Warburton will be his own works. And yet his capital work, 'The Divine Legation of Moses,' is left unfinished, to the loss and regret of all who have any regard for Religion or Learning. It is indeed a loss much to be lamented, whatsoever was the cause, whether he was disgusted at the ill reception which was given to the work by several of the Clergy, for whose use and service it was principally intended; or whether he was diverted from it by the numerous controversies wherein he was engaged in defence of it. But he should have cared for none of these things, but should have proceeded directly and steadily to the end. The viper might have fastened upon his hand; but, like St. Paul, he should have shaken off the beast into the fire; and, like him too, would certainly have felt no harm. Whatever was the cause, the misfortune is, that out of nine books, six only are completed. Of the three remaining, he judged the ninth to be the most material, and had therefore

from a late eminent Prelate to one of his Friends;" of which 250 copies had been printed at Kidderminster, under the immediate inspection of Bp. Hurd, introduced by the following entry on a blank page: "These Letters give so true a picture of the Writer's character, and are, besides, so worthy of him in all respects (I mean, if the Reader can forgive the playfulness of his wit in some instances, and the partiality of his friendship in many more), that, in honour of his Memory, I would have them published after my death, and the profits arising from the sale of them applied to the benefit of the Worcester Infirmary. R. WORCESTER."

Several excellent specimens of Bp. Warburton's Letters have been given in the preceding pages; to which a few more, on various literary subjects, shall here be added*, selected from the Correspondence

written the whole, or the greater part of it, and had caused it to be printed, but could not be prevailed upon to publish it in his life-time. It is hoped that some of his friends, and those whom it may concern, will, for their own emolument, as well as for the public benefit, set forth a handsome edition of all his Works together, as a κτημα ες αει, a possession for ever."—This, I have great pleasure in observing, has since been performed by the Friend who of all others was best qualified for the task.

* "There are several letters of Burnet Bishop of Salisbury. If you have not done his article, and make it in *Salisbury*, I will lend you his letters: there are some singularities in them. They are wrote to Mrs. Wharton, the Poetess, Lord Wharton's first wife, whom Burnet rapturously esteemed."

"We shall now soon have Dr. Middleton's Tully: the following passage relating to it I transcribe from one of his last letters to me, because I believe it will please you—'I seem now determined for a subscription, especially as I have got an additional charge since I saw you, two small girls, about eight years old, who are now in the house with me, left by an unfortunate brother, who had nothing else to leave; but they are fine children, and have gained already so much upon our affections, that, instead of thinking them a burthen, we begin to think them a blessing; my subscription therefore is likely to be of the charitable kind, and Tully to be their portion.'—What think you of this? I think it more edifying than all Waterland's Book of Controversy:

'For modes of faith let graceless zealots fight,
He can't be wrong whose life is in the right.'

"You see this, if known, would much advantage his subscription; but I have no reason to think he has a mind it should be known; and therefore keep it secret."

"Peck's

with Dr. Birch (preserved in the British Museum) by the late Rev. Henry Maty; who says, "I have

"Peck's Advertisement has been an unexhaustible fund of mirth in this place [Newark]; and I don't doubt but our good friend Mr. Ray has had his share of it. He seems to have had a design of confirming what I said of the Poem, that it was his own, when he says, that, being his own property, he will give the reasons that induced him to pitch upon Milton for the author; which implies that, being his own property, he had a right to give it to whom he pleased; and he pitched upon Milton as the man most in his favour whilst he was writing blank verse. But his joining Herod the Great † to it, which is undoubtedly his own, ascertains the property; a poem, as well as a man, being to be known by his company. On which I will venture to pronounce condemnation in due form of law—that it shall *return from whence it came.* From a dunghill he says he received it, and to a dunghill it shall go, let him print upon as stiff paper as he pleases. In this case I am as clear and positive as the famous Etymologist‡, who said he not only knew from whence words came, but whither they were going."

"The Abbé Pluche, and the Author of the Letter about Poetical Translation, seem either to banter with an ill grace, or talk seriously with a worse. I cannot tell (whilst I reflect on such Writers) whether you gentlemen in Town have the advantage over us in the Country with regard to literary entertainment. Few books indeed reach us, but then those which do have some merit. I often think it is in this as in public shews; your great Town abounds with them; but then they are all monsters, white bears, and Champantzeis. We have few fine sights; but those we have have something of the dignity of Nature in them: a large gigantick stone-horse, or a huge ox with the fat of an hundred acres upon his back. But, for a couple of idle puppies to tell me Virgil is a rhymer, and Newton a dreamer, and to expect I should read through a hundred pages to see how finely they will prove it, is ten times worse entertainment than to sit a whole evening in seeing horses and monkeys play at putt and all-fours."

"Good old Mr. Baker of St. John's has indeed been very obliging. The people of St. John's almost adore the man; for, as there is much in him to esteem, much to pity, and nothing (but his virtue and learning) to envy, he has all the justice at present done him that few people of merit have till they are dead."

"What you say of the History of Charles the Twelfth is perfectly right. I remember, when that book first came out, a gentleman in town wrote me word of it, with this character, that it was a Romance, or rather half a Romance; all fighting, and no love."

† This was a translation of the "Baptista" of Buchanan, printed by Peck, with his "Memoirs of Milton." Prefixed to it are several very inconclusive reasons for ascribing it to Milton.

‡ Dr. Bentley.

"What

great pleasure in conveying these to the publick, as I am convinced they will do honour to that great

"What you tell me of the Society's referring Fourmon's Book to Pierce was pleasant enough, as he differs so greatly from Sir Isaac Newton, whose Conjectures the Examiner takes for *Demonstrations*. A word in your ear—what Sir Isaac wrote of the Egyptian Antiquities is the most wretched thing that ever was wrote by any body. But more of that in time. As to the passages of Mr. Pope that correspond with Leibnitz, you know he took them from Shaftesbury, and that Shaftesbury and Leibnitz had one common original, Plato, whose system *of the best*, when pushed as far as Leibnitz has carried it, must end in Fate. It is pleasant enough to see the different taste of Authors. Leibnitz, in his Theodicee Scheme, objects against Sir Isaac Newton's Theory of Attraction, because on that scheme the revolutions of the cœlestial orbs could not be performed without a perpetual miracle. And Mr. Baxter makes that very consideration one of the most recommending qualities of that theory, and has, you know, wrote a large book to prove that there is a perpetual miracle in the case; *i. e.* God's immediate power exerted in every moment of time.—I have a poor opinion both of Markland's and Taylor's critical abilities, between friends: I speak from what I have seen. Good sense is the foundation of criticism, this it is that has made Dr. Bentley and Bishop Hare the two greatest Criticks that ever were in the world. Not that good sense alone will be sufficient; for that considerable part of it, emending a corrupt text, there must be a certain sagacity, which is so distinguishing a quality in Dr. Bentley. Dr. Clarke had all the requisites of a critick but this, and this he wanted. Lipsius, Joseph Scaliger, Faber, Isaac Vossius, Salmasius, had it in a great degree; but these are few amongst the infinite tribe of Criticks."

"The Discourse on the *Somnium Scipionis* is, by your account, a master-piece in its way. I shall seek after it, but would sooner go to a house of office after it than to a Magazine. Well may those immortal treasures continue the delight of the parsons, when they hear the Author of ——— admits them into his study. In short, you deserve, as Shakspeare says, to have your eyes picked out with a Ballad-maker's pen."

"Would you believe it, there is not in all this neighbourhood [Newark] the Greek Ecclesiastical Historians! The Divines here are farther gone in *Tradition* than the Papists themselves."

"You tell me you have had reasons to decline a City Living. I can conceive no good one but that you are going to *Court*. If you be, I will give you the same farewell that Bucholcer, an honest dull German, gave to one of his friends who was making that journey—*Fidem Diabolorum tibi commendo, &c. &c.*"

"Bleterie's Life is indeed a very elegant one, and writ with much candour and impartiality. He is no deep man in the learning of those times, but his good sense generally enables him

man, whose philanthropy, greatness of mind, and true spirit of Christian toleration, will never appear in a more striking light than they do in these pri-

him to seize the right. It is no wonder he should be imposed on by ——, when the gross body of our Parsons are his dupes. But as Trinculo, who wants to carry Caliban into England, observes *that any thing there makes a Man*, so any thing makes a *Divine* among our Parsons. Our real scholars and divines, the *magnanimi heroes, nati melioribus annis*, have made our learning venerated abroad. Our traders in letters have taken advantage of that prejudice, and puff off all their miserable trash as master-pieces, even to that infamous rhapsody called *The Universal History*. And the deceit was easy. It was impossible for foreigners to suspect that our body of readers are tinkers, coblers, and carmen. So that when they saw the impatience of this learned publick so great that they would not stay for a whole book, but devour it sheet by sheet from the press, they conceived something very exquisite in what was so impatiently snatched at. For we are under the unavoidable necessity, in our general judgment of things, to estimate of foreign ware according to the sale and demand of it. And if our worst books (as they do) sell best at home, they will be those which will be known and read abroad. I believe I could give you a long list of capital English books that were never heard of on the Continent farther than their titles to be found in some brave dull German catalogue."

"I hope your apprehensions of the Earthquake abate. Folks seem to regard the third stroke of an Earthquake to be as certain and as fatal as the third stroke of an Apoplexy. But Dean Clarke, who is now at Bath, and whom Lord Fitzwalter calls the greatest Philosopher in the world, still affirms it to be an Airquake; in confirmation of which, he has a hundred circumstances to produce. For he is not like your vulgar Philosophers, who only invent hypotheses, and fit the phænomena to them as well as they can, which sometimes is lamely enough. He can invent the phænomena too, and so saves a world of labour, which, by the common rule of false, serves him as Algebra does the Geometer."

"This morning I had a letter from Cambridge, acquainting me with Dr. Middleton's death. They suppose his builder has killed him, or at least hastened his death. 'He declared,' says my letter, 'a few days ago, that he should die with that composure of mind which he thought must be the enjoyment of every man who had been a sincere searcher after Truth; expressed some concern that he felt his strength and spirits decline so fast that he could not complete some designs he had then in hand: and that he imagined he had given the Miracles of the early ages such a blow as they would not easily recover.'

"I do not see how the mere discovery of Truth affords such pleasure. If this Truth be, that the Providence of God governs

the

vate memorials, which, I am persuaded, could he look down from those regions where

His tears, his little triumphs o'er,

the moral as well as natural world; and that, in compassion to human distresses, he has revealed his will to mankind, by which we are enabled to get the better of them, by a restoration to his favour, I can easily conceive the pleasure that, at any period of life, must accompany such a discovery. But if the Truth discovered be that we have no farther share in God than as we partake of his natural government of the Universe; or that all there is in his moral government is only the natural necessary effects of Virtue and Vice upon human agents here, and that all the pretended Revelations of an hereafter were begot by fools, and hurried up by knaves; if this, I say, be our boasted discovery, it must, I think, prove a very uncomfortable contemplation, especially in our last hours. But every man has his taste. I only speak for myself.—All that I hope and wish is, that the Scribblers will let his memory alone. For though (after the approbation of the good and wise, one cannot wish any thing better for one's self, or one's friend, than to be heartily abused by them in this life, because it is as certain a sign of one's merit, as a dog's barking at the Moon is of her brightness; yet the veil that Death draws over us is so sacred, that the throwing dirt there has been esteemed at all times and by all people a profanation. If the Romans suffered their slaves to abuse their heroes on the day of triumph, they would have regarded the same ribaldries with horror at their funerals."

"As to Dodwell, I believe Middleton when he first commended his Book, overshot himself in his politicks. He had an early design of answering his Book, and he had a mind to make it a little considerable by his commendations. But the publick, which is easily duped, took him at his word, and so by duping themselves duped him, and reduced him to the necessity of crying down what he had cried up.—But now what Dunce is it to whom the publick will give the honour of his death? For the *literate* vulgar deal as much in murders of this kind, as the *illiterate*, in the *judgments* which overtake murderers. I believe as few men die of the rage or envy of Dunces as of the frowns of their Mistresses: and there is as little mischief done by literary as by amatory squabbles.—I am well assured the farthest this unhappy man went with regard to Revelation was only to suspend his belief; and this not so much from the force of any particular objections against it, as from his natural turn to academic scepticism. I have letters from him which convince me of the truth of what I say. But this will be credited by all who see (as every body may by examining) that this is the key to his writings on religious subjects, and the only one that can clear up all the ambiguities and seeming inconsistencies in his conduct."

"I do not at all disapprove of your parting with your Library. For

His human passions move no more,
Save charity that glows beyond the grave,

he would not be offended at the publication of them.

For I am fully persuaded Mr. Pope's prophecy will be fulfilled before Will Whiston's: and that his son Jack will see to the end of Learning before the Father gets to the beginning of his Millennium. However, do not be over hasty, for your books will sell best when there is nobody that can understand them. That thriving Auctioneer will tell you there are always the most buyers where there are the fewest readers. This is the best reason I have why you should suspend your project. For the rest, if you would get up into the higher forms, you must now do at Lambeth what you formerly did at the Charter-house, *learn your lesson without book.* I confess myself a dunce: I could never learn this necessary trick, neither in youth nor age; and have thriven accordingly.' But my friends have more cause to regret that than I."

"Have you read the octavo Book addressed to the Convocation for mending the Bible and Liturgy? I am much edified by the Christian spirit in which their demands for reformation are made; but a more wretched farrago of ignorance and trifling when they play the critick (which now-a-days is only another word for playing the fool) I never saw."

"Perhaps your comparison of Printers to Taylors is more pat than you intended: for why can't you get your cloaths from a rascally Taylor, but because he is working for half a dozen fops in the fashion? And why can't you get your sheets from the Printer, but because he is working upon Newspapers, Journals, and Magazines, the delight of the town, and the daily bread of town scribblers."

"You mention John of Antioch with two writers contemporary to the fact, Ambrose and Greg. Naz.; but I suppose he did not live till the fifth or sixth century. One thing I find recorded of him is that, like many of our modern Bishops, he was not known or heard of till after his consecration. His modesty does him honour with me, therefore I should be glad to know what this respectable person says about this matter; if he says any thing particular. For, to tell you the truth, I did not find him in my brief, as the Lawyers say; but I suspect him to be a shag-rag.—Another thing I beg of you is, to transcribe for me (if you can catch him) Ruffinus's testimony. He is such a vagabond I cannot lay hands on him; I suppose him skulking in some Bib. Patrum. As for that forlorn hope Theodoret, Philostorgius, Nicephoras, and Theophanes, I shall put them where they can do no hurt; as to good, little is to be expected from such poltroons, who are ready to run away to the enemy. —As to Meric Casaubon's story, I could have wished to have had not only the cooking but the catching of that game.

"At Oxford, Mr. Foster says, they expect a deluge of answerers against Middleton, by the first frost; for our cold and barren heads

When I say this, I do not mean to flatter him, or any of his surviving friends, for some of whom I

heads run not like those of the Alps in summer, but in winter, except that which overtops us all, the hoary brow of Whiston, which, like Mount Jura, runs both in summer and in winter."

"* * * * introduces his abuse on you, by saying, that you got a receipt for him of Sir Edward Hulse, that saved his life. Poor Mr. Pope received just such a favour from Southcot, and he never was easy till he got him a rich abbey in Flanders, which he did by the interest of Sir Robert Walpole and his brother Horace, with the Court of France; on which account it was, he always spared those two in his Satires, and highly complimented the elder. Let my soul be with a Philosopher like this, rather than such a Christian as * * * *."

"I took notice of an article in the Newspapers, which said, it was not true that you had received a living from Lord Ailesbury; who this Lord Ailesbury is, I know not; but I was pleased with the novelty of the paragraph, as if it was a scandal that your friends were willing to remove you; and indeed, as Lords go now, there is no great honour to receive favours from them."

"Lauder has offered much amusement for the publick, and they are obliged to him. What the publick wants, or subsists on, is news. Milton was their reigning favourite; yet they took it well of a man they had never heard of before, to tell them the news of Milton being a thief and a plagiary; had he been proved a —— it had pleased them much better. When this was no longer news, they were equally delighted with another, as much a stranger to them, who entertained them with another piece of news, that Lauder was a plagiary and an impostor; had he proved him a Jesuit in disguise, nothing had equalled their satisfaction. We bear with this humour in the publick; but when particulars have imbibed this *public spirit*, nothing is so detestable as such a character, and a man *without a heart* needs a public expiation more than a *beast* without one. I know some of these monsters, and so do you, I dare say, more than you esteem them. It is a pity that they should be sometimes men of wit."

The following letter was addressed to Mr. Andrew Millar:

"Sir, *Gloucester, March* 20, 1757.

"I find in the newspapers accusations to stir up the public resentment against the Editor of Lord Bolingbroke's Works. This I think ridiculous and unfair; he is not accountable to any particulars in what concerns his own conscience only: and it is perfectly ridiculous to suppose that Lord Bolingbroke left him the property of his writings with design they should be suppressed. The very contrary purpose is evident to the common-sense of mankind. But there is a contradiction between this and the declaration in the prefatory letter to Mr. Pope. Why, his whole book is full of contradictions, as well as weak reasonings, and pernicious principles. I perhaps may have occasion in due time to shew all this. But what is this to the Editor? Let the Author

profess great respect. He certainly had his faults; but, besides that none of them appear in my publication (except his openness of speech, and his manly pleasantry about fools, for which I reverence him, may be deemed such), they are such as all the world has long been acquainted with. They are, indeed, so notorious, that if it had been my intention to depreciate his character in an *Ana*, I should not have had recourse to private letters, but have compiled it out of his works, or the five hundred stories of him about town *."

thor answer for it; and he will have a hundred writers, I make no doubt, to call him to account. But if the Editor grows jealous (as he did in the case of the Patriot King) of one who neither thought nor said a word of him, but addressed all he had to say to Lord Bolingbroke (and yet was villainously abused by somebody or other on that account), he will find himself business. The worst I wish him is the best his friends can wish; that if he have not published these works with a perfectly satisfied conscience, he may make his peace, not with particulars, or the publick, which are nothing, but with Him only who can heal a wounded conscience, or enlighten an erroneous one."

Fragments.

"With regard to Mr. Mallet's declaration, there is only one way to convince me he is not the author of that infamous Libel, which is, by taking an opportunity of disowning it publicly. I think my honour is concerned, that it be publicly known I had no hand in the Letter to Lord Bolingbroke, merely on account of the Apollo story; and I shall do it on the first occasion. If Mr. Mallet does not do the same with regard to this Libel, I shall consider him as the author of it, and act in consequence of that belief. This I desire you would let Millar know; and, if he chooses, let him have a transcript of what I here say."

Note of Mr. Mallet's.

"N.B. I never took the slightest notice of this impudent and silly threatening from Warburton. The Writer I had no reason to be afraid of. The man I abhorred. A head filled with paradoxes unproved and unproveable; a heart overflowing with virulence and the most slanderous malice.—I never wrote a pamphlet, nor a sentence in any pamphlet, concerning this wrong-headed, dogmatical Pedant. D. Mallet."

* "As to the boldness," adds Mr. Maty, "of his judgments about literary characters, and particularly his saying that Sir Isaac Newton did not understand Egyptian Antiquities, that Clarke wanted sagacity, and that Markland and Taylor were no great criticks; what are they more than Voltaire's not liking Shakspeare, Scaliger's preferring the Æneid to the Iliad, and my (who am neither a Scaliger, nor a Warburton, nor yet, thank God, a Voltaire) falling asleep over Don Quixote, which I publish now to the world that I often do, that it may not be a novelty

Mr. Seward has well observed, that the Bishop "was one of the best Letter-writers that ever put pen to paper. His knowledge was curious and extensive; he had great wit, and great force of expression; and no reserve in communicating what his thoughts were at the time he wrote the Letters."

"His private friendships," says Bp. Hurd, "were with men of learning and genius; chiefly, with Clergymen of the Established Church; and those, the most considerable of the time. It would be invidious to give a list of these, I shall only mention, by way of specimen, the learned Archdeacons of Stow * and Winchester †."

To these may be added (not to mention his great patrons Mr. Yorke and the Earl of Mansfield) his sound adviser, and very excellent Biographer, Bp. Hurd; the accomplished Mr. Mason; the ingenious but unfortunate Dr. John Brown; the laborious and acute Critic Mr. Toup ‡; and the two profoundly learned brothers Dr. Joseph and Mr. Thomas Warton; against the first of whom, however, he was at

novelty in my manuscripts! *Valeant omnia hæc quantum valere possunt.* For what I know, the Bishop may be perfectly in the right in all those assertions; or, as the French say, there may be from more to less in it; or, if we may not say either of these without risking the reputation of our own critical acumen, it is only saying with Markland (who seems to have been a very amiable man, whatever kind of Critick he was) in a letter before me about Reiske's atrocious false quantities, 'We differ from him in innumerable things, as every man does from every man!'"

* Mr. Towne; see p. 539.

† "Dr. Balguy was a person of extraordinary parts, and extensive learning, indeed of universal knowledge; and, what is so precious in a man of letters, of the most exact judgment, as appears from some valuable Discourses, which, having been written occasionally on important subjects, and published separately by him, had raised his reputation so high, that his Majesty, out of his singular love of merit, and without any other recommendation, was pleased, in 1781, to make him the offer of the Bishoprick of Gloucester. Dr. Balguy had a just sense of this flattering distinction, but was unhappily prevented by an infirm state of health from accepting it. These Discourses, with some others, were afterwards collected into one volume, in 1785, and presented, with a handsome dedication, to his Majesty." *Bp.* HURD.

‡ See vol. II. p. 339.

one

one time inclined to have hurled the thunder of his vengeance *; but afterwards corresponded with him on terms of the kindest intimacy †.

* *Dec.* 27, 1761, "I think the Booksellers have an intention of employing Baskerville to print Pope in 4to; so they sent me the last Octavo to look over. I have added the inclosed to the long note in the beginning of the "Rape of the Lock," in answer to an impertinence of Joseph Warton. When you have perused it you will send it back." *Letter to Mr. Hurd, Dec.* 27, 1761.

"I am extremely pleased with T. Warton's new edition of his *Observations*, and have let him know as much by Balguy. I am glad he is in earnest with his project of the History of English Poetry: he will do it well.—Your advice will determine me to strike out the note on his *Brother*. The reasons you give have sufficient weight." *Ibid. Nov.* 30, 1762.

† In Dr. Wooll's very pleasing Life of Dr. Joseph Warton is the following extract from a Letter to Dr. Balguy, *Oct.* 7, 1762. "When you see Mr. T. Warton, pray tell him with what new pleasure I have read his improved edition of his "Observations on the Fairy Queen," which I had formerly read with the highest satisfaction. He says truly, p. 234, v. 2, that 'taste and imagination make more Antiquaries than the world is willing to allow.' He is a noble instance of this truth; and if he goes on so, he will rescue Antiquarian Studies (the most amusing in the world, and not the least useful) from the contempt of certain learned blockheads, and the stale ridicule of ignorant wits. Above all, there is nothing I more wish than an edition of my favourite Chaucer from his hand: nor would it be indifferent to an Antiquary of taste to have Wood's Antiquities of Oxford, as he wrote him in his own English, given to the publick, for the reason Mr. Warton speaks of in his Life of Bathurst. It would be infinite pity not to go on in illustrating Antiquity; since he is certainly the first Antiquarian of taste and spirit that we have seen since Spelman and Selden. I will venture to point at two slips, that he should set right in the next edition. V. i. p. 29. In Richard I's licence for holding *tournaments*, he explains *Warringford* by [*Wallingford*]; he should have said Waingford, six miles South of Stamford; between which two places there is a large heath proper for those exercises. Again, p. 194, *Cuir bouilli*, he explains by *tarred leather;* he should have said *tarred leather hardened in boiling oil*, to make it fit for that part of the knight's armour.—Pray let me know whether he publishes his *Theocritus* by subscription.—You may remember I told you I had an account to settle with Walpole, for his pp. 106-7, in the First Volume of his Anecdotes of Painters. Lord Mansfield told me at Gloucester that he had denied to every body on his *honour* that he meant me, and professed his great regard, &c. If he has bought off my resentment to his own satisfaction, I have no reason to quarrel at the price, how small soever it may be thought, from this influence. Believe me to be, Dear Sir, &c. W. GLOUCESTER."

He

He presented to Mr. Warton a copy of "*Pierce the Plowman's Crede*" (which had been the property of Mr. Pope *, who with his own hand had inserted an abstract of the plan †); obligingly condescended to point out to him the source to which many of the Romances of the Fourteenth Century owed their existence ‡; and afterwards

* Mr. Pope presented to Mr. West a copy of Hall's Virgedemarium, printed by Harrison, 1529—1602; telling him, that "he esteemed them the best poetry and truest satire in the English language, and that he had an intention of modernizing them, as he had done some of Dr. Donne's."—This copy, No. 1047 in his Catalogue, was bought by T. Payne for 18*s*. *Mr. Gough, MS.*

† "An ignorant plain man, having learned his Pater-noster and Ave-mary, wants to learn his Creed. He asks several religious men of the several Orders to teach it him. First of a Friar Minor, who bids him beware of the Carmelites, and assures him they can teach him nothing, describing their faults, &c.; but that the Friars Minors shall save him, whether he learns his Creed or not. He goes next to the Friars Preachers, whose magnificent monastery he describes: there he meets a fat friar, who declaims against the Augustines. He is shocked at his pride, and goes to the Augustines. They rail at the Minorites. He goes to the Carmes; they abuse the Dominicans, but promise him salvation, without the Creed, for money. He leaves them with indignation, and finds an honest poor Plowman in the field, and tells him how he was disappointed by the four Orders. The Plowman answers with a long invective against them."

History of English Poetry, vol. I. p. 287.

‡ "Montfaucon, in his *Monumens de la Monarchie François*, has printed the *Statuts de l'Ordre du Saint Esprit au droit desir ou du Noeud etabli par Louis d'Anjou roi de Jerusalem et Sicile en* 1352-3-4. tom. ii. p. 329. This was an annual celebration *au Chastel de l'Euf enchanti du marveilleux peril.* The castle, as appears by the monuments which accompany these statutes, was built *at the foot of the obscure grot of the Enchantments* of Virgil. The statutes are as extraordinary as if they had been drawn up by Don Quixote himself, or his assessors the Curate and the Barber. From the seventh chapter we learn, that the knights who came to this yearly festival at the *chatel de l'euf*, were obliged to deliver in writing to the clerks of the chapel of the castle their yearly adventures. Such of these histories as were thought worthy to be recorded, the clerks are ordered to transcribe in a book, which was called *Le livre des avenements aux chevaliers, &c. Et demerra le dit livre toujours en la dicte chapelle.* This sacred register certainly furnished from time to time ample materials to the Romance-writers. And this circumstance gives a new explanation to a reference which we so frequently find in Romances: I mean, that appeal which they so constantly make to some authentic record." *Ibid. vol. I. p. 335.*

shewed

shewed the most generous intention of promoting his interest *.

* The following letters, preserved by Dr. Wooll, are a sufficient proof of this assertion.

1. To the Rev. THOMAS WARTON.

"DEAR SIR, *Prior Park, Sept* 27, 1768.

"I believe this post will bring you two letters together from me—the first was written yesterday; and to-day brought me the inclosed from the Duke of Grafton.—You will find things go their usual train, to the exclusion of superior merit. The Duke and I give one another good words; they are all I expect from Courts; and they are more than Courts have any reason to expect from me. The only not unpleasing circumstance in my disappointment is, that it has afforded me an opportunity of shewing how much I am, dear Sir, Your faithful friend, &c.

W. GLOUCESTER."

2. To the Rev. THOMAS WARTON.

"SIR, *Grosvenor-square, Sept.* 22, 1768.

"I should with great pleasure have laid before the King your request to succeed to the Professorship of Modern History at Oxford, if I had not known that it was His Majesty's intention to confer it on another gentleman. The character you bear in the world, and the just pretensions you have to such a mark of distinction and favour, would, I am persuaded, have justified any steps I might have taken towards forwarding your wishes on this occasion. I am, Sir, Your most obedient, &c. GRAFTON."

3. To the BISHOP OF GLOUCESTER.

"MY LORD, *Grosvenor-square, Sept.* 23, 1768.

"I am honoured with your Lordship's letter, and am sorry that Mr. Warton, whose merit your Lordship so fairly states, cannot on this occasion meet with that success which he is equally with any one entitled to. Many of his Majesty's servants, who had supported with their votes Mr. Vivian on a former occasion for a Professorship at Oxford, joined early their solicitations in his favour for the vacant one of Modern History. This gentleman has undertaken to hold it on terms stipulated by the Vice-Chancellor, as the King had signified his intentions that this office should never any more be held as a sinecure. Though I have not the honour to be personally acquainted with your Lordship, yet allow me to say that this recommendation, from a person so eminent for his great knowledge as well as taste in literature, could not fail of having the greatest weight with me, who have the honour to be, my Lord, with the truest esteem and regard, Your Lordship's most obedient, &c. GRAFTON."

Again we find Bp. Warburton active, but with no better success, in a Letter to Archbishop Cornwallis.

"MY LORD, *Jan.* 25, 1770.

"My zeal for the interest of letters occasions your Grace this trouble. You may remember that last year I told your Grace

Some curious historical particulars relating to the impeachment of Lord Keeper Finch, copied by Bp.

Grace that I interested myself very much in behalf of a very eminent person, Mr. T. Warton, of Trinity College in Oxford, one of the candidates for the Professorship of Modern History in that University; Mr. Vivian, for whom it was designed, hesitating on the terms; and that, though a stranger to the Duke of Grafton, I had taken the liberty to acquaint his Grace with the character of Mr. Warton; presuming I was in order, as a Bishop, to acquaint the First Minister with a matter that merely regarded the advancement of Literature. This I then told your Grace; and you was so good to assure me that you would second my endeavours. Mr. Vivian is now dead; and your Grace's powerful recommendation of this very learned man will be of the greatest service to him; and give the greatest pleasure to,

My good Lord, &c. W. GLOUCESTER."

The following letters on the same subject are all addressed to Mr. Thomas Warton.

"DEAR SIR, *Grosvenor-square, Jan.* 29, 1770.

"I shall be very happy if the enclosed note, which flatters me so much, be the means of my procuring this Lectureship for you. I suppose I shall soon hear the King's pleasure—who is much set upon abolishing the scandal of the sinecure. I have assured the Ministry that I know of none so capable, nor none so willing as yourself to comply with his Majesty's purpose in this matter.

Dear Sir, most affectionately yours, W. GLOUCESTER.

"P. S. Since writing the above, I dined with Lord Mansfield; and he told me that Dr. Markham, Dean of Christ Church, had solicited the Archbishop, in favour of (I suppose) some Westminster man or other."

"DEAR SIR, *Grosvenor-square, Feb.* 14, 1770.

"I have the favour of yours of the 12th this evening. You did well in getting the best intelligence you could from Lord Abingdon, concerning Mr. Vivian's views. Lord Abingdon certainly pushed his friend's affair with the Ministry very lately; which confirms me in my suspicion, that in the midst of all this confusion, they are in hopes that the Professorship may return back again to a sinecure. If the King be true to his purpose, they will be deceived. But we must be upon the *qui vive*. I shall be at the House to-morrow, and have hopes of seeing both the Archbishop and Duke of Grafton there.—Were I now soliciting for some worthless fellow, I might safely trust to Courts to do after their kind. But the Great are as backward in paying their court to *Prince Posterity*, as if they expected nothing from him.—*Apropos:* you did extremely right in applying to Lord North. I am, dear Sir, your very affectionate friend and faithful servant, W. GLOUCESTER."

"DEAR

Warburton from a MS History of the Rebellion, are printed in Seward's "Anecdotes," vol. I. p. 377.

"DEAR SIR, *Grosvenor-square, Feb.* 15, 1770.

"I have just now received your favour of the 14th You will allow me to be, if no prophet, yet a good guesser. It is as clear as the day that Vivian hangs on the Professorship, in hopes that these distracted times, and a shifting Ministry, will throw it into his hands without the burthen. Your only hope now is the steadiness of the King's purpose.—I went, as I told you I would, to the House. I missed the Duke of Grafton, but found the Archbishop there. I acquainted him with the contents of yours of the 12th. He renewed his promises of zeal to serve me—Said that Vivian had got another Lord to solicit in his favour—I have forgot his name; and it is no matter. If Vivian will read Lectures as required, without doubt he will have the Professorship If he will not read, and declines the condition, and the King insists on the performance, you will have it. If the report of Vivian's death had been true, I had secured it for you. But I am afraid one disinterested man will never be suffered by Fortune to serve another. However, I will prevent, if possible, that neither Vivian nor his friends, with all their arts, play us a trick in this matter, by urging the Duke's honour home to him. I am, dear Sir,

Your very affectionate and faithful servant, W. GLOUCESTER."

"DEAR SIR, *Grosvenor-square, Feb.* 22, 1770.

"I have the favour of yours of the 21st You are a Philosopher, as appears by your contempt of the caprice of Fortune; and if one Philosopher may claim the assistance of another, you have a right to my services, were it only for the heroically bearing your disappointment; when, had your first intelligence been true, you had been settled in your Professorship by this time. I call it *yours*, because I have a strong fancy it will be so ere long. I am told from good hands that Vivian has an ulcer in his bladder, which is likely to prove fatal to him in a short time. I am, with the truest attachment,

Your affectionate friend and humble servant,

W. GLOUCESTER."

"DEAR SIR, *Grosvenor-square, March* 13, 1771.

"I was favoured with yours of yesterday this morning. I take it for granted you was grown very indifferent to this Professorship, or that you would have seen me on Sunday (I was only gone to Chapel) that I might have wrote immediately to the Duke of Grafton, who had actually got the thing for you of the King, in the supposition of the death of Vivian. That report proved false. So our labour was to begin again. But, as I now understand Vivian lay a-dying for some time, that was the time when you should have begun your new application. You sat out, in every sense, too late. I went to the House immediately on the receipt of your letter, to look out for the Duke of Grafton; but instead of him, I met Dr. Markham, the new Bishop; and

They were found in a large volume, all in Lord Clarendon's hand-writing, which contains the private Memoirs of his own life, as well as the public History which was extracted from this volume *.

"Few characters have been more generally misunderstood. In his temper he was generous and manly, and above all mean resentment; in his carriage, both as a man and a bishop, he was entirely free from that superciliousness which marks his writings, the habit of which was probably acquired in the Bentleian School. His *genius* and *learning* will need no panegyrist. There are, in every age, a class of fashionable, ephemeridal writers, who swim about, not ungracefully, on the *surface* of literature, like pretty school-boys; but never venture to *dive* in search of unsunned treasures; *Bp. Warburton* was not of this class; *his* name and his writings will be had in remembrance, when the names and writings of his cavillers and adversaries shall be quietly interred with those bishops, deans, and dignitaries, their predecessors, who, after having *strutted* and *fretted* their little hour, now sleep in peace in the pages of a *Godwin* or a *Richardson*."

he told me that North, the Dean of Canterbury, told him (the truth of which you depended on) that your Chancellor had got the Professorship for Nowel, the head of one of your Halls. And this must have been before you waited on his Lordship, who received you in so very obliging a manner—Such are the civilities of Lords! The Dean of Canterbury told the Bishop of Chester farther, that Lord North was extremely well disposed towards you. —I believe I am more vexed and disappointed than you are; and not a little of my vexation falls upon yourself; or, at least, would fall, did I not think you must needs be very indifferent about the matter. Perhaps, all things considered, you may have good reason for being so. I have your interest so much at heart, that nothing but that could console me for your ill luck. You are one of those few who, if they cannot command success, have the pleasing consciousness of deserving it. Dear Sir, in all fortunes,

Most cordially and faithfully yours, W. GLOUCESTER."

* The particulars were presented to Mr. Seward by Dr. Balguy, who received the copy from Bp. Warburton.

*** Two or three Extracts from Bp. Warburton's Letters have been repeated in pp. 166 and 546; but they are applicable in both cases.

No. XII.

EPHRAIM CHAMBERS.

EPHRAIM CHAMBERS* was born at Kendal, in the county of Westmoreland, of Quaker parents, who bred him up in the principles of the sect; which, however, as he advanced in life, he shewed no attachment to, if he even did not abandon them. He was put apprentice to Mr. Senex, the globe-maker; and, during his connexion with that skilful mechanick, acquired the taste for learning, which continued his prevailing passion during the remainder of his days. His principal work, the "Cyclopædia," was the result of many years application. It was first published in two volumes folio, 1728, by a subscription of four guineas, and has a very respectable list of subscribers. The dedication to the King is dated Gray's-Inn, Oct. 15, 1727. A second edition †, with corrections and additions, was printed in 1738‡; a third in 1739; a fourth in

* The particulars of the life of this useful and laborious author were originally inserted at the desire of a friend, who received some of the information from the late William Ayrey, esq.

† In an advertisement to the second edition, he obviates the complaints of such readers as might, from his paper of "Considerations" published some time before, have expected a new work instead of a new edition. A considerable part of the copy was prepared with that view, and more than twenty sheets were actually printed off, with design to have published a volume in the winter of 1737, and to have gone on publishing a volume yearly till the whole was completed; but the booksellers were alarmed by an act then agitating in parliament, which contained a clause obliging the publishers of all improved editions of books to print their improvements separately. The bill passed the Commons, but failed in the House of Lords.

‡ "While the second edition of Chambers's Cyclopædia, the pride of Booksellers, and the honour of the English Nation, was in the press, I went to the author, and begged leave to add a single syllable to his magnificent work; and that, for Cyclopædia, he would write *En*cyclopædia. To talk to the writer of a Dictionary, is like talking to the writer of a Magazine; every thing adds to his parcel: and, instead of contributing one syllable, I was the occasion of a considerable paragraph. I told him that the addition of the preposition *en* made the meaning of the

1741; and a fifth in 1746 *. Mr. Chambers's attention was not wholly devoted to this undertaking. He was elected a fellow of the Royal Society Nov. 6, 1729; and joined in a translation and abridgement of "The Philosophical History and Memoirs of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris; or an Abridgement of all the Papers relating to Natural Philosophy, which have been published by the Members of that illustrious Society, 1742," 5 vols. 8vo. His share in this work has been much censured by his coadjutor and assistant Mr. John Martyn, F. R. S. and Professor of Botany at Cambridge †. He likewise was concerned in a periodical work, called "The Literary Magazine," which was begun in 1735, and wrote many articles therein, particularly the Review of Dr. Morgan's book. Mr. Ayrey, who was his amanuensis from the age of 12 in 1728 to 1733, said, that in that time he copied near 20 folio volumes, which, Mr. Chambers used to say, comprehended materials for more than 30 volumes in that size, though, he at the same time added, they would neither be sold nor read if printed. He was represented as a man equally indefatigable, perspicacious, and attentive; yet never acquired

word more precise; that Cyclopædia might denote the instruction of a circle, as Cyropædia is the instruction of Cyrus, the *ou*, in composition, being twined in *o*; but that, if he wrote Encyclopædia, it determined it to be from the dative of Cyclus, instruction in a circle. I urged, secondly, that Vossius had observed, in his book *de Vitiis Sermonis*, that 'Cyclopædia was used by some authors, but Encyclopædia by the best.' This deserved some regard, and he paid to it the best he could: he made an article of his title to justify it. W. Bowyer."

Mr. Bowyer had conceived some extensive idea of improving this valuable Dictionary, on a plan which does not appear to have been put in practice. Mr. Clarke observes, in a letter to Mr. Bowyer, "Your project of improving and correcting Chambers is a very good one; but, alas! who can execute it? You should have as many undertakers as professions; nay, perhaps, as many Antiquaries, as there are different branches of antient learning."

* It was also re-published in 1782, and since again and again, in weekly numbers, with a success unexampled in the annals of modern literature.

† Preface to his "Dissertation on Virgil, 1770," 12mo, p. 361.

much

much money by his labours; very cheerful, but hasty and impetuous; free in his religious sentiments; kept little company; and had but few acquaintance. He was also very exact in money matters. He made a will shortly before his death (which was never proved) in which he declared he owed no debts, except to his taylor for a rocquelaure. He lived at chambers in Gray's-Inn, but died at Canonbury-house, Islington; and was buried in the cloyster of Westminster Abbey; with the following inscription, written by himself:

"Multis pervulgatus,
paucis notus;
qui vitam, inter lucem et umbram,
nec eruditus nec idiota,
literis delitus, transegit; sed ut homo
qui humani nihil à se alienum putat.
Vitâ simul, et laboribus functus,
hic requiescere voluit,
EPHRAIM CHAMBERS, F.R.S.
Obiit XV Mart. MDCCXL."

He had two brothers: Nathaniel, the elder, was an eminent solicitor in Chancery, and married the daughter of Mr. Woolley, secretary to the East-India Company, and widow of —— Newsham, a captain of one of their ships, by whom he had a son, who died young, and two daughters. The second, Zachary, was bred a writing-master, and became steward to Sir Harry Gough's grandfather and father, and afterwards deputy-surveyor of the Crown lands for near 50 years, in which place his son-in-law officiated for him till a short time before the death of Mr. Chambers, who was dispossessed of it for his last year. He died Dec. 20, 1780, aged 86, at Kensington, leaving, by a second wife, a daughter, who married (1765) to Sir William Wolsley, bart. by whom she had several children. Mr. Zachary Chambers married to his first wife another daughter of Mr. Woolley before-mentioned, widow of —— Lomax, esq.

ADDI-

ADDITION TO MR. THOMAS BAKER, p. 113.

Mr. Baker's Preface to Bp. Fisher's Sermon, containing some account of the History of Learned Men of his own College, is observed to be excellent in its kind. He afterwards carried on this History through a succession of its Masters, from the foundation to the end of Bishop Gunning's mastership *; which, together with many other volumes of Collections made towards a History of the University in general, he presented to his friend and patron Lord Oxford, the Treasurer's son †. They lay in the

* "The original History of St. John's in the British Museum is said to be fit for the press. The transcript in St. John's is *not*; the foreign Scribe having inserted the references in wrong places. I have corrected many faults in it. Nobody can publish from that copy who doth not know our History well himself. The History of St. John's sets out just as unluckily as Carte's History of England. The reflection in the first paragraph is enough to deter a candid Reader from going any farther. What was the cure of the King's-evil to the beginning of an History of England? or the principles of the Old House to the Nonjuring ones of Baker's times? This early declaration of party spirit made Dr. Powell adverse to its publication, though I remember nothing more of the kind in the sequel. His character of Bp. Gunning differs *toto cœlo* from that given by Dr. Edwards. — That the people of St. John's should have highly respected Mr. Baker, is surely much to the credit of the Society, especially if we consider how little people not actually members are liked for staying and taking up room." *T. F.*

† The following memorandum is prefixed to the First Volume of Mr. Baker's Collections, in the Harleian MSS. 7028.

"Know all men by these presents, that I Thomas Baker, of St. John's College in Cambridge, Batchelor in Divinity, have bargained and sold, and by these presents do bargain, sell, and deliver, unto the Right Honourable Edward Lord Harley, for and in consideration of 1*l.* 1*s.* 6*d.* of lawful money of Great Britain to me in hand paid by the said Edward Lord Harley (the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged by me the said Thomas Baker, and thereof the said Edward Lord Harley is for ever acquitted and discharged by these presents) all and singular my Books of Collections written by the hand of me the said Thomas Baker, being particularly specified, enumerated, and described, in a schedule hereunto annexed; to have and to hold the said prebargained premises, with their appurtenances, unto the said Edward Lord Harley, from and after my decease: but in case I happen to survive the said Edward Lord Harley, then to have and to hold the said prebargained premises, with their appurtenances,

custody of his Lordship's Relict, with many others of extraordinary value, till they were purchased, with the Harleian Manuscripts, by the Parliament, in 1753; and now make a part of the British Museum.

The remainder of his Collections, namely, sixteen volumes in folio, and three in quarto, he bequeathed to the University *; in hopes that a more favourable opportunity might offer, a more suitable encouragement be given to some other, for setting about so great a work †.

nances, to me the said Thomas Baker during my natural life; and, after my decease, to the said Executors and Administrators of the said Edward Lord Harley for ever. In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and seal, the 6th day of December, in the 3d year of our Sovereign Lord King George, &c. *anno Domini* 1716. THOMAS BAKER.

"Sealed and delivered, after the triple stamping thereof, in the presence of JOHN BILLER, HUMFREY WANLEY.

"Seal: On a saltire, five escalops, with crescent of difference; Crest, a lion passant.

"After the schedule of the XXI Volumes, on another leaf:

"This is to satisfy my Executor, and all others whom it may concern, that, whereas I did heretofore sell and convey, to the use of the Right Honourable Edward Lord Harley, all my XXI Books of Collections, written with mine own hand, by him to be received speedily after my decease: And whereas I have since written with mine own hand Two other Volumes in folio, one of them beginning with these words, "Collectanea è vet. Reg. Col. Regin."—and ending, "to perfytt felicitie;" and the other beginning, "Status Coll. S. et Indiv. Trin."—and ending, "where he is buried:" My will and intent is, that, in consideration of one guinea unto me now paid by Mr. Humfrey Wanley, the said Two MSS. are now by me sold to the said Lord Harley, and are to come under the same regulation with the XXI Books above mentioned; and shall be actually delivered to the said Lord Harley, or his agent, on the first demand made by his Lordship after my decease. Witness my hand, Dec. 24, 1719. THOMAS BAKER."

* Mr. Masters, after mentioning those given to Lord Oxford, says, "Those given to Cambridge are as valuable: or *vice versâ*. Dr. Ross turned over those at Cambridge, and assured me they were not valuable. It was much that he should give his History of a College from that University. I do not know that a single piece has been published from all these XXXIX Volumes; which does not bespeak much merit in them. He and Mr. Cole of Milton would transcribe any thing." *T. F.*

† "Mr. Cole left money to perpetuate the memory of him on the stone which covers his remains. I had left College three or four years; but was applied to by the Master, Dr. Chevalier, to write a short epitaph: but it was not accepted." *T. F.*

To

To the Account of Bp. Halifax, referred to in p. 630, may be added the following elegant tribute of respect from one of his learned and valuable friends: "Dr. Halifax was an eminent tutor of Trinity Hall at Cambridge, and the King's Professor of Law in that University. In 1782 he was advanced to the see of Gloucester, and translated in 1789 to that of St. Asaph. His distinguished worth and ability deservedly raised him to the high rank he held in the Church. But his character is given more at large in the following elegant inscription, composed by his father-in-law, the Rev. Dr. William Cooke, dean of Ely, and provost of King's college, Cambridge, and engraved on his monument in the church of Warsop in Nottinghamshire; of which church the Bishop was rector, and in which, for the reason assigned in the two first lines of the inscription, he was buried.

"Hic juxta filiolum dulcissimum, acerbo olim fato
Præreptum, paternas exuvias deponi voluit vir
reverendissimus SAMUEL HALIFAX, LL.D. et S.T.P.
Ex hâc vicinîâ oriundus, primisque literis imbutus, in
Academiâ protenus Cantabrigiensi floruit; juris civilis
prælector publicus, et professor regius; in curiâ prærogativâ
Cantuariensi facultatum registrarius; in hâc ecclesiâ
rector; in ecclesiâ cathedrali Glocestriensi primò, deinde
Asaphensi episcopus; quæ per omnia officia ingenio claruit,
et eruditione et industriâ singulari, summâ in ecclesiam
Anglicanam fide, concionum vi ac suavitate flexanimâ,
Scriptorum nitore et elegantiâ, vitâ insuper
id quod primarum sibi semper habuit inculpabili.
Natus est apud Mansfield Jan. 18, 1733;
calculo oppressus properatâ morte obiit
Martii 4, 1790, ætatis heu 57.
Catharina conjux, cum filio unico
et sex filiabus superstes relicta,
in aliquod desiderii sui solamen, mœrens P."

Bp. Hurd's Life of Bp. Warburton, 4to. p. 108.

*** For Memoirs of HUTCHINS, S. RICHARDSON, T. CARTE, JORTIN, BATTIE, CHESELDEN, JACKSON, and Bp. HURD, see their several Names in the INDEX.

END OF THE FIFTH VOLUME.

NICHOLS and SON, Printers, Red Lion Passage, Fleet Street, London.

No. XV. MR. JOSEPH STRUTT*.

In tracing the studious man and the artist in his path through life, a reader can anticipate but little gratification. Follow him, ere yet the thread of life be unravelled, to his solitary apartment; there you behold him with his pen or pencil in his hand, his mental faculties deeply absorbed, and barred against extraneous objects; and your presence would be an infringement upon the flights of his imagination, now on the wing, and panting to bring home some novel idea. But when, through the medium of an Author's literary labours, an interest has really been excited, whether on account of new information communicated, of methodical classification of subjects treated, of satisfactory elucidations and perspicuity of style, or from the intrinsic merit of his researches exhibiting at once unwearied labour and capacious powers of intellect; then every the minutest circumstance relative to him is sought after with avidity; the knowledge of his birth-place, of his family-connexions, of his person and character, are then memoranda of high importance.

Such notices may perhaps be expected by a generous and enlightened publick, as due to the memory of Mr. Strutt; whose literary labours, as well as the productions of his pencil and graver, they have been pleased highly to appreciate. An assemblage of interesting facts relative to the history and usages of his native country, comprised in several volumes, chiefly occupied the hours of a life chequered by misfortune, early embittered by the loss of an amiable partner, and long tending towards the grave through the pressure of bodily affliction.

Mr. JOSEPH STRUTT, the youngest son of Thomas and Elizabeth Strutt, was born October 27, 1749, at Springfield in Essex. Here his father possessed

* These original Memoirs are communicated by one of his nearest relations.

some property, and carried on the profession of a miller, to which he had been brought up under Mr. John Ingold, of Woodham-Walter, in the same county.

This Thomas was son of Mr. Thomas Strutt, miller, of Chelmsford, by Elizabeth, one of the daughters of Robert Younge, gent. of Halsted, in Essex.

On the expiration of his apprenticeship, Thomas Strutt, in 1743, married Elizabeth Ingold, one of his master's daughters; and settled first at Danbury, and afterwards at Springfield, in both which places he possessed some property; and at the latter of which he resided when his son Joseph was born. By his wife he had four sons and one daughter; of whom John* and Joseph alone attained to years of maturity.

In about a year after the birth of his son Joseph, Mr. Thomas Strutt embarked on a voyage for Constantinople; probably recommended by the Faculty so to do for the benefit of his health. He had a favourable passage to Smyrna†, where he stayed some

* John Strutt was their second son; and was born November 30, 1745. He became a surgeon, and acquired considerable eminence in his profession. He married a young lady of the highest accomplishments; and by her had two children; both of whom died young. After a residence of several years in Derby-street, Westminster, he died there, May 24, 1784.

† Five letters written by Mr. Thomas Strutt to his wife, in his passage to and from Constantinople, have been preserved; one of these contains some local remarks, which may perhaps be deemed worth transcribing; and the order of the respective dates set down.

The first of these letters, directed "To Mrs. Strutt, at Springfield Mill, near Chelmsford, Essex," (which direction is also upon the other four,) is dated from the Downs, October 24, 1750: a short letter, merely stating his arrival at the Downs, and sending his remembrances to his wife and their friends.

The second letter is likewise very brief; dated from the Streights of Gibraltar, November 7, 1750.

The third is longer than any of the other letters; and is dated from Smyrna, December 6, 1750; whither, as Mr. Strutt observes, he "arrived on Saturday last, in good health and good spirits; and on Sunday went on shore; but could meet with no person that could speak English; however, by the help of the

little

time: he sailed thence to Constantinople, and returned to Smyrna; where it is supposed he caught the small-pox; he lived till the ship arrived at Plymouth, and died there, about June 1751, before his wife could arrive to bid him adieu for ever. On receiving the melancholy intelligence, Mrs. Strutt proceeded to Plymouth, and recovered her deceased husband's effects.

Thus, at the tender age of a year and a half, was Joseph Strutt bereaved of his parent. The care of his early tuition now devolved on his mother: and she, at a suitable time, placed him at the school at Chelmsford, where he attained the rudiments of boyish education, as reading, writing, and a scanty knowledge of grammar. The lessons of piety and of his duty to his Maker, were early instilled into him from his mother's lips: her example and precept went hand in hand to invite his imitation: and he seems to have retained to his latest breath the

little knowledge I have of the French, I have sold some of my knives, and wish I had brought more. The town is semicircular, about a mile in length, and makes a very agreeable prospect to the harbour; the ships lying within gunshot of the town: but the streets are so very narrow, and the houses so thick, that it is very nauseous withinside. I expect to go hence to Constantinople on Saturday morning, and be here again in May; and, if we have good luck, at home the latter end of August. You must not expect to hear from me again until I come to London; this being the last ship that goes home this season." He concludes with the following postscript: "Wine here sixpence *per* gallon, the best at eight pence. A very plentiful place. Never had my health so well in my life; not having had so much as the head-ache."

The fourth letter, dated from Smyrna, December 8, 1750, is brief; and mentions that he was in good health; and that they were then weighing anchor for Constantinople.

The fifth letter is dated March 1st, 1750-1, from the same place. He had proceeded to Constantinople, and returned to Smyrna, in the space of time that had elapsed between the date of this and the former letter. He says, "We are now loading in Smyrna Bay for the homeward-bound passage; and I hope I shall see you some time in July.—P. S. We have buried our poor Captain in our passage to Constantinople. We brought the Dutch Embassadress with her retinue from Constantinople to Smyrna."

fondest regard for the counsels of this monitress of his youth *.

At the age of fourteen, he was apprenticed by his mother to the unfortunate Mr. William Wynn Ryland, in 1764; and in 1770 became a student at the Royal Academy; where he had the gold and silver medals adjudged to him; the former for a painting in oil †, and the latter for the best Academy-figure.

Having with fidelity accomplished the term of his servitude under Mr. Ryland, Mr. Strutt took up his residence in the family of his friend Mr. Thane. His future prospects, and the ardour of his imagination, on entering the world for himself, are best declared in his own words, in a letter which he wrote to his mother on that occasion; part of which is here extracted.

"I thank you, honoured Madam, for the joy you express at this your son's first-gained ‡ laurel; and also those our worthy friends for the interest they take in my welfare, as also for every obligation they have so generously laid upon me: and though I know it is not in my power to repay their kindness, yet I have a heart that, thoroughly sensible of all these favours, overflows with gratitude and acknowledgements, which I am sure will never be forgotten: nor can I deviate from that respect, which I owe to their

* See extracts from a letter written by Mr. Strutt to his mother, p. 676, *note*.

† It appears, that this was the first attempt Mr. Strutt ever made to paint in oil; and what is singular, he had for his competitor the celebrated Hamilton. The arbitrators were long deciding whose design should carry the palm; but at last it was decided in Mr. Strutt's favour. This was undoubtedly a grand triumph to a youth of his aspiring genius. The subject of his picture was taken from the second book of the Æneid; where the Poet describes the lambent flame as descending on the head of Iülus; old Anchises on his couch is invoking the gods; and Æneas, in the foreground, is rushing out to the battle. The *design*, rather than the *execution*, (as may be conceived from a first attempt,) secured Mr. Strutt the prize.

‡ This was the gold medal, the first ever given at the Royal Academy, for the best historical picture; this he gained in December 1770.

good-

good-will: I will at least strive to the utmost to give my worthy benefactors no reason to think their pains thrown away. If I should not be able to abound in riches, yet, by GOD's help, I will strive to pluck that palm which the greatest Artists of foregoing ages have done before me: I will strive to leave my name behind me in the world, if not in the splendour that some have, at least with some marks of assiduity and study; which, I can assure you, shall never be wanting in me. What! though the path to honour is rough, and hard to gain, yet so it is ordained: the honour gained, comes so much the sweeter for the trouble, and thoroughly repays the assiduity and labour of the Artist. Who can bear to hear the names of Raphael, Titian, Michael Angelo, &c. the most famous of the Italian masters, in the mouths of every one; and not wish to be like them? And, to be like them, we must study as they have done, take such pains, and labour continually like them: the which shall not be wanting on my side, I dare affirm: so that, should I not succeed, I may rest contented, and say, I have done my utmost. GOD has blessed me with a mind to undertake; and I hope, with His help, to persevere firmly, and to reap the pleasure of making a figure in the world, as well as they have done. You, dear Madam, will excuse my vanity: you know me, from my childish days, to have been a vain boy, always desirous to execute something to gain me praises from every one; always scheming and imitating whatever I saw done by any body. But I fear I shall tire you; so I will change the subject. I propose coming down about April, in the time of vacation at the Royal Academy."

In the summer of the year 1771, Mr. Strutt was first introduced to the British Museum. He was there employed to make some drawings for a gentleman. The rich stores of Science and of Art, which there arrested his notice, tended to give a new bias to his vigorous imagination: he embraced in idea the grand projects which his subsequent labours brought to maturity.

June

June 27, 1771, Mr. Strutt says, in a letter to a friend, "I hope, and indeed every thing assures me, I shall soon be settled: I am about a work at the Museum on my own account; and only wait till that is completed, to come to Stratford. I have consulted with some people who understand the nature of such works; and they all give me great hopes of making a tolerable profit of it: besides which, it will introduce me still further in the world; which is of some consequence to one in my situation*."

In another letter, dated London, Aug. 21, 1773, he says, "I would not only be a great Antiquary, but a refined Thinker: I would not only discover antiquities, but would, by explaining their use, render them useful. Such vast funds of knowledge lie hid in the antiquated remains of the earlier ages: these I would bring forth, and set in their true light."

In 1773, Mr. Strutt published his first literary production, the "Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of England;" and in June 1774, the first volume of what he then called his "great work," viz. "Ꝑonꝺa Anꝛel-Cynnan;" or, Manners and Customs of the English†.

Of his unwearied diligence in the pursuit of this second work, his own words may afford the most satisfactory evidence. Jan. 29, 1774, he thus writes to a friend: "If you knew the whole extent of my business at this present moment, you would pity me: for, having so many things upon my head at once, I can scarcely find a leisure moment; what with engraving of plates, correcting and writing for the press, and making my drawings, my whole time, from the morning till nine or ten at night, is quite taken up."

* The postscript to this letter contains this observation: "Pray excuse the shocking hand: I am a sad writer: what is extraordinary, when I first began to draw, I wrote a good hand; but drawing spoiled it entirely."

† In a letter to his mother, June 8, 1774, he informs her, that "he has lately published the first volume of his work, which meets with more success than he expected; and affords the highest gratification to all who have seen it."

In

In August 1774, Mr. Strutt married his cousin, Anne Blower, daughter of Mr. Barwell Blower, of Bocking, in Essex, bays-maker. He then resided in Duke-street, opposite Portland-chapel.

In 1775, he published a second volume of his "Manners and Customs:" and in 1776, he added a third Volume to this work; though his first design was to have comprised the whole in two volumes *.

In 1777, Mr. Strutt again claimed public patronage for a new work, the "Chronicle of England;" a volume of which then appeared: and in the subsequent year, he brought forward a second volume of this work. It was indeed his intention to have extended the Chronicle to six volumes; but the want of due encouragement compelled him to relinquish his design: and this work must be regarded as a complete performance merely as far as it goes †.

On the 24th of August 1778, Mrs. Strutt gave birth to a daughter: and on the 15th of the following month she was herself cut off in early life; for she had not completed her 24th year. To attempt to describe what her inconsolable Husband felt on the occasion, were a useless labour. His grief was poignant, and durable; for till his latest moments he fondly cherished the memory of his Wife ‡.

* See his preface to the third volume.

† The writer of this article has been confirmed in his own opinion respecting the merits of Mr. Strutt's Chronicle, by the testimony of a gentleman, of the most cultivated mind and the finest talents; who declares that it contains much valuable information, and does high credit to the Author.

‡ In 1779, Mr. Strutt published anonymously a short Poem descriptive of his recent heavy loss. In consequence of the omission of the author's name, and from the confined distribution of the few copies that were printed, the Poem itself has become exceedingly rare. It is hoped, that the insertion of a part of this composition, sufficient to exhibit the subject-matter of the whole, will not be deemed unworthy of a place here, in farther continuation of this note. Though the Author was unknown to the Publick as a Poet, his talents in that path of Literature were by no means left uncultivated. The reader is referred to a dramatic Poem written by Mr. Strutt, intituled, "Alfred," (or *Antient Times*;) which was published about four years ago, in the fourth volume of his Tale called "Queenhoo Hall."

The

She was buried in the ground belonging to the parish of St. Mary-le-bone. By her, Mr. Strutt had three

'The three ensuing lines exhibit the title of the Poem.

An Elegiac Poem: in different Measures; without Rhyme. To the Memory of an Amiable and Virtuous Wife, her disconsolate Husband offers this grateful proof of his sincere affection.

NO more, thou woe-foreboding bird,—no more,
With baleful screams, disturb this lonely dale:
But, winging hence thy flight, deep darkness seek,
And Night thy patroness! These gloomy paths
To solemn Silence and terrific Death
Are sacred! Here the Spectre stalks
In aweful solitude! here Horror dwells,
His dreadful harbinger!—Ye drear abodes,
Deserted by the living, where no sounds
Of joy are heard,—but Sorrow's plaintive voice,
Perhaps, by day;—and loud nocturnal shrieks
Of midnight-waking birds from yonder spire,
Which rears above the grove its ruin'd brow,—
Or else the raven's harsh, ill-omen'd song,
Forlornly perch'd on that tall leafless tree;—
A wretched Son of Sorrow enters now
Your consecrated walls: - - - - but not, O Death,
With rude profaneness to molest thy reign,
Or hence to chase the melancholy throng
Of silent spirits hovering in the air
Over the relicks of mortality.
In peace, therefore, receive me, cruel king
Of soul-felt terror! Thy remorseless hand
Tore from my bosom *all* my heart held dear!
And now I come, with these my little Babes,
To seek her fleeting Spirit;—*that* thy dart
Can never wound:——Ye hallow'd manes, hail!
Hail, all ye pensive ghosts, who fan the breeze
With new-born pinions, and majestic glide
Around these solemn tombs,—to watch the dead!
But where, beloved SPIRIT, where art thou,
In search of whom I tread these dreary paths?
Oh, fruitless search! for, if indeed she hear
My fond complaint, or stand before mine eyes,
I see her not: for, dull humanity
Has veil'd the sight of my embodied soul,
Bound fast in prison! Now, perhaps, she smiles
On me, and you, dear pledges of her love,
Delighted to behold us once again!——
Advance, sweet Innocents, and view that grave!——
Beneath that rising dust your MOTHER lies;
A clay-cold, silent corpse; pale as the shroud

Thy

children; Joseph, born May 28, 1775; William, born March 7, 1777; and Anne, born (as before men-

That now she wears!—O blessed Spirit, hear
Thy Lover's call! And if perchance thou art
Yet gliding through the air about this spot,
To bid the earth, enliven'd once by thee,
Farewell for ever;—oh, accept these tears,
A tribute to thy memory justly due!—
But if far hence to realms of endless day
Thou hast already wing'd thine airy flight,
And now, amongst unnumber'd multitudes
Of Angels and the spirits of the just,
Art rank'd in glory, ever to proclaim
Thy great CREATOR's praise!—peace be with thee!—
Eternal peace, and blessings without end!
" Unhappy Babes! no more shall ye behold
Your tender PARENT!—From the caves of Death
There's no return; but, in those dark confines,
The senseless body sleeps, and moulders into dust!!—
No more for me, those transient scenes of joy;
When as with fond embrace repeated oft,
She press'd you to her bosom; then, when first
She taught your infant tongues to lisp my name!——
Those happy hours, like visions of the night,
Are fled away!—— your MOTHER comes no more,
To kiss and bless you!——Do ye smile, my Babes?
Alas! alas! ye are as yet too young
To feel your grief, or mourn a MOTHER's loss!"
Hark! heard I not the mournful voice of Woe?
Responsive Woe!—Ye breezes, waft ye not
Some gentle murmurs?——None! No sound returns
Of sympathetic sorrow; mine alone
Disturbs the aweful silence; and the shade
Of my Beloved hastens far away!
' Return! return!'—O, vain delusive hope!
She hears me not! the frozen hand of Death
Has clos'd her ears, and on her lovely lips
Impress'd his heavy seal! All my complaints,
In empty air, unnotic'd, float away!——
So, oft, in woodland grove or gloomy dell,
The wakeful Nightingale repeats, unheard,
In warbling notes, her solitary song.
I sought for Comfort in this hallow'd spot;
And here I hop'd to find her; but in vain:
Horror and Death these solemn confines claim;
Kind Comfort enters not! The time was once,
When soft endearments from a tender heart,
Belov'd and loving, hush'd the rising gusts
Of temporal grief, and to my anxious mind

Restor'd

tioned) Aug. 24, 1778. The two sons are now liv ing; but the daughter died young.

Restor'd tranquillity!———Now, I feel
Thy loss indeed, my ANNA!—Now, no ear
Listens, like thine, obsequious to my plaints;
No tongue, like thine, with soft condolence soothes
The bitter anguish boiling in my breast!
To gentle souls will I direct my song,—
To breasts where tender Pity rears her throne;
For, they will listen, they will sympathize;
Whilst hearts more rugged may reject my lays,
And scorn the plaintive language of distress!
But ye, whose eyes disdain not to declare
The inward feelings of a generous mind,
Drop, for compassion's sake, one tear with me:
For, in a dark and fatal hour, I lost
My life's Companion; truest, dearest Friend!
As when the rose, first opening to the sun,
Is cropp'd by rustic hand, and fades ere noon:
So, in the bloom of youthful innocence,
My charming ANNA bow'd her lovely head
To death untimely, and an early grave!
Pathetic tears, which stream'd from every eye
At her decease, bore witness of her worth:—
And she deserv'd them all! Pure unaffected love
She thought my due; meekness and chastity
Adorn'd her guiltless mind. A pleasing smile
Of affability met all her friends,
And bade them welcome. From the voice of want
She turned not, but minister'd relief
With sweet benevolence. Her pious prayers
Ascended daily, and before the Throne
Of EVERLASTING MAJESTY appear'd
To witness for her, and prepare her way
From this dull region of incessant woe
To endless life and happiness supreme!
She was---- but wherefore make I these complaints?—
Or can a private loss like mine affect
The busy world? Ah, no! the scene's the same,
And Nature still assumes her usual garb:
The rosy Morn dispels the shades of Night,
And lucid dew-drops sparkle o'er the lawn:
Arising early from her humble bed,
The lark soars high, and hails with cheerful song
Returning day; the village-cock erects
His head majestic, and proclaims aloud
The rustic's usual summons;—he, refresh'd
With care-dispelling sleep, forsakes his cot,
And whistles rudely, as across the glebe

He

April 5, 1780, died Mrs. Elizabeth Strutt; and her son John (as before noticed) on the 24th of May 1784.—The loss of this affectionate parent occasioned another severe shock to the already wounded feel-

He stalks along, his labour to resume:
Whilst from each spray, in woodland gloom or dale,
Or on the banks of cool translucent springs,
The feather'd choristers responsive join
In warbling harmony; the dews disperse,
And fragrant breezes, breath of opening morn,
Sport o'er the meads, and wanton through the groves!
Yet this fair tranquil scene delights no more;
My tears flow still; my soul is sick with grief!
All Nature smiles refresh'd; the world seems gay;
And Mirth and Innocence make glad the hearts
Of yonder rustic troop; where cheerful songs
Forbid the rude approach of wrinkled Care.
Ah, happy souls! pursue your pleasures still;
Whilst I, the child of Woe, with willow'd brow,
Will wander here alone, and here complain;
Or count the tedious minutes as they pass,
Till gentle sleep shall steal upon mine eyes,
Fatigu'd with watching:—when some pleasing dream
May for a moment give me back my LOVE!
In such sweet visions, oh, that life would pass
Serenely onward! like the gentle stream
Which glides incessant through yon fertile mead,
Unruffled by the sportive breeze of morn!
And thou, O World, inconstant World! farewell!
For, by severe experience, now I find
Thou hast no comfort for the grief-sick heart;
But all thy pleasures and thy boasted gifts
Are various vanities; they follow not
The fond possessor to the gloomy grave,
But on the brink desert him; while, alone,
And naked, he descends the doleful cave,
Where ghastly Death his wide dominion holds,
In horrid silence, and o'erwhelm'd with night!
The busy scene of life disgusts my soul:
For Sorrow has unplum'd Ambition's wings,
And chill'd the warm expanding ray of hope;
The World has now no pleasures left for me!

The interchange of maternal and filial affection is happily expressed in the following passages, which are extracted from two letters; the one from Mrs. Elizabeth Strutt to her son Joseph; and the other from Mr. Joseph Strutt to his mother: and with these this long note shall be concluded.

My

ings of her son Joseph: and indeed she well deserved the warmest filial respect: she was a good mother, a steady friend, and a firm Christian. She was born September 23, 1727.

"My Dear Son, *September* 30, 1778.

Permit your afflicted Mother to send you a few lines by way of advice and consolation: look over the defects you meet with in it; but doubt not of the sincerity. Happy shall I be, if I can administer any comfort, or pour some healing balm into the wound you have so lately received. But what am I, poor dust and ashes, to think of alleviating another's sorrows, and never could have borne my own, had I not put my trust in that Almighty Being's promise, which says, "Leave thy fatherless children; I will preserve them alive: and let thy widows trust in me." On this as on a sure foundation I built my hope: and have I been disappointed? No; it is that which has enabled me to weather all the storms of a merciless world, the frowns of fortune, and the temptations of the wicked-one. I was young like you, when first I tasted the bitter cup of affliction. May the Almighty comfort your dejected soul, and give you fortitude to bear your lot with Christian-like resignation. Nature is weak, indeed, and bids us weep: but Religion says, "Weep not: for she's at peace. She was taken away speedily, lest deceit should alter her understanding, or sin beguile her soul;" that precious soul, which now is clothed in white robes, the presents bestowed upon her by her dear Redeemer, in whom she trusted. The thoughts of this have calmed my griefs to rest: my cares are now for those dear innocent babes that are left behind: a double portion of tenderness is due to them from you now: my sincere prayer to God is that, He will be pleased to give you health and abilities to bring them up: and, if I can render you any service, I shall be most happy in so doing, &c. Your affectionate Mother, E. Strutt."

"Honoured Madam, *Duke-street, May* 26, 1779.

I am quite miserable at the account I have received of your ill health. I take this instant opportunity of informing you of my uneasiness on this alarming occasion; and my sincere joy at hearing you are greatly better: — Pray God restore you speedily to perfect health, and God send that I may very soon know from your own hand, that you are out of all danger of a relapse! —Believe me, dear honoured Madam, I should not so long have delayed writing to you; — but my heavy misfortunes have made me dread being alone, even the time I could pen a letter: however I have now, blessed be my God! by His grace, in great measure, calmed the excess of my grief, and enjoy more tranquillity of mind than I could expect so soon after the grievous and soul-affecting separation from my *lovely! meek! amiable Nancy!*—One tear drops to her memory!—But stop! Is it thus I comfort my Parent?

Oh,

In 1785, Mr. Strutt published the first volume of his "Dictionary of Engravers;" and the second volume appeared in 1786.

As to the merits of Mr. Strutt's literary productions in general, the writer of this sketch is entirely incompetent to decide either on their magnitude or deficiency. Justice, however, demands an explanation, where ill-natured personal invective abuses a person, whose whole life was devoted to convey instruction or afford gratification to his fellow-men. A snarling criticism on one of his Plates*, from the pen of the Commentator on Shakspeare (George Steevens), occurs in the Gentleman's Magazine, vol. LV. p. 606; and a severe attack on the whole Work† in vol. LVI. p. 418.

Oh, my dearest Madam! nothing upon the earth can equal the comforts my mind has received from a participation in the blessed Sacrament: I really found all my troubles alleviated by it; and I sat down with such resignation to the will of my Maker, as I never before experienced. My dear Madam, above all things, pray endeavour to keep up your spirits; and as I know, the well-doing of your children will be greatly conducive to it, it is with double satisfaction that I inform you, that GOD has crowned my endeavours with success. Again I repeat the great obligations I am under to you (the best of parents), and more particularly for the care you took to instruct me in my duty to my Creator; and all those moral obligations, which a good Christian must not neglect: I hope, through GOD's grace, they may never be eradicated from my breast, but there take root, and flourish, and bring forth fruits, to life eternal! The little girl has not been very well, but she is better:—oh, how like its dear! dear Mother! and for her sake I love it;—and because of the likeness, still more, &c. &c. I am, Madam, your most dutiful, obliged, and respectful Son, JOSEPH STRUTT."

* This Plate is the fifth in the second volume of the Dictionary. Represents a Philosopher at study, &c.—The late Mr. Bacon, the Sculptor, was a great helper to Mr. Strutt in the compilation of his Dictionary of Engravers: to his opinion, to his experience, Mr. Strutt bowed with submission. The whole description of the plate in question, so ill-naturedly criticized, was from Mr. *Bacon's* pen: not one syllable did Mr. Strutt say on the subject. The fact is this, Mr. Steevens was piqued greatly because Mr. Strutt was rather urgent with him for the payment of a trifling sum of money.

† See a vindication of it in vol. LVI. p. 465.

In

In 1790, Mr. Strutt, being severely afflicted with an asthmatic complaint, quitted London; and finding the country-air highly beneficial, settled at Bacons-farm in Hertfordshire, about three miles beyond the town of Hertford, situated in a small parish called Bramfield. Here he resided upwards of five years; and here he engraved the greater part of the plates for the Pilgrim's Progress *; which exhibit perhaps as fair a specimen of his talents as an artist, as any that can be produced.

At the village of Tewin, not far distant from Mr. Strutt's residence, much of his leisure-time was spent in performing the best offices to his fellow-creatures: here, at his own expence, he established a little Sun-

* The incidents in this admired allegory which form the subjects of the plates are the following:

1. The Frontispiece to the Pilgrim's Progress:—Faith, Hope, and Charity; with Bunyan's portrait.
2. Christian relating his fears concerning the destruction of the city in which he dwelt, to his wife and family.
3. The three Shining-ones appearing to Christian at the foot of the Cross.
4. Christian welcomed by the women at the House Beautiful.
5. Apollyon flying from Christian, after he had been wounded by him.
6. The escape of Christian and Hopeful from the castle of Giant Despair.
7. The meeting of Christian and Hopeful with the Shepherds on the Delectable Mountains.
8. Christian and Hopeful, having passed the River, are met by the Shining-ones; &c.
9. The arrival of Secret at the house of Christiana, from the Celestial City.
10. Christiana beginning her pilgrimage, and inviting Mercy to accompany her.
11. Mercy fainting at the Wicket-gate, and received by Good-will.
12. The Interpreter giving charge to Great-heart to take care of the women and children, at their departure.
13. Christiana, Mercy, and the Children, frightened by the lions; and Great-heart preparing to encounter the Giant Grim.
14. Christiana and her family, with Great-heart, going through the valley of the Shadow of Death.
15. Christiana and her family at supper, with Great-heart, &c.
16. Christiana taking her leave of her family and companions, and entering the river.

day-

day-school for the instruction of the villagers, old or young; himself presiding, and, aided only by his two sons, inculcating the earliest rudiments of learning and the grand fundamental principles of religion. He also extended his times of teaching to two opportunities in the week besides the Sunday. By this means, great decorum was soon visible in the personal conduct and manners of the villagers. Squirrel-hunting and other disorderly sports were no longer practised on the Sunday; but sobriety and decency were manifest, and the church-duties attended to with evident delight. Lord and Lady Cowper seconded Mr. Strutt's endeavours to correct the morals of the poor; and in a short time a day-school was established, still retaining the Sunday-tuition.

In Tewin parish stands the venerable pile called Queenhoo-Hall; which Mr. Strutt made the scene of the incidents recorded in his Tale founded upon facts illustrative of the manners of the Fifteenth Century; which he did not live to finish *.

Mr. Strutt designed to have fixed his residence entirely in the country; and for that purpose rented a house at Welwyn; the quondam abode of the celebrated Author of the Night-Thoughts: but, after occupying it for one year, he was under the necessity of returning to London, to prosecute his studies at the Museum. He finally quitted the country in 1795: and in this year, he began to collect materials for his work of the Dresses and Habits of the English; the first volume of which was published in 1796; and the second in 1799.

In 1801, Mr. Strutt published the last work which he lived to complete; namely, Eliȝ-Lamena Anȝel-Deoð; or Sports and Pastimes of the English: a performance which, from the novelty of the subject, attracted the notice and admiration of readers of almost every class.

After the publication of the "Sports," Mr. Strutt

* See a description of this Tale hereafter.

took

took seriously in hand to illustrate the usages of the *Fifteenth Century* under the form of a pleasant fiction, or tale: and early in 1802, he had assembled the larger part of his materials, and prepared a considerable portion of his manuscript for the press; so that a month's additional labour might perhaps have completed the whole: when a bookseller engaged him to undertake a new edition of his second Work, the Hopda Angel-Cynnan. To this proposal Mr. Strutt acceded (but unfortunately, as it proved in the issue); and, consequently, the former intended work was laid aside,—never, alas! to be resumed. Accordingly, great preparations were made for this new edition; the arrangements of the subjects delineated on the miscellaneous plates were altered; —several new drawings were made; —and thirty plates engraved anew, among which some never had appeared before; the expence of all this sustained by himself: when Death put an end to all his labours; and the bookseller afterwards declined taking any concern to get the work completed by a competent hand; and it yet remains in the same unfinished state.

In the beginning of October this year, Mr. Strutt, then residing in Charles-street, Hatton-Garden, was confined to his chamber with his last illness; and on Saturday the 16th, at three o'clock in the morning, he expired, in the 53d year of his age. On the Wednesday following, he was buried in St. Andrew's church-yard, Holborn.

Mr. Strutt had long been a sufferer from an asthmatic complaint; to such a degree indeed, that in the winter-time, in London, it was painful to him to venture out of doors. He was also often afflicted with severe fits of the stone. In his latter years he grew exceedingly corpulent; and his corpulency increased till his death.

Thus have we traced Mr. Joseph Strutt from his cradle to his grave. The calamities incident to man were indeed his portion on this earth; and these greatly augmented by unkindnesses where he least deserved

deserved to have met with them. He was charitable without ostentation; a sincere friend, without intentional guile; a dutiful son; a faithful and affectionate husband; a good father; a worthy man; and, above all, it is humbly hoped, a sincere Christian. His natural talents were great, but little cultivated by early education. The numerous works which he gave to the world as an author, and as an artist, prove that he employed his time to the best advantage. The many checks he met with in the pursuit of his labours (which it might have been invidious to have detailed here) would, if known, have excited astonishment that he executed what he did, and, considering all things, that he did them well.

The following gentlemen were brought up as artists under his care: Mr. John Ogborne, of Great-Portland-street; Mr. William Nutter, and Mr. Robert Meadows, the former of whom died in 1802, and the latter in 1810; and Mr. Thomas Hillier: all men of talents, and distinguished in their profession. And Mr. Ryland, in consideration of the high opinion he entertained of Mr. Strutt's abilities, entrusted him with the pupilage of his eldest son William; but he died before the expiration of the term of indenture.

A more particular list of Mr. Strutt's publications is here subjoined; nearly the whole of the plates for which were executed by his own hand.

1. "THE REGAL AND ECCLESIASTICAL ANTIQUITIES OF ENGLAND: containing, in a complete series, the Representations of all the English Monarchs, from Edward the Confessor to Henry the Eighth: together with many of the great Persons that were eminent under their several reigns. The figures are principally introduced in ancient delineations of the most remarkable passages of History; and are correctly copied from the originals, which particularly express the Dress and Customs of the Time, to which each piece respectively relates. The whole collected from

ancient illuminated MSS. By Joseph Strutt. 1773 *."

2. "Horda Angel-Cynnan: or, a compleat View of the Manners, Customs, Arms, Habits, &c. of the Inhabitants of England, from the arrival of the Saxons till the reign of Henry the Eighth: with a short account of the Britons during the Government of the Romans. In two volumes. By Joseph Strutt, author of Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of England," Volume I. 1774, (containing sixty-seven plates.) Volume II. 1775. (sixty Plates.) Volume III. 1776. (thirty Plates.)

3. "CHRONICLE OF ENGLAND. From the arrival of Julius Cæsar to the end of the Saxon Heptarchy. By Joseph Strutt. 1777." Volume I. (containing twenty-two Plates.)

"CHRONICLE OF ENGLAND. From the accession of Egbert to the Norman Conquest. By Joseph Strutt. Volume II. 1778," (twenty Plates.)"

4. "BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY: containing an historical account of all the ENGRAVERS, from the earliest periods of the Art of Engraving to the present time: and a short List of their most esteemed Works. With the Cyphers, Monograms, and particular Marks used by each Master, accurately copied from the Originals, and properly explained. To which is prefixed, an Essay on the Rise and Progress of the Art of Engraving both on Copper and on Wood: with several curious Specimens of the Performances of the most ancient Artists. By Joseph Strutt. In two Volumes." Volume I. 1785. (illustrated by ten Plates.) Volume II. 1786. (containing ten

* A second Edition of this Work appeared in 1793, with the following title:

"Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of England: containing the Representations of all the English Monarchs, from Edward the Confessor to Henry the Eighth: together with many of the great Persons that were eminent under their several reigns; on sixty Copper-plates, engraved by the Author. The whole carefully collected from ancient illuminated MSS. By Joseph Strutt. A new edition. To which is now added, a Supplement, containing twelve plates, 1793."

Plates,

Plates, including the beautiful plate of Adam and Eve, after Raphael, which stands as a frontispiece.

5. "A COMPLETE VIEW OF THE DRESS AND HABITS OF THE PEOPLE OF ENGLAND, from the establishment of the Saxons in Britain to the present time. Illustrated by Engravings taken from the most authentic Remains of Antiquity. To which is prefixed, an Introduction, containing a general description of the ancient Habits in use among mankind from the earliest period of time to the conclusion of the seventh century. By Joseph Strutt. Volume I. 1796; Volume II. 1799." The two Volumes illustrated by 143 plates, including two frontispieces, and eight plates in the introductory part.

The Plates, in nearly half the printed copies of this Work, were coloured in imitation of the ancient illuminations from which they were copied; this addition was deemed necessary, in order to render the different parts of the various dresses more clear and distinct. It was also translated into the French language, and printed in this country, shortly after its publication in English.

6. "Ꝑliȝ-Ꝑamena Anȝel-Ðeoð: or, THE SPORTS AND PASTIMES OF THE PEOPLE OF ENGLAND. Including the rural and domestic Recreations, May-games, Mummeries, Pageants, Processions, and pompous Spectacles; from the earliest period to the present time. Illustrated by Engravings selected from ancient Paintings; in which are represented most of the popular Diversions. By Joseph Strutt, 1801." (containing forty Plates.) This work was republished, on a larger type, in 1810.

7. Another work which Mr. Strutt had made considerable progress in, but did not live to perfect, was to have been intituled, "A History of Times past: or, A View of the Domestic Manners and Amusements of the Fifteenth Century; exemplified under the form of a Legendary Romance:" a tale, the leading features of which are founded on facts. Mr. Strutt's plan may be seen in the following extracts from the rough copy of his intended preface.

 "The

"The chief purpose of the work is to make it the medium of conveying much useful instruction, imperceptibly, to the minds of such readers as are disgusted at the dryness usually concomitant with the labours of the Antiquary, and to present to them a lively and pleasing representation of the manners and amusements of our forefathers, under a form most likely to attract their notice."

"The *domestic manners*, &c. of the English, about the middle of the fifteenth century, are very little known; though a thorough investigation of them is positively necessary, to link together (if I may be allowed the expression) those of the preceding and those of the succeeding centuries. Hence this publication will be particularly useful, and especially to the lovers of old English poetry; because it will make it much more intelligible, in a variety of instances, by explaining many *obsolete customs* frequently alluded to by the poets, and, above all, by the early dramatic writers of this country."

"The various pursuits and domestic amusements of all ranks and persons form also a part of the Work; and especially the exhibitions of the *wandering minstrels, jugglers, narrators of fables, &c.*; the nature of their *spectacles* is explained, and the manner in which they accommodated their performances to the taste of the rustics in the common alehouses; with appropriate specimens of their poetry and of their stories." On the whole, "by adapting the incidents of the piece to the rank and genius of the fictitious actors, to work out, with their assistance, a lively representation of the *manners* of our ancestors."

Concerning the style, Mr. Strutt remarks, "that the speeches in general are sufficiently modernized, to be clearly understood; but, at the same time, contain enough of the *phraseology* of the time, to give them the air of antiquity."

Mr. Strutt also intended to have illustrated this Work by engravings: the respective figures to have been

been selected from ancient specimens preserved in the British Museum and other national repositories; and afterwards grouped in such manner as to serve for the exemplification of any incident that might have been judged to require such illustration.

Among the numerous PLATES engraved by Mr. Strutt, the following are selected as probably deserving mention in this place.

The Challenge given before Richard the Second by Thomas Mowbray, duke of Norfolk, to Henry, duke of Lancaster. Drawn and engraved for Mr. Pennant.

For Sir George Warren. A large engraving from a painting by Lambert, representing John earl Warren resisting the statute of *Quo Warranto*. He is represented in the Exchequer-court, unsheathing his rusty sword, when he declared that it was the instrument by which his ancestors had acquired their lands, and with which he resolved to preserve them to the last drop of his blood: which bold answer led to a repeal of the statute.

A Grecian Lady playing on a lute. From a painting by Mr. Pine.

Paris and Helen; and Cymon and Iphigenia.

An upright oval plate, Lydia and Candaules; after Le Seur.

A large plate oval lengthways; representing a Lady shewing a bond to a Gentleman, with Children at work in the back-ground.

The Power of Innocence; companion to the above; representing the reconciliation of a Gentleman and his Wife by the interposition of their Child.

Fortune dancing on the Globe, with three Children below. An upright oval; the drawing by Cipriani.

A small plate lengthways, from a drawing by Claude: a wood-scene, and Venus shewing Æneas his new armour. And another landscape, from Claude, representing the story of Mercury lulling Argus to sleep.

Several anatomical figures for Mr. Abernethy, surgeon. A head

A head and tail piece for a splendid edition of Milton: the former representing Eve viewing herself in a fountain: the latter, the steps from Heaven, with Angels ascending and descending. From designs by Stothard.

The Resurrection of Christ. A small upright plate; from a drawing by Stothard.

PICTURES IN OIL-COLOURS. The sketch and the larger painting, from Virgil's Æneid, for which Mr. Strutt gained the gold medal. See p. 668.

Two large paintings, as altar-pieces; one preserved in the church of Terling, the other in that of Bocking, in Essex.

Two pictures, companions. The one representing Saul, and the Witch of En-dor; with the figure of Samuel rising from the dead. The other exhibits the death of Saul.

A small picture representing the Cynic Diogenes casting away his shell, when he saw a peasant drinking water out of the hollow of his hand.

The numerous DRAWINGS of Mr. Strutt are so dispersed, that it is impossible to form any thing like a list of them. His Academy-figures, executed in red-chalk, were many, and finely executed. His finest drawing, perhaps, is a representation of the Deity separating the light from darkness; and the highest finished is a design, in body-colours, in the possession of his eldest son, exhibiting whole-length figures of the three great English Poets, Shakspeare, Spenser, and Milton. Besides these, a large pen-and-ink drawing of Pylades and Orestes; another, in colours, representing the fate of Niobe's children; which was shewn at the Exhibition. The drawing of the Adam and Eve, for the Dictionary of Engravers, The Death of Saul; and its companion, Saul and the Witch of En-dor; both in pen-and-ink, in imitation of engravings: copied afterwards in oil.

Mr. Strutt's style of engraving was, like that of his master Ryland, in dots, in imitation of chalk. Softness and harmony blended, indicated the hand of a Master.

No. XVI. The Rev. Dr. JOHN FREE

was a native of Oxford, born July 1711; and lived to be father of that city, and senior Doctor of the University; having been early entered at Christ Church, Oxford, where he acted as Chaplain, and proceeded M.A. in 1733. Thence he removed to Hartford College. In 1742 he was chosen lecturer of St. James Garlickhithe, and took the degrees of B.D. and D.D. in 1744. In 1747, being then Vice-principal of St. Alban-hall, he was elected Master of the Grammar-school of St. Saviour, Southwark. He held the vicarage of Runcorne, in Cheshire, 1750; was presented by the Dean and Chapter of Exeter to the vicarage of East Coker in the county of Somerset, 1756; in 1768 was chosen Lecturer of Newington in Surrey, and had also the Thursday Lecture of St. Mary at Hill, founded by sir J. Leman, bart.

Of his controversy with Mr. Jones, Chaplain of St. Saviour, Southwark, begun by his "Rules to discover false Prophets," see Jones's Letter to him *; his Remarks on Jones's Letter to him, dedicated to Bishop Hoadly; and Answer to them by a Layman †.

June 15, 1759, he published Proposals‡ for Printing by Subscription, in one volume 8vo, Dr. Free's whole Controversy with the Methodists.

* Gent. Mag. vol. XXIX. p. 35. † Ibid. p. 183.

‡ "Whereas the enthusiasm of the present times, by the encouragement of some people in power, and the zeal of its abetters, who spare no expence for its propagation, is now become dangerous to the Constitution, and the peace of the Established Church of England; and whereas the Rev. Dr. Free, at his own sole charge, hath, from time to time, occasionally published several useful tracts and discourses, as a preservative against these popular delusions, which works of his, to the public loss, are now chiefly out of print: therefore Proposals have been made, and approved of by some gentlemen in the Borough of Southwark, for re-publishing the same, for the benefit of the people in their neighbourhood in the manner following.—CONDITIONS. I. The whole to be comprised in one volume 8vo.; and to contain, 1st. Certain articles proposed to the serious consideration of the Company of Salters in London, con-

In 1788 he addressed a Letter to Dr. John Moore *, *Archbishop of Canterbury, representing the many*

concerning the choice of a Methodist, &c. 2d. Rules for the Discovery of false Prophets, or the dangerous Impositions of the people called Methodists detected at the Bar of Scripture and Reason: a Sermon before the University of Oxford: with an ample dedication to his Grace of Canterbury, and a controversial preface and appendix. 3d. Dr. Free's edition of the Rev. Mr. J. Wesley's first, commonly called the Penny Letter, &c. With notes, and a dedication to the Reverend Author, &c. 4th. Dr. Free's edition of the Rev. Mr. J. Wesley's 2d Letter, &c. in the same manner. 5th. Remarks upon Mr. Jones's Letter; and the affidavits relative to the composing, then publishing from the pulpit, and afterwards printing, that scandalous forgery, the pretended Letter from the Mansions above. Dedicated to the Lord Bishop of Winchester. 6th. The whole of his Speech, as it was delivered to the London Clergy, assembled at Sion College, on Tuesday the 8th of May, 1759. To which will be prefixed a Remonstrance, &c. to the Lord Bishop of Winchester, complaining of persecution from the People called Methodists, &c. — II. The work shall be put to the press so soon as the number of fifty subscribers shall be compleated; and printed off with the greatest expedition. — III. Each subscriber to pay one Guinea at the time of Subscribing, for which he shall receive six books sewed, or five books bound, as he shall signify at the time of subscribing, by writing after his name, which of these he makes his option. — IV. All persons, who are disposed to give the same encouragement to this work, as the Gentlemen in the Borough of Southwark, may do it upon the same terms. — V. The names of the fifty subscribers, who first moved and contributed to this re-publication, shall be printed by themselves: and then the names of such other subscribers, as shall send them in time, and express no objection to their being printed. — VI. Subscribers are desired to send their payments, names, and places of abode to the Author, at his house, in King John's Court, near Bermondsey Church, Southwark, to Mr. John Winter, at the Swan, in the Borough, or Mr. J. Scott, Bookseller, in Paternoster-row.

N. B. Those, who are inclined to have single Books, may easily join, five or six together, and make the full Subscription in the name of one of the Company, afterwards dividing the Books among them as they please."

* "My Lord, *Feb.* 9, 1788.

"I beg leave to present your Grace with the fourth edition of my *History* of the *English* Tongue, begun by the permission of his Royal Highness Frederick Prince of Wales, for the use of his eldest son, now King George the Third, which honour was communicated to me by Mr. Drax, Secretary to his Royal Highness; but the Prince dying before it was printed, I missed of my reward, and with it my future hopes,

of

services which he had rendered to Church and State; with the distress he then experienced, in his 77th

of preferment. For, though there could not be in my station a better subject, to one of the best of Princes King George the Second, as your Grace will see by the papers which accompany this book; yet I found my services overlooked, or obstructed, by the Duke of Newcastle and his adherents:—Of this I was convinced once for all, by the unsuccessful application of a great man abroad, who was much a favourite of King George the Second, and Chancellor of his University of Gottingen, Baron Mosheim, with whom I kept a Latin correspondence, and who, out of friendship, immediately took a journey from Gottingen to Hanover, where the King was at that time, to solicit a prebend of Bristol for me, which was then vacant; but meeting there the Duke of Newcastle, he was told that it was disposed of. During the administration of my Lord Bute, I presented my *petition* to the King, a copy of which accompanies this book; by which your Grace will see, that by some misrepresentation I was again disappointed. My dependencies upon *Churchmen* were altogether as delusive as those which were founded upon the favour of Ministers of State. I have been connected with three Bishops as my Diocesans, esteemed by them all, but never preferred by any. The first was Bishop Peploe, when I was vicar of Runcorne in Cheshire: His *politicks* and mine agreed. I associated with him in the Rebellion, for the defence of the King and Royal Family; but, having relations, he could not gratify me with a prebend of Chester, the height of my request. Upon my return from Cheshire to Oxford, the Rebels were advanced as far as *Derby*, when I preached at St. Mary's, the famous fifth of November, a Sermon, which procured the curses of the other party, who abused me in every Jacobite paper through England; and the then Ministry, through fear of displeasing them, consented to such a sacrifice; robbed of my pupils by the party, I left the University, and went to teach school in Southwark. Here I had hopes at this time from Dr. Willes of Bath and Wells, the second Bishop under whom I served:—His name appears amongst my father's friends, who was a sufferer for the Royal cause, in the Rebellion of the year 1715, as may be seen in my petition to the King. Dr. Willes was under a promise of providing for me, which was made to the Warden and Fellows of Merton college in Oxford, where I was disappointed of a fellowship, to make room for one of his friends. Being removed from Runcorne in Cheshire, to East Cocker, a vicarage of the same mean value, which was in his diocese—every body imagined that I should be a prebendary of Wells and so forth: but the Bishop died before he could provide for me. The third Diocesan is the present Bishop of that see [Dr. Moss], a very worthy gentleman, with whom I have lived upon very good terms; but places in his cathedral

year; and requesting the Archbishop's interference with Mr. Pitt in his behalf.

thedral would be too long to expect, and the charge of a parish I would not now undertake; for, during these periods, I am advancing to the age of seventy-seven years; have been a public preacher, at the time I left the pulpit, fifty-four years; a doctor in divinity forty-four, without any share of preferment from the patronage, or patrimony of the Church, but a vicarage about 70*l.* the year, to struggle with the world, and bring up a family:—Reduced by this situation, I am obliged to the charity of the Laity to make up deficiencies. *Emeritus Miles Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*, a worn-out *Invalid*, who has served in fifty-four campaigns, and finds himself in a worse situation than a *Chelsea Pensioner*; for they are supported by the Military Establishment, whilst a Clergyman, whose writings, preaching, and behaviour, have been irreproachable, is turned over to another profession—to ask for bread. While I am giving this detail, my Lord, I would not have it thought that it looks suspicious, that I am applying to your Grace for your personal charity for my subsistence.—No; it is the Church that I demand it of: ὑστερήματα Χριστοῦ, which, by St. Paul's leave, I choose to construe the *Arrears* of the *Church*, which I demand for the loss of my *Time* and *Labour*; to be brought to an account, and see it settled before I go hence. I beg leave to deposit these demands in your Grace's hands, not doubting but, when you have power and opportunity, your Grace will do me justice. In the late scramble for preferment, I had thoughts once more of applying to the Minister, who by the throng of the Clergy attending his levee was Minister for *Church* and *State*, that while the rest were striving to gratify that ambition, I might meet with some of the fragments of the *loaves and fishes*, for there were many to be fed; but then it occurred, that I might not be quick enough; being old, the young ones would out-run me, or I might be thrown down in the scuffle. This shewed that on such an occasion I ought to have an *advocate* more powerful than myself. But where should I find a person in power of that affability and freedom of access, to receive a petition from the disappointed; of that humanity, as well from their disposition as from experience, to pity their sufferings; of that activity in their high station to endeavour their relief; of that compass of thought as a *politician*, to look upon it as a bad symptom in a state to see a good subject distressed in and by the community, which he all his life-time faithfully served, and moved thereby from the love and credit of his country to seek for their redress? Upon reflection, I could not find another person of high rank with whose character this description so well agrees as with that of his Grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury; and from this persuasion, I make bold to beg the favour of your Grace to be my advocate, and represent my case to Mr. Pitt, who is generally well spoken of for his

good

Dr. Free died, at his chambers in Lyon's Inn, Sept. 9, 1791; and amongst his papers were found an Epitaph, which he had written for himself*.

good disposition, and whose sentiments may be the same with your own. His father, Lord Chatham, professed an esteem for me: I have received compliments from Hayes, on account of some of my works which he approved; and that he regarded my politics, I have an evident proof from his adopting my plan of invading Normandy, first published in the 58th Monitor, Saturday, September 1756, which paper is luckily preserved, notwithstanding the violent removal of my writings, and is requested to be returned when seen by Mr. Pitt: for this descent upon Normandy was followed by the reduction of Cherburg, and the conquest of *Belleisle*, which if not given up at the Peace, would have been of the same advantage to England, as the possession of the Isle of Wight would be to France. These are some of the services I have rendered my country, both in Church and State, for which I do not expect at this time such a reward as my long residence in the University, and the expences of my four degrees, might in equity and ancient custom require, because of late those emoluments have gone to people of another stamp, who have never seen an University; but, as matters now stand, and for present use, that Mr. Pitt would be so good as to give me a small pension, to enable me to buy my own bread as I used to do, and, that I may not be altogether another Aristides, to provide me a coffin when I make my exit. I am, my Lord, &c. JOHN FREE."

To this his Grace said, that it was a melancholy thing for a person who had been so long in the profession, and so active in it, to have his bread to seek at this time. His Grace afterwards did him signal service.—In the original statement of this application, it was said that his Grace promised to represent the case to Mr. Pitt; but, on enquiry, there is reason to believe, in the first place, that no such promise was made; and in the second, that the Archbishop expressly declared to Dr. Free that he would not make any such representation. See Gent. Mag. vol LVIII. pp. 383. 598.

* " Hic sepultus est JOANNES FREE,
in Academiâ Oxoniensi Sacræ Theologiæ Doctor,
et Civitatis ejusdem Nominis Civis natus,
utriusque Pater;
quoniam non supererat in Civitate Civis senior,
nec in Universitate Doctor.
Hic vir frustrà vixit; nam laboravit frustrà.
Nunquam enim quod usus vitæ postulat,
utcunque moderatum, aut sibi assecutus est, aut suis.
Concionator publicus per annos LIII,
et Doctor suæ Facultatis XLIII,

quinetiam,

He printed, 1. A Sermon on the Being and Providence of God, preached before the University of Oxford, July 8, 1739. 2. A Sermon at Oxford, on Act Sunday, 1753. 3. "On the Reason and Necessity for Written Laws, and the Power and Qualifications of those who write them; a Sermon preached at the Temple Church, June 30, 1753."

quinetiam, frustrà:
nam cum hæc scriberet, licèt admodùm senex,
nunquam Ecclesiam obtinuisset,
quæ redderet quotannis LXXX minas.
Mirum!
Sacerdos attamen fuit
sub imperio Georgii III. Magnæ Britanniæ Regis,
qui caput esse audit insuper Ecclesiæ.
At verò, quanquam Regis Familiæ fidus subditus,
et suo damno fidus,
nunquam tamen tulit, vel fidei politicæ
vel operis sacerdotalis præmium;
adeò ut hujus hominis vita comparetur
proventui arboris, naturâ fertilis;
sed quæ, tempestatibus subinde agitata,
cœlique inclementiâ oppressa, et tandem victa,
fructum suum cum vitâ perdidit;
quod perinde est, ac si à principio facta fuisset sterilis.
Sic visum est CREATORI
opus texêre, et retexere suum.
Siccinè, ait Psalmista, 'DEUS, omnes homines
in mendacium aut deceptionem creasti*?'
Si hoc verum sit,
tum præter inferna illa, ab antiquis temporibus
credita et formidata,
locus pœnæ est etiam hæc terra nostra, ubi sic decipimur;
ubi per tramites perplexos iter, et ad quodvis
divorticulum crebri laquei et insidiæ locantur,
atque post infinitum molimen spei perpetua frustratio:—
qui cruciatus!
Patet, igitur, in hunc orbem eo fine inducimur,
semper aliquid pati;
et, quod maximum inter homines
habitum est, et nominatum supplicium,—patiendo mori.
Nonne hæc est pœna per totum,
quando mors, cujus causâ nascimur,
ut supremum et grande officium ultionis coronat opus?
Cur ita comparatum est, aut quam ob causam
huc venimus puniendi? an in hanc vitam
ex aliâ vitâ et naturâ profecti sumus? an—
sed melius est intactas relinquere

* Psalm lxxxix. 46. edit. Junie & Tremell.

quæstiones

4. A Sermon preached by the Appointment of the Vice-Chancellor, before the University of Oxford, Nov. 5, 1745, when the Rebels were advanced to Derby, dedicated to his Royal Highness William late Duke of Cumberland, who was sent as General against them. 5. Twelve Sermons preached before the University of Oxford, printed in 1750, 8vo; with a Preface, tending to expose some remarkably bad practices both in Church and State. 6. An Antigallican Sermon, preached at Aldgate, before Admiral Vernon, April 27, 1753*, and, 7. A second Antigallican Sermon, preached in 1756, upon the Terms of National Unanimity; with a Genealogical Table, shewing his Majesty's antient Connexions with the Crowns of these Kingdoms long antecedent in time to the Marriage of his Ancestor with the Stuart Family; 8. One on Whit Sunday, 1758, before the University of Oxford. 9 and 10. Two Sermons upon the Creation: the first intituled, "The Operations of God and Nature, &c. to the Finishing of the Vegetable Creation, and Appointment of the Seasons of the Year, before the Society of Florists, 1762;" the other, "The Analysis of Man, or, The Difference between the Reasonable and Living Soul; which was preached before the University of

quæstiones tam difficiles: DEUS noverit,
hominem verò puto scire nullum.
Abi, Viator:
nam adhuc calcanda tibi semita tortuosa vitæ:
repone animo, et converte, si potes, in tuum usum,
arcanum Regis sapientissimi documentum †,
'Vanitas Vanitatum, universum hoc est Vanitas!'
De usu aphorismi hujus
commentariolum adjacet, infrà; dicendo
se observâsse in diebus sùæ deceptionis,
hoc est, vitæ suæ,
est justus scilicet, periens in justitiâ suâ;
est sceleratus, qui prolongatur in suo scelere.
Ideò, pone modum justitiæ, set cientiæ pone modum:
ulterius progredi periculosum: nam cùr te ibis perditum ‡?"

* See Gent. Mag. vol. XXIII. p. 251.

† Eccles. i. 2. ‡ Ibid. i. 16.

Oxford,

Oxford, May 20, 1764;" 2d edit. with the Advertisement which was prefixed to the first, and the Dedication to the King. 11. Political Sermons, Speeches, and Discourses, collected into one Volume. 12. A Sermon, in 1768, on the murder of Mr. Allen, who was shot in the Riots before the King's Bench Prison, May 10th that year; and, 13. A second, in 1769, at an Anniversary, on the same occasion.

He also published "The Monthly Reviewers reviewed by an Antigallican, 1755[1]." "Ode to the King of Prussia, 1757[2]." "Extempore Verses on the Choice of a Poet Laureat, 1757[3]." "Will the Ferryman, a Water Eclogue, 1758[4]." Translation of some French Verses on the Death of Capt. Gardner, 1758[5]. Poems and Miscellaneous Pieces, 1751[6]. Speech on taking his Freedom of Oxford, 1753[7]. Seasonable Reflections upon the Importance of the Name of England, 1755[8]; and Sentiments of a true Antigallican, with a Postscript relating to the anonymous writers of a Monthly Review, 1756[9].

[1] Gent. Mag. vol. XXV. p. 335. [2] Vol. XXVII. p. 228.
[3] Ibid. p. 564. [4] Vol. XXVIII. p. 280. [5] Ibid. p. 371.
[6] Vol. XXI. p. 143. [7] Vol. XXIII. p. 394.
[8] Vol. XXV. p. 191. [9] Vol. XXVI. p. 93.

*** The following additional list of Dr. Free's publications was communicated by his son:

Grammatical.—"History of the English Tongue, with the Author's intended Dedication to his Royal Highness Prince George, now King George III. Part I. printed 1740, and containing an Account, I. Of the Roman or Latin Tongue, as once spoken in Britain. II. Of the British or Welsh, and its antient and present limits. III. Of the Pyhtas, corruptly called Picts by the Romans: their Settlement in the North of Britain: the Original of their Name, and the Nature, Extent, and Duration of their Language. IV. Of the Scots from Ireland, and the Extent of the Erse Language; in order to distinguish it from the English in the North of Britain, which vulgarly passes under the Name of Broad Scotch."—N. B. This book was written by permission of his late Royal Highness Frederick Prince of Wales, for the information of his eldest Son, our present Sovereign.

Theology, Polemical.—"A Controversy with the People called Methodists, written occasionally against divers of the Sect, in the years 1758 and 1759, and consisting of the following

ing Pieces: 1. A Display of the bad Principles of the Methodists, in certain Articles proposed to the Consideration of the Company of Salters in London; 2d edit.—2. Rules for the Discovery of False Prophets, &c.; a Sermon preached before the University of Oxford, on Whit-Sunday, 1758, dedicated to his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury; 3d edit. 3. Dr. Free's Edition of Mr. Wesley's first Penny Letter; the second impression, dedicated to Mr. Wesley. 4. His Edition of Mr. Wesley's Second Letter. 5. Dr. Free's whole Speech to the London Clergy, at Sion College, May 8, 1759; with a Remonstrance to the Bishop of Winchester. That printed in "The Monitor" is imperfect.

POETRY and MISCELLANEOUS. 1. Poems upon several Occasions, the second Edition, 1757, containing an Ode to the King of Prussia on the Victory at Prague; an Ode of Consolation to his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland, on the Loss of Minorca, &c.; Jephtha, an Oratorio, set to Musick by Mr. Stanley; Advice to the Fair Sex; Stigand, or, The Antigallican, a Poem; Susannah, an Ethic Poem; Judith, an Heroic Poem, &c. To the whole is prefixed a curious Account of the Origin and peculiar Nature of English Poetry, and how far it is similar or different from that of the Greeks and Romans, in a Letter to a Member of Parliament.—2. A Poetical Dialogue, intituled, "The voluntary Exile," 1765.—3. Stadia Physiologica duo, or, Two Stages in Physiology, exhibiting all along the Opinions of the best Writers, &c. with Variety of Observations entirely new, 1762.—4. A genuine Petition to the King; and likewise a Letter to the Right Hon. the Earl of Bute; concerning the very hard Case of an eminent Divine of the Church of England. Published from the Originals by the Rev. Dr. Free.—5. The Petition of John Free, D. D. relative to the Conduct of the Archbishops of Canterbury and York; most humbly addressed to the Hon. House of Commons.—6. Matrimony made easy, &c. a Serio-comic Satire, tending to expose the Tyranny and Absurdity of a late Act of Parliament, intituled, An Act for the better Prevention of Clandestine Marriages, &c.—7. A Plan for the Use of the Empress of Russia, in founding a free University for the Reception of People of all Nations and Religions: with a Specimen of the Universal Library, for the Use of the Students, in Latin, French, and English; 2d edit. 1761.—8. Tyrocinium Geographicum Londinense; or, The London Geography: consisting of Dr. Free's short Lectures, compiled for the Use of his younger Pupils. Published chiefly for the Information of genteel young Citizens. Dedicated, by Permission, to the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen; and the Author honoured for the Work with the Freedom of the City. To which is added, by the Editor, translated from the Greek into English Blank Verse, the Periegesis of Dionysius, the Geographer, from the Edition of Dr. Wells: comprehending, for the use of the Ladies who read history, and the Youth of the Universities, both the antient and modern Systems.

ADDI-

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

P. 18. See some curious documents relative to money transactions between Mr. Cave and Dr. Johnson, Gent. Mag. 1812, p. 313.

P. 20. note *, *add* 1616.

P. 29. "I heartily wish we had a new edition of Father Paul. Such a thing, I remember, was proposed some years ago; but; I know not by what chance, it miscarried. I could wish that Mr. Johnson would give us the original on one side, and his translation on the other. But this won't hit the public taste."

Bishop Warburton, MS.

P. 58. The inscription in the Vestry of the old church at Clerkenwell ran thus:

"Sacred to the Memory
of RICHARD and SARAH CAVE,
late of St. John's Gate.
He died December 8, 1760;
she, December 1776."

[*Then follow the verses already printed in p.* 58.]

"In grateful remembrance of their many virtues and parental tenderness, their only Daughter has caused this small tribute to be erected to the memory of her dear Parents."—Mrs. Mary Cave (the daughter abovementioned) was an amiable and worthy woman, of elegant manners, and possessed a superior share of understanding. She died in June 1811.

P. 59. John Dunton says, his master, Mr. Thomas Parkhurst, was "a religious and a just man;" and adds, "My honoured Master is the most eminent Presbyterian Bookseller in the Three Kingdoms, and (now) chosen Master of the Company of Stationers; he has printed more practical books than any other that can be named in London. He has met with very strange success, for I have known him sell off a whole impression before the book has been almost heard of in London. He is scrupulously honest in all his dealings, a good master, and very kind to all his relations; and, which is an argument of something in him above the common rate of mankind, he is a great admirer, and constant hearer of the Rev John How."—To the numerous Works of John Dunton, may be added, 1. "The Preaching Weathercock," written against Wm. Richardson, once a Dissenting Teacher, 8vo.—2. "Mordecai's Memorial; or, There's nothing done for him; a just Representation of unrewarded Services, 1716, 8vo.—3. "*Kainopholos,*" a curious rhapsody; noticeable (Mr. D'Israeli informs me) for its extreme rarity, and for two elegant pieces of poetry, which, if John's own, entitle him to a higher degree of praise than he has been usually thought to merit. It is obscurely noticed in his "Life and Opinions;" but the Anagram of the Author's name prefixed to a copy of verses declares him. It has a frontispiece, which is a large folding cut, with 24 circles, exhibiting the Author's adventures.

P. 90.

P. 90. The name of the Reverend William Freind was thus used, in an advertisement in or about the year 1736: "On Wednesday August 2, will be published, Number I. price 2*d.* (with a curious cut describing the Creation of the World), by the Rev. W. Freind, M. A. brother to the late famous Dr. Freind the physician, The Sacred Historian: or the History of the Old and New Testament, methodically digested in a regular narrative; in which many oversights and neglects in the translation of the Bible are corrected; obscure and difficult passages cleared and explained; facts truly stated; and the whole carried on and managed with that accuracy and regard to truth, as the nature of such an extraordinary, comprehensive, and momentous undertaking requires. This History will begin with the Creation, proceed through the times before the Deluge, and give a circumstantial account of that remarkable period of the Old World; also of what followed in the beginning of the New; the confusion and dispersion at Babel; the lives and actions of the antient Patriarchs; the various revolutions as well in the Jewish as other States contemporary with them; likewise the History of 400 Years from the Prophet Malachi to the birth of Christ, in which the Scripture is silent. Also the History of the New Testament, adjusted and disposed in the same manner. The whole will be explained with critical notes and observations, and illustrated with a great variety of Copperplate cuts, adapted to the Work, which will be given *gratis*. Conditions: 1. That this Work will be comprised in about 300 sheets. 2. That each number will contain two sheets printed on a superfine royal paper, and a beautiful large letter, price 2d. 3. That one number will be published weekly, and delivered to the subscribers at their house, or where else they shall direct."

P. 167. note, l. 7. *For* Webster *read* "Whitefield;" or rather strike out from "What a happy thing" l. 5, to "repeat it here;" l. 15.—The extract occurs, more properly, in p. 578.

P. 176. For "Vol. I. p. 419," *r.* "Vol. II. p. 65."

P. 253. Sir Andrew Fountaine wrote a copy of Latin verses on Queen Mary's death 1695.—*Alumnus*, is the proper title of a student of Christ Church.—Of Sir Andrew Fountaine, Swift, in his Journal to Stella, says, "Sir Andrew Fountaine's mother and sister are come above a hundred miles from Worcester to see him before he died. They got here but yesterday; and he must have been past hopes, or past fears, before they could reach him. I fell a scolding when I heard they were coming: and the people about him wondered at me, and said, "What a mighty content it would be on both sides to die when they were with him!" I knew the mother; she is the greatest Overdo upon earth; and the sister, they say, is worse; the poor man will relapse again among them. Here was the scoundrel brother always crying in the outer room till Sir Andrew was in danger, and the dog was to have all his estate if he died; and it is an ignorant, worthless, scoundrel rake: and the nurses were comforting him, and desiring he would not take on so." *Jan.* 4, 1710-11.

P. 287. "Some esteem the edition of Bayle in 1702 the best, as being the last in his life-time. The edition of 1720 is an exact copy; only the Supplement is inserted in its place. That of 1730 is not well esteemed, nor any after, for correctness. In that of 1720 should be a large article on King David."

Mr. J. Whiston, MS.

P. 290. Add to the Antiquarian Friends of Mr. Bowyer, Mr. JOSHUA BLEW; who was elected a member of the Society in 1741; died in 1765; and is thus recorded on a stone in the Temple Church.

"Here lyeth the body of Mr. Joshua Blew, F. S. A.
who during 55 years was Chief Butler and Librarian
of the Hon. Society of the Inner Temple.
He lived beloved by all good men;
and died, universally lamented,
Jan. 22, A. D. 1765, ætat. 78."

[Mrs. Mary Blew died August 15, 1762, æt. 67.]

Memorandum of a piece of Gold Plate presented to King James I. by the Inner and Middle Temple, communicated, May 6, 1762, to Dr. Ducarel from Mr. Blew. "The piece of gold plate weighing 200 ounces and ¼ with an altar *Nil nisi vota, &c.* was given by the two Societies of Inner and Middle Temple to James Ist on his granting to them and their successors the Soyl of the two Societies—an account of which appears in a MS (the hand of Mr. Selden) in the Inner Temple Library, No. dorso 17, Press 5, fol. 406.—Old Stoakes, mentioned by Vertue, was Charles Stoakes; he lived at his son's (Charles Stoakes) at the Red Lyon in Fleet-street, Stationer, where he died many years since.—Dr. Middleton and Dr. Warren, both of Cambridge, lodged with Charles Stoakes the Stationer.—Henry the Eighth's head by Holbein Mr. W. had from Mr. Blew."—This Hint is to be communicated to Horace Walpole, esq. A. C. D.

Mr. JOHN BOOTH, of Barnard's Inn, Attorney at Law, was admitted F. S. A. 1746. He died Jan. 10, 1757, ætat. 63; and was buried at Islington; as was his sister Margaret, who died Jan. 20, 1755, ætat. 40.

P. 324. Frances, another of the daughters of Mr. Robson, was married May 27, 1809, to Bartholomew Parr, M. D. Senior Physician to the Exeter and Devon Hospital, and Author of several valuable publications. He died in November 1810.

P. 329. I have many interesting letters from Mr. Frank to Dr. Ducarel, by whom (at the request of the relict and the nephew of Mr. Frank) his tomb was thus inscribed:

"Sacred to the Memory of Richard Frank, of Campsall, esq.
Recorder of the Corporations of Pontefract and Doncaster
in the county of York,
and Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London.
He married Margaret, daughter and coheiress
of Robert Frank of Pontefract, esq.
He was an unbiassed and upright Magistrate,
a lover and encourager of Learning,

& faithful

a faithful friend, and a most affectionate Husband.
Beloved by rich and poor,
because his chief delight was in doing good.
He departed this Life universally lamented,
May 22, 1762, aged 64.
Margaret his disconsolate Widow erected this monument, 1763."

Baron Frank, esq. many years an active magistrate for the West Riding of Yorkshire, died at Campsall in that county, April 4, 1812, in his 74th year.

P. 330. "Alexander Gordon, a Scotchman, of some learning, which he turned to the Study of Antiquities He published, in 1728, Itinerarium Septentrionale, or a journey through Scotland, with an Account of the Roman and other Antiquities therein, with a great many copper-plates, folio, a work of some value, as every one who endeavours to illustrate his own country is commendably employed. To this he added an Appendix, about 1732, of a few sheets. He published also, Observations on two Egyptian Mummies, in a folio tract, about 1736. He was but in narrow circumstances. For some time he was in partnership with Mr. John Wilcox, bookseller in the Strand. But his education, temper, and manners, did not suit him for a trade. He was afterwards Secretary to the Society for promoting Learning; but, not giving a satisfactory account to the Society of the money he was entrusted with, he was dismissed, and his effects seized on. He then went abroad, 1742; and I believe died there about 1750; for I never heard of him afterwards. He had some learning, some ingenuity, much pride, much deceit, and very little honesty, as every one who knew him, believed. Poverty tempted him to dishonesty; his national character and constitution to pride and ingenuity; and his dependence on the Great to flattery and deceit." *Mr. J. Whiston, MS.*

P. 351. Mr. Park, in his elegant edition of the "Royal and Noble Authors," vol. V. p. 258, has given a specimen of Lord Coleráne's lyric productions, taken from "Academiæ Oxoniensis Comitia Philologica, in Honorem Annæ Pacificæ, 1713."—In Dyson's History of Tottenham, 1792, 12mo, p. 38, "A Memorandum of Henry Lord Colerane, senior, writ about 1705," contains an attestation that his Lordship had been careful to preserve all the memorabilia about Tottenham, which had been mentioned by the Rev. William Bedwell (an Oriental scholar, and one of King James's Translators of the Bible) in his Antiquities of the Parish."

P. 374, l. 9, *read*, "a son, a husband, a father," &c.

Ibid. l. ult. *read*, "1. William, is a Captain in the 8th Regiment of Light Dragoons; 2. John, Joint Registrar of the Admiralty Court at Malta; 3. Edward-Hawke Locker, esq." to whom Mr. Coxe, in the Preface to his elegant Life of Mr. Stillingfleet thus expresses his obligations: "On his return from India, hearing that I was occupied in republishing the Works, and sketching the Life of his venerable Relation, he voluntarily tendered his assistance; furnished me with various family anecdotes; and submitted to my use, all the manuscripts of

Mr. Stillingfleet; which had survived neglect or accident; or escaped the flames."—Of my late worthy Friend, the brave but modest Commodore Locker, Mr. Coxe has preserved some very interesting Anecdotes.

P. 388. The following extract of a Letter from John Darker, esq. F. A. S. (dated Dec. 23, 1766), to honest Tom Martin, is a melancholy confirmation of his distress: "I am much concerned to be informed by you that any reasons should compel you to part with any part of your valuable Collection; I should think that if your materials are ready, the publication of your Collections in regard to your favourite County, might raise you a sum sufficient to answer all your purposes. I have seen Mr. Norris, and have paid him *7l. 7s.* — I suppose Mr. Farmer's 'History of Leicester' will soon be published, and I dare say will give satisfaction, by the accounts I hear of it. J. DARKER."

P. 401. The printing materials belonging to Mr. Mores were sold by auction, by Mr. Paterson, Nov. 20, 1781; and a Catalogue of his large collection of matrices (formed from the number of old founderies which were accumulated in that of Mr. John James, who died June 23, 1772), was published in 1782. There are two small portraits of Mr. Rowe-Mores, each in an oval.

P. 406. The small rectory in the Isle of Ely was Coveney, to which Dr. Middleton was preferred in 1728. To the rectory of Hascombe in Surrey he was presented in March 1746-7.

"Dr. Middleton was at first more addicted to musick than learning; but Dr. Bentley calling him a fiddler, it excited him to a close application to study; and he soon shewed Dr. Bentley he could write as well as fiddle. The best answer to Dr. Middleton was wrote by Mr. John Wesley, 8vo. Bishop Sherlock told me he presented Dr. Middleton with this book when first published in 1725; and that he soon after thanked him for it, and expressed his pleasure in the perusal. In a letter of his to Lord Radnor, which I saw, he says, "Had they given me a stall at Westminster, or made me Master of the Charter-house, I had never given the Clergy any trouble;" (or words to this purpose, for it is several years since I saw it, about 1750.) He had a well-chosen Library, which sold for about 440*l.*" *Mr. J. Whiston, MS.*

P. 414. "I wait with some impatience for Dr. Middleton's Tully, as I read the greatest part of it in manuscript; though indeed that is rather a reason for my being impatient to read the rest. If Tully can receive any additional honour, Dr. Middleton is most capable of "conferring it." *Mr. Walpole to Mr. Conway, March 25, 1741.*

P. 436, l. 38, *read* "Lyttelton."

P. 444, Mr. North's letters were addressed "to Dr. Ducarel," not "Mr. Vertue;" and the two following Letters of Mr. North may be added, according to their dates.

1. "To JOHN WARBURTON, Esq. Somerset House.

"SIR, *Codicote, 26 Dec.* 1751.

When I had the pleasure of waiting on you, the beginning of last month, with my good friends Dr. Ducarel and Mr. Vertue,

you

you most obligingly promised me your assistance in my enquiries of the antiquarian kind, which are my chief amusements in a country retirement. A little piece I am now drawing up lays me under a necessity of requesting some information from you: I think, I remember, that *Gwillim* in his book of Heraldry says, that the family of *Spence* bear for their Arms, 3 *Penny-yard-pence proper*. What I beg to know is, when those Arms were granted?—where the family then lived?—and upon what occasion they took, or were granted such strange bearing? and any particular you can favour me with concerning the *Penny-yard-pence*. The subject of my little work is very remote from Heraldry, or any thing of family history; you may therefore be surprized at my making these Queries: as soon as it is finished it shall wait on you with great thanks, for your assistance, and with the respects of, good Sir, your obedient humble servant, GEORGE NORTH."

2. To Dr. DUCAREL,

"SIR, *Codicote, Feb.* 13, 1751-2.

I return you thanks for the favour of yours of the 6th. Nicolson's Historical Library, in which you say there is a passage relating to the old Society of Antiquaries, I have not got, and should be obliged to you for a transcript of it. The mistake I made through haste and inadvertency of *Member* instead of the more considerable word *Fellow*, I have sent to have corrected in case I wrote it so in my title-page. Dr. Stukeley's opinion relating to Mr. Clarke's coin, that it is no other than a Counter, is near the matter; but a more particular account what it is, and which I apprehend is the best that can now be given, will be seen in my Answer; though I was under no obligation to proceed any farther than to shew it was not what that gentleman pretended it was; the whole will I believe set several things in a clearer light than what they have hitherto appeared in. It will be no small pleasure to me if your friend should procure from Hamburgh a couple of copies of Bircherod's book of Danish Coins, and I account myself obliged to you for your endeavours to procure it. As a great reason of my coming to town was to see Mr. Webb; I could not forbear since my return reflecting on how different the scene was to what I expected. There must be a great mistake somewhere, for I expected no other than to discourse about the feasibility of my being put into a condition to become serviceable to the Society, and that this was the only point to be discoursed upon; whereas Mr. Webb appeared as absolutely ignorant of it, and did not shew the least knowledge of such a scheme or any the least previous knowledge of my name. You will therefore pardon me for expressing my apprehensions that you must have put too strong a sense upon any expressions he may have used in conversation on the subject of another Secretary; otherwise such an appearance of perfect ignorance is hardly reconcileable to the rules of common civility, or a decent regard to his own words. I am, dear Sir, your obedient humble servant, GEORGE NORTH."

3. To

3. To Dr. Ducarel.

"Dear Sir, *March* 30, 1752.

The favour of yours of the 26th was the greater, as it gave me the pleasing assurance of your willingness to assist me in what I have greatly at heart—a tolerable account of the rise and progress of our Society The books I received by the waggon yesterday, and am extremely obliged to you and Mr. Warburton for the use of them, and will be speedy in their return. If the edition of Bircherod's book 'De Nummis Danorum,' which I mentioned, cannot be got, it may be worth while to get the other as that is so scarce: and if Richard of Westminster's Britannia Romana can be got with it, I will willingly be the purchaser. Pray enquire farther who that gentleman is who, Mr. Willis says, has procured abroad three undoubted pennies of King Richard I. Mr. Clarke's advertisement has been sent me, by which I find he wants to spit some venom at me, and is industriously particular in denoting to the world who it is directed against. I heartily laugh at such petulant anger, merely because his errors have been pointed out. If he proves any error upon me I will set him a good example by as publicly retracting; but he shall be convinced I do not want spirit to defend what is right. I doubt but you have heard, what he informed Mr. Sandby my publisher, that he has complained of me to Mr. Folkes and several of the Members; which I look on as a childish endeavour to bring the affair *coram non Judice*, as the Conjectures and my Remarks on them, were wrote, and the latter in the press, before he was admitted or chose a Member of the Society. He says my Remarks have been attended with very bad consequences to his reputation and character; if this be really fact, it is through his own inaccuracy, and not any malevolence in me, who desire to injure no man living. The particular which I am informed most galls him, but I think with little reason, is my referring him to the cross before the alphabet in the hornbook to explain the use of the cross before the legend in the Saxon Coins. I never could imagine that any reader would understand my words as a reflection on his general learning. My answer is, and shall be this, I could not then, nor can I since, by frequent consideration, recollect any other like instance now remaining to illustrate my meaning of the use of the cross, and therefore I was obliged to refer him to that. —If you can recollect any, you can do more than I could. Pray read over attentively, and with the severity of a friend, my Letter on the supposed gold Saxon Coins, and make me sensible of what errors you find in it, which I shall acknowledge as a favour. Whenever you think of going to Mr. Lethieullier's, let me know the week before, and if health permits I will wait on you; and am, dear Sir, your obliged humble servant, George North."

"P.S. Pray send the inclosed to Sandby for one of my Pamphlets, and present it in my name, and with my compliments, to Mr. Warburton."

P. 456.

P. 456. The *Queries* and *Commissions* in Mr. North's Letter to Dr. Ducarel were these: 1. "To remember your old friend at Codicote when any opportunity offers of procuring duplicates of any old Coins either English or Anglo-Gallic, who will repay the expence with thanks and pleasure. 2. To observe the Churches in Normandy: with what Arch, whether sharp, pointed, or semicircular—and inquire which is esteemed the oldest. 3. Where the Quarries are from whence the Caen stone was supplied, with which for many ages most of our great buildings in England were built, and bring a bit for a specimen. 4. To procure if opportunity serves (views) of some one of their most ancient edifices, such as parochial Churches. 5. To enquire if any printed or MS account remaining of the elements and principles of the Gothic Architecture. 6. Dictionaire François-Celtique, par Rostrenen, 4to. Rennes. La Science de Medailles, 2 vols. 1739, for me if you please. Recherches curieuses des Monoyes de France depuis le Commencement de la Monarchie, par Claude Boulerove. fol. Paris, 1666."

P. 465. At the first appointment of the officers at the British Museum, in 1756, the Rev. George North of Codicote and the Rev. Richard Widmore of Westminster, were in the list of Assistant Librarians; and the following imperfect Letter to Dr. Ducarel accounts for some part of Mr. North's occupation in the Summer of 1757.

"Dear Sir, *Codicote, August* 13, 1757.

Many thanks do I give you for your obliging letter of this day se'nnight, and for the very particular account of your conversation at the Museum: from the whole of it, and by not hearing any thing since from Dr. Birch, I cannot but conclude that our proposal is not very acceptable: yet unless the majority of the Committee have previously took their notions from the opinion of some leading man, more than from the nature of the thing, they cannot but be satisfied that no other proposal could be made without an almost certainty of prejudice to ourselves. For if we undertook it by the great, what must be the consequence but that of being confined to it, as long as the mere fancy, or critical caprice, of any of the Committee required; or the equally disagreeable alternative of disengaging ourselves with mutual dissatisfaction. If we hear no farther from them in a little time, the scheme then ..... (*here the Letter is torn*) ..... his surreptitiously getting from Miss Folkes's a copy of my account of English Coins from our old English Historians, and the Records, and then quoting whole sentences of it *totidem verbis* at the Antiquarian Society as his own. By his laying claim to part of that work, I suppose it has some reputation; and reputation he must now have, however he comes by it. It is not to satisfy you, who need it not; but that you may do me justice with others, that I most solemnly aver, that he never was directly or indirectly, either more or less concerned in it; that I never asked his opinion in one single point, as knowing him quite incapable and ignorant of any historical knowledge of ancient coins; and that what little he knew of English ones

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was by rote, as the Silversmiths, and not from any knowledge of our antient Historians. I believe you will not think me to blame in laying hold of the first proper opportunity of making this truth more public. I delayed answering yours, that you might have some respite after your journey, which I hope has been safe and pleasant; whenever your business will permit you to write, it will be a pleasure to me to hear from you. G. NORTH."

P. 465 The letter in this page was addressed "to Mr. Martin."

P. 489. The following inscription was found among the papers of Thomas Rawlinson, esq. written with his own hand, and in all probability designed by him for part of an epitaph upon himself.

Hic jacet——————Vir liberrimi Spiritûs
qui omnes Mortales pari ratione habuit;
tacuisse de Criminibus non auro vendidit.
Qui, Rege dempto, neminem agnovit superiorem;
illum vero, O infortunium! nunquam potuit inspicere.

P. 498. "Dr. Rawlinson was remarkable for being meanly and poorly clad. A story he told of himself verifies this. He had occasion to cross the Thames, and for cheapness went in a boat with others. It happened that his father's coachman was one of the company, who, after considering him some time, asked him his name, which he told him. The honest man seemed very much hurt at seeing the son of his late master in such seeming distress; which he told him, and desired he would accept of an half crown he offered. The Doctor never said whether he made any return for this kind offer, though it is not unlikely he did, as it was known, after he died, that he had done many charitable acts. Another anecdote of him is as follows; Sir George, afterwards Lord Lyttelton, very much wanted to peruse a book which he had been told (by John Locker, esq.) was among the Doctor's, and wished Mr. Locker would get it of the Doctor; but he told Sir George it was impossible, unless he would be introduced to him: if he would, he would go to breakfast next day, and did not doubt but they should succeed. Mr. Locker sent the Doctor word that he and Sir George would wait on him to breakfast the next day, who wished to be introduced to him. They went, accompanied by Mr. Beighton, the droll vicar of Egham, very intimate with Garrick, who told the story afterwards, that on their arrival at London House they were introduced to a very dirty little room, where a poor dirty old woman (the Doctor's only attendant) and the Doctor were. The breakfast things were ready, the tea things, and the old woman poured the tea out, which was as black as ink, of the coarsest kind, and the toast and butter put before a very poor fire. They consequently hurried their breakfast over. Sir George got the book, and soon left him." *Mr. Weston, MS.*

P. 498. The following epitaph (by Dr. Drake, Editor of Matthew Parker) for Dr. Rawlinson, and put over the door of his chambers (a garret) in Gray's Inn, was communicated to Dr. Ducarel, by Mr. Samuel Carte, Jan. 29, 1755:

"Conditur hic,
nondum mortuus, qui nunquam vixit,

R. R.
Legum, qui Legem nec novit nec colit, Doctor;
qui Germaniam, Italiam, et Galliam visit,
sed nec in Germaniâ, nec in Italiâ, nec in Galliâ visus.
Si tumulum spectes, cœlo vicinus;
si animam, terrâ defossus."

P. 510. The following is a draught of an epitaph for Dr. Stukeley, intended to have been put up in the Church of St. George the Martyr in Queen Square, of which he was rector; presented to Mrs. Frances Fleming his eldest daughter, wife of Richard Fleming, esq. of Castle-yard, Holborn, one of the Sixty Clerks (not one of the Six Clerks, as stated in p. 509, line 33); approved of in part, and intended hereafter to be put up in All Saints' Church at Stamford, where Dr. Stukeley's first wife is buried, and where Dr. Stukeley intended to have a monument erected for her; Jan. 30, 1769:

"The Reverend WILLIAM STUKELEY, M. D. late Rector of this Parish, F. R. S. and many years Fellow and Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries (of which he was one of the Re-founders in 1717); died March 3, 1765, aged 78; and was buried in the Church-yard of East Ham, in the County of Essex. He was the Son of John Stukeley, Gent. of Holbech in Lincolnshire, by Frances, daughter of Robert Bullen of Weston in the said County, Gent. a descendant of the family of Anne Bullen. His first wife was Frances, daughter of Robert Williamson of Allington near Grantham, Gent. by whom he had three daughters; Frances, married to Richard Fleming, Esq. of Castle Yard, Holborn; ——— married to the Rev. Richard Fairchild, M. A.; and ——, who died unmarried. By his second wife Elizabeth, only daughter of the learned Thomas Gale, D. D. Dean of York, &c. he had no issue. His numerous Publications, in Divinity, History, and Antiquities, will, whilst Learning remains, command Honour and Respect; evincing sound Erudition, penetrating Judgement, quick Apprehension, tenacious Memory, great Reading, and accurate Discernment, and demonstrating a profound Knowledge in the ancient and modern Languages, with a Genius unbounded. A revered Theologist, a deep Astronomer, a great Mathematician, and an elegant Delineator. And though his natural Abilities were by constant Study improved to the highest degree, yet their combined Productions were but faint shadows of the bright Lustre in which he shone as Christian, Husband, Father, Friend. His Friendships indeed were many, Modesty his bosom one. Wonder not such Connection caused his Request to have no Monument. Reader, forbear to accuse his most affectionate Daughters of a Breach of Duty. Know, it was the Overflowings thereof that constrained them to place this Cenotaph here: not to perpetuate his Memory; his Works to latest Ages will do that: but as a Mite of Gratitude to a most tender Parent; and as an Exemplar to Thee, to pursue the Paths, which, as far as Humanity could permit, he never deviated from, of Justice, Mercy, and Truth."

P. 527. *read* "Asserii Menevensis Annales Ælfredi Magni;" and p. 528. "Observations on the Vale of White Horse, White

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Leaf Cross, and other Antiquities in Berkshire;" "Nummorum Antiquorum Scriniis Bodleianis reconditorum Catalogus cum Commentariis, Tabulis Æneis, et Appendice;" "Some Inquiries concerning the first Inhabitants, Language, Religion, Learning, and Letters of Europe;" "The History and Chronology of the Fabulous Ages considered, particularly with regard to the two ancient Deities, Bacchus and Hercules."

P. 527. The first four lines of the *Notes* in this page should have been placed as the conclusion of the second note.

P. 607. When Dr. Warburton first came to Durham as Prebendary, he found Neal's "History of Puritans" in the Library, but no answer. This disgusted him, and provoked him to make the lively Remarks since incorporated in his Works.

P. 614. The full title of the pamphlet is, "Impartial Remarks on the Preface of the Rev. Dr. Warburton, therein the Author has taken some uncommon Liberties with the Character of the Rev. Dr. Taylor, Chancellor of Lincoln. Together with a fair Review of the Question, and some Observations occasioned by the additional Part of the Divine Legation, 1758."

P. 614. "The offence was rather somewhat that the Doctor had said, without thinking of or perhaps knowing Dr. Warburton, as he assured me, (but it is so long ago, and I have not the proper books by me to be particular) in his 'Elements of Civil Law,' about the Intolerance of the Romans; which happened not to agree with what the Doctor had said on that subject. I remember the Doctor explained the matter to me; but it is now (1791) so long ago, that I am unwilling to endeavour to recover the particulars." *T. F.*

P. 634. The following Epitaph, to the memory of Ralph Warburton-Allen, esq. (who died July 18, 1775, æt. 19), is evidently by no ordinary writer:

"The seeds of Science, and the native fire,
That mark the genius of thy learned Sire;
The charms that deck thy beauteous Mother's face,
In thee conspicuous, with true manly grace;
Thy Uncle's * warm benevolence of heart,
That would to all its happiness impart;
These outlines sketch'd, though Providence thought fit
To shew what heights our nature would admit;
Lamented youth! yet thy untimely doom
Has nipt those opening virtues in their bloom;
For ne'er to Man was full perfection given;
The seeds here sown must be matur'd in Heaven."

P. 642. "Bp. Warburton's books were much scribbled in the margin, and on the blank leaves. He says, in one of his letters, "It is my way to write any observations on the leaf of the book that is the subject of it." Of the books in his library that he did not want, he used to get rid every year. This he called *giving his library a purge.* The Bishop's reading was very extensive, and exceedingly miscellaneous. When he was tired of serious read-

* Ralph Allen, esq. of Prior Park, near Bath.

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ing, or of study, he used to take up a novel or romance, to relax his mind, turning, as Dr. Armstrong advises his student in his Art of preserving Health,

——————"From serious Antonine
To Rabelais' ravings, and from prose to song."

The great Chancellor of France, Daguesseau, used to say, "Le changement d'étude est pour moi un delassement," when he turned his noble and comprehensive mind from an intricate law case to mathematics or Oriental learning. Bishop Warburton appears to have thought very highly of Baxter's "Matho Pueribus," as an institutional book of Natural Philosophy, in which the explanations are very familiar, and suited to the capacity of young persons. He always thought that there had been some omissions in the Oxford edition of Lord Clarendon's History, but that nothing had been added to it. One very notorious omission, he said, he was sure he could shew. Dr. Middleton and Warburton were well inclined to spar; they were, however, mutually afraid of each other. They were both of them men of strong parts and strong passions. The Bishop says, "Whether or not I answer Dr. Middleton's Postscript, we shall give the publick in this dispute an example, that friends may differ in opinion, without any abatement of their mutual esteem, or any interruption in the commerce of friendship." Warburton, speaking of himself, says, "You have a faithful picture of my mind; frank but honest, and if plain yet generous; above all a lover of truth and good men; not the most forbearing when I think myself ill-treated, and ready to be reconciled by the least shadow of recantation." Of Morgan (the author of a now-forgotten performance against Religion, "The Moral Philosopher") he says, "I have some knowledge of Mr. Morgan; an afternoon's conversation with him gave me the top and bottom of him; and though I parted from him with the most contemptible opinion both of his candour and his sense, he has had the art in his book to write even beyond himself. It is composed principally from scraps put together from 'Christianity as old as the Creation,' larded with some of the most stupid fancies of his own, that ever entered into the head of man; such as Moses's scheme for an universal Monarchy. I hope nobody will be so indiscreet as to take notice publickly of his book, though it be only in the fag-end of an objection. It is that indiscreet conduct in our defenders of religion, that conveys so many books from hand to hand." Mr. Baxter sent him the Latin Dialogue between him and his pupil concerning the true system of the Universe, and its dependance on the Creator; in which he endeavours to bring down the Newtonian Principles to the capacity of a boy of twelve. "You will judge," says he, "such a capacity to be a prodigy. However, he has explained Sir Isaac Newton's principles in a wonderfully familiar manner, and at the same time with great precision. I hope he will make it more publick. It would be of great use to the young people at the Universities, most of whom, for want of applying to the mixt mathematics, never get

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any clear idea of the Newtonian System all their life long. I intend one of my pamphlets to be sent to Dr. Mead, as to a man to whom all people who pretend to letters ought to pay tribute, on account of his great eminence in them and patronage of them." The Bishop thought Baxter's "Enquiry into the Nature of the Human Soul" a masterpiece of its kind. Many curious particulars relative to this great Prelate, Sir Isaac Newton, and many other literary persons of Dr. Stukeley's remembrance, are to be found in a book in MS. which is now in the possession of a relation of his, a gentleman of great elegance of mind and manners. His Letter to Mr. Miller does him infinite honour, the last paragraph is most beautifully expressed." *Mr. W. Seward.*

"Dr. *Richard Newton*, a very sensible, thoughtful, judicious, and a truly honest man. His writings shew his learning, judgment, and integrity, and his life exemplified every Christian virtue. He was my very good friend, and a promoter of my studies. I entirely loved and respected him living, and shall always revere his memory now he is dead. Several large pages would not suffice to express his real worth. Most orderly and exact in his family at Launden Grange (where I often visited him), as well as in his College. Discreet and punctual in every part of his conduct. Highly and justly esteemed by all the wise and good. He lamented the indolence and inactivity, and was grieved to observe the secular views and ambitious schemes, of some of the Heads of Colleges and Halls. But he, for his own part, resolved to do his duty, as became a good governor, and a friend to useful discipline and learning. An example of temperance and decency in every part of his behaviour; and of great moderation also, in respect of the different sentiments of his fellow Protestants. He valued, and occasionally visited, and would converse and sometimes dine with, Dr. Doddridge, when he came to Northampton. He saw that they both aimed at the same great and good end, in fitting up hopeful young students for the Christian Ministry. He usually made excursions, in the long vacations, into various parts of the kingdom, most commonly taking with him, for company and improvement, one or more young gentlemen of fortune in his College, at the request, and with the approbation, of their parents. He was himself, in every respect, a gentleman, and a man of refined good breeding. You might see this in every part of his conversation. At evening, upon such journeys, he would, a little before bed-time, desire his young pupils to indulge him in a short vacation of about half an hour, for his own private recollections. During that little interval they were silent, and he would smoke his pipe with great composure, and then chat with them again in an useful manner for a short space, and, bidding them good night, go to his rest. Bp. Compton, who had a kind affection and just esteem for him, collated him to the rectory of Sudbury, in the Doctor's native county of Northampton. He resided there for some years; and,

and, during his residence, discharged all the parts of his office as a parish-minister with exemplary care and fidelity. Amongst other particulars, he read the evening-prayers of the Liturgy at his church on the week-day evenings, at seven of the clock (hay-time and harvest, I suppose, excepted) for the benefit of his parishioners, such as could then assemble for public devotions. When he left the place, returning again to Oxford [about 1724], he enjoined his respective curates successively, three worthy men (Mr. Baker, Mr. ———, and Mr. Saunders), to keep up the same good rule; which they faithfully observed. He exerted also his best endeavours, from time to time, to prevail with the succeeding Bishops of London (Gibson more particularly) to bestow his said rectory on his curate for the time being, and on each successively, and he would resign the charge: each of the applications without success. By the way, his Lordship was continually teazed for preferment (and particularly for ——) by his kinsman Jones, the editor of Horace, &c. whom he afterwards collated to the rectory of Uppingham in Rutland. His Lordship's successor, Bp. Sherlock, readily consented to Dr. Newton's proposal, and Mr. Saunders accordingly succeeded the Doctor in the rectory. As Jones was the secret adversary, of whose shrewd questions the author of 'Pluralities indefensible' takes notice in the subsequent editions of that valuable treatise; you may there see that, for the space of 20 years after the said author left residing upon the spot, he never pocketed a farthing of the profits thereof, freely bestowing them all, partly upon his curate, partly in works of charity to the poor of his parish, and the remaining portions towards the defraying of other necessary expences chargeable upon the said benefice. At the same time, and before, he kept his edifices and fences there in excellent order, and made many useful, though expensive, additions, &c. He died April 21, in the year 1753, at Launden Grange, extremely lamented by all the poor of that neighbourhood (to whom he was a kind benefactor), and by all his friends and acquaintance throughout the kingdom, &c. He was Canon of Christ Church when he died. He had been student there. Was inducted Principal by Dr. Aldrich, in 1710. Upon his death-bed he ordered all his writings to be destroyed, as his worthy widow informed me: and she was a conscientious person. His friend Dr. Hunt advised her to be cautious, and to be sure that she did not mistake his meaning, especially with regard to some articles. I also, to whom she paid a favourable regard, presumed to suggest the same caution. How far that good Lady proceeded in the proposed destruction of the worthy Doctor's papers, I am not able to say; but do hitherto suppose she reduced them all to ashes. Upon a vacancy of the Public Orator's place at Oxford, Newton offered himself a candidate; but Digby Cotes, then Fellow of All Souls College, and afterwards Principal of Magdalen Hall) carried the point against him. Newton's friends thought him to be by far the more qualified person for that eminent post; though Orator Digby was also, I think, a man of worth as well as reputation. Newton survived him. Dr. Newton was well skilled in the modern foreign languages,

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as well as in the antient ones of Greece and Rome; a well-polished gentleman, and at the same time a sincere Christian. He carried dignity in his aspect, but sweetened with great modesty, humility, and freedom of conversation. This I know, having carefully observed him, and having always found him even and uniform, both in his temper and in his conduct. One thing now comes into my mind. Being a guest for a night or two at his house at Launden (in the summer of 1749, and in my way to Oxford and London, &c.), I had much familiar and free discourse with him, and particularly upon the subject of a reasonable *reform* in some particulars relating to our Ecclesiastical Establishment: a reform to which he was a hearty well-wisher. One evening, there being present his worthy Vice-principal Mr. Saunders, and an ingenious young gentleman of fortune, a pupil of Saunders, the Doctor was pleased to propose to us this question: 'What share are we to allow to *Common Sense* and *Reason* in matters of *Religion*?' Those two gentlemen and myself being silent, he addressed himself particularly to me, who was, in point of age, superior to them both. I freely answered, 'that, in my poor opinion, the due exercise of common-sense and reason, and of private judgment in all matters of Religion, ought to be allowed to all Christians.' He said, 'he was of the same mind.' He read prayers in his family at Launden morning and evening, being select parts of the Public Liturgy; on Wednesdays and Fridays the Litany only. He appointed to his studious guests several separate apartments (being parlours) for private study, with pen, ink, and paper for each; and the use of his library, which was near those apartments, &c. Many more things I could say of this excellent man *." *Mr. Jones of Welwyn, MS.*

"*James Guy*, rector of Little-cotes, in Lincolnshire, was educated, as one of his sons informs me (1767), at Trinity College in Cambridge; which College presented him to that benefice. The income there being but small, he was necessitated, in order to support himself and numerous family, to serve two other churches, being curacies, of small stipend each, and at some distance the one from the other. With these pittances he made some shift, though a hard one, to live, and bring up his large family in a tolerable manner. In his advanced age, he continued to supply those three churches, and generally enjoyed good health to the last. He died Jan. 28, 1763, aged 100, or 101, his son cannot tell which. Soon after his decease, the public papers took notice of this extraordinary man, saying, amongst other things, that he had by two wives 28 sons, and 8 daughters. His said son says, this was a mistake. He had in all 34; and 14 of them being at home, used constantly to walk before him, by pairs, to church. He had the benefit of Dr. Busby's Lectures." *Mr. Jones of Welwyn, MS.*

"Mr. *James Hervey* was an exceeding good Christian: very pious, charitable, humble, modest, and very sincere in all his conduct. He had a very considerable share of learning, which

* For some of his publications, see British Topography, vol. II. p. 369.

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he properly applied to the service of religion. He was polite in his conversation, and elegant in his writings. He was also very earnest and diligent in his endeavours to save the souls of men. His constitution was weak, and he laboured beyond his power, which helped to shorten his days. He had, in many things, a good discernment and judgment; in others these valuable abilities failed him; and he has been unhappy in his choice of systems. He struck in early with the Methodists at Oxford, on account of their piety. They were then a small sect, devoted only to piety and charity, and were commendable in the exercise of both. Systems arose afterwards. Good Mr. Hervey unhappily engaged in them also; and thereby manifestly hurt his judgment."

Vol. IV. p. 602. The short life of Dr. Edward Littleton, which does not appear in the 8vo edition, was added by Dr. Morell, to a third edition, in 1749, 12mo; and, as it is not very commonly known, shall be here transcribed: "Mr. Edward Littleton was educated upon the royal foundation at Eton school under the care of that learned and excellent master, Dr. Snape; who never failed, by proper culture and encouragement, to give a genius like our author's fair play, and brighten it into all possible perfection. And, from some instances pointed out to me of persons, now eminent both in church and state, who were formerly his class-mates, I cannot but think he owed somewhat to that emulation, which in such great schools is a constant spur to youth, and the peculiar advantage of public education. Accordingly I am told that his school-exercises were much admired; and, when his turn came, he was transplanted to King's college, Cambridge, in the year 1716, with equal applause. A talent for poetry seldom rests unemployed; it will break out and shew itself upon some occasion or other. Our author had not been long at the University, before he diverted a school-fellow, whom he had left at Eton, with an humorous poem, wherein he describes his change of studies, and hints at the progress he had made in academical learning. This was followed by that celebrated one, On a Spider. And as both these poems have surreptitiously crept into Miscellanies, in a very imperfect condition, and, though undoubtedly (as the author was very young when he wrote them) some of the lines might have been improved, yet, on the contrary, they have suffered in the attempt, and names have been introduced altogether unknown to the author; it was thought proper to give a genuine copy of them, as transcribed by a gentleman then at Eton school, from the author's own writing. [These verses are inserted correctly in an edition of Dodsley's Poems, enriched with notes, 1782.] To which is added, what remains I could find of a Pastoral Elegy, written about the same time by Mr. Littleton, on the death of R. Banks, scholar of the same college; and I doubt not but with equal allowance for the age of the author, they will be alike acceptable to the publick. Whether, as our author says, his academical studies checked his poetical flights, and he rejected these trifles for the more solid entertainment of philosophy, I know not; but I could meet with nothing more

more of this kind. I have seen indeed a poetical epistle sent from school to Penyston Powney, esq; but as this was wrote occasionally, and scarce intelligible to any but those who were then at Eton, I have omitted it. In the year 1720, Mr. Littleton was recalled to Eton as an assistant in the school; in which office he was honoured and beloved by all the young gentlemen that came under his direction, and so esteemed by the worthy provost and fellows, that, upon the death of the Rev. Mr. Malcher in the year 1727, they elected him into their society, and presented him to the living of Maple-Derham in Oxfordshire. He then married Frances, one of the daughters of Burnham Goode Esq. a lady endowed with all the accomplishments that can render the marriage state happy. On June the 9th, 1730, he was appointed Chaplain in ordinary to their Majesties: and in the same year took his doctor of laws degree at Cambridge. But, though an admired preacher and an excellent scholar, he seems to have been as little ambitious of appearing in print, as the great Mr. Hales, formerly of the same College; not having printed any thing, that I know of, in his life-time: and I am apt to think, from what I have heard, that, like him too, he never penned any thing, until he needs must. He died of a fever in the year 1734, and was buried in his own parish-church of Maple-Derham; leaving behind him a widow and three daughters; for whose benefit, under the favour and encouragement of her late Majesty Queen Caroline, his Discourses were first printed."

Vol. III. p. 721. Mr. Thomas Evans of Paternoster-row never had more than one son, who married, in 1790, a daughter of the second Mr. Archibald Hamilton. He commenced business for himself in his father's life-time; which he ruined in a few years, deserted his family, and went to America; came back, and died in absolute distress.

P. 757. Mr. Da Costa was elected clerk, museum-keeper, and librarian to the Royal Society, Feb. 3, 1763; and held these places till December 1767. He died about 1788.

END OF THE FIFTH VOLUME.

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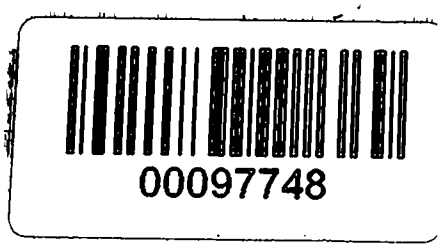
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